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REPORT TO THE SRC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
From Josephine Wilkins, Chairman
April 29, 1966

Since this is the first meeting of the Committee under the new appointments, let me begin with a brief review of it to date.

You will recall that the Development Committee was created by the Executive Committee and held its organizational meeting shortly before the 1964 Annual Meeting of SRC. Its assignment was three-fold: to plan for the long-range funding of SRC, to advise with the staff on it, and to assist as it could with the funding.

You will further recall that the Committee grew out of pressure from two sources, pressure from some of SRC's major foundation support, and pressure from the state Councils on Human Relations. The foundations felt that the time had come when SRC should begin looking to the South itself for support to meet the cost of its general operation, and to foundations for special-project support only. The state Councils were vocal in their feeling that they were not participating proportionately in the financial growth of SRC, pointing out that SRC grants to them had remained approximately the same since 1957 when they were made independent bodies.

Meanwhile, as a result of the large special-project grant from the Ford Foundation and the agreement as to the per cent that will go to general operation for administration, SRC's financial situation has eased markedly for the next three years. And the $300,000 three-year grant to SRC from Ford for support of the state Councils has eased their situation for that time as well. Still, we nonetheless have before us the long-range planning for the funding of SRC.

I would like to summarize what seems to me to be the results thus far from the establishment of the Committee.

One, SRC has always been a staff operation, and an excellent one. It has had ad hoc committees appointed from policy for specific tasks, such as selecting a speaker, a new director, making nominations; and had standing committees from policy that serve actually as review boards for staff recommendations. But in creating the Development Committee, SRC has for the first time in its history set up a standing committee composed of policy members for involvement in the funding of the organization.

Two, for the first time an attempt has been made to involve the entire membership in the problems of SRC's funding, done through the letter you each sent last fall with the approval of the Executive Committee, to those Council members in your state.

Three, in structuring the Committee with one member from each state, SRC seems to have hit upon a vehicle that can be used at times to bring the entire Council membership closer to SRC, i.e., by each committee member assuming responsibility for contacting the other SRC members in his state, as illustrated by your letters last fall.

Four, reports from the Committee members indicate that dialogue has been started in each of the states that should in time result in some financial support, for either the state Councils or SRC.

Five, there has been an increase in the number of SRC members giving financial support to the Council, a sort of symbolic evidence of involvement. The letters sent by you last fall resulted in an increase from four member contributors in '64, to eighteen last year, for

the amount of $3,545. This included two $1,000 contributions which unlocked an equal amount of Stern's matching grant, making the yet modest total of $5,545.

Six, lastly, and the most important, the Committee has worked its way through numerous funding ideas, and in the process a far clearer picture of SRC's funding situation and its potentials comes into focus.

The costs of the Committee have thus far been slight, $547 up to the end of the year. To this should now be added $190, expense of a recent trip made by the Executive Assistant to talk with certain of those with whom he was associated when he was executive director of the Florida Council on Human Relations. This brings the total cost to date to $746.

Obviously, to fill in any sense the assignment given us has required thought in depth on SRC. And one naturally has begun with a fresh look at what we have here.

We have an organization operating in an area caught up in social revolution, and itself a significant part of that revolution.

An organization dependent upon the public for financial support. And one now grown to a million-dollar operation -- nothing comparable has ever before been made available for such work in the South!

We have an operation carried on in the name of one hundred people over the South, who meet once a year and who place their confidence in fifteen people, the Executive Committee, who in turn meet quarterly and place their confidence, in the final analysis, in one person, the Executive Director.

We have an operation grown at such a pace these past years that it has raced, so to speak, to keep up with itself. I am close enough to the office to

know what this has meant for the staff. For Les, and particularly for Paul, confronted as he was with administration of the large special-projects grant from Ford almost immediately on taking office last October.

We have an organization that has always been foundation oriented, supported mainly by national foundations. Because of this we have been able to build a major organization in the South and carry on work counter to the prevailing mores of the South.

We are now in the process of long-range planning to broaden the base of SRC's support to the South itself. And make no mistake about it, the decisions made and the pattern set will affect markedly the future of SRC.

Let me point up some of our groping for a right pattern for this broader funding.

It seems already clear that promotion of bequests, a source of unrestricted funds, should be included in any plan for future support. And as a general policy, that as potential contributors, individuals over the South should be left to the state Councils.

We have found southern foundations to be numerous, but with few exceptions small, their purposes not only quite limited but restricted mostly to paliatives, and all committed even more so than the national foundations to the general policy of making grants to projects only. Hardly without exception their trustees are from that sector frequently termed "the establishment."

I have had several conferences with two of the larger Atlanta foundations, their executive friends of longstanding. On my last visit to one of them, undoubtedly in a gesture of cooperation, he talked frankly about the making of grants. "Foundation trustees are on the whole conservative," he said, "and they are disturbed by changes taking place. Consciously or

unconsciously, this influences their decisions. In considering an application they invariably look down the roster of board members for those in whom they have confidence. SRC needs," he said, "to bring onto its board some people like....," naming several of Atlanta's most conservative financial leaders.

Over the years, SRC has worked on quietly in the South. By and large, the southern status quo, so to speak, does not know that the Council exists. But foundation officials call for records, as they should, and make a thorough study of an organization applying for a grant. One is left with the question as to whether SRC could have become the organization it now is, or year after year could have continued as the constructive force it has been in the South, had some of those so influential as the usual southern foundation official quietly expressed concern over the work. We will doubtless need careful selectivity here in the future funding of SRC.

Still, the enlightened self-interest of the great national business corporations may yet prove to be the most potential source of unrestricted future support for the Council. Certainly we should be able to make a telling case of SRC's role thus far in the growth of the South and the organization's potential in that future growth. Numerous advisory conferences along this line have taken place, and it is in this field that my own interest and committee work has been mainly centered. But here we need to think large, and not proceed without well thought-out plans and supportive data.

The Executive Director feels that SRC might possibly be able to provide for its general operation costs in still another way. Continue to seek and rely on the national foundations for special-project funds, but

with their approval increase to 20% the amount regularly assigned to general operation for administration. Then try to build up our sale of materials to where the amount from that source, together with the 20%, the interest from funds held and invested, and such other foundation funds as we might receive, would collectively meet the cost of general operation.

I lay these thoughts before you for whatever help they may be as we continue our effort to meet the Committee's assignment.

- : -

southern student organizing committee

1703 portland avenue nashville, tennessee box 6403 phone: 291-3537

File

comm

May 5, 1966

Mr. Emory Via
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Via:

Enclosed is a report of the students and labor conference which has some notes of the conference discussion. I wanted to thank you very much for coming to the conference and for your help on it.

Despite several limitations I thought the conference was a very good one. Two things really pleased me One was the openness of the students and the labor guys to each other and the second thing was the fact that we were able to get down to specifics like a student-labor summer project.

It looks as if it may be possible to have a summer project involving students working with southern labor guys. This would really be a good thing to develop students to go back to their campuses in the fall and initiate labor programs on and around their campuses.

Thanks again for all of your help.

Sincerely,

Gene

Gene Guerrero

Intern - Office memos

MEMORANDUM

TO: PAUL ANTHONY
FROM: EMORY VIA
DATE: JUNE 9, 1966

While in Washington I had a conversation with an old friend, Ray Munts, who had for some years been in the Social Security Department of the AFL-CIO. He is in the process of resigning as acting director of the Department and will go to the University to think and do research under their new poverty grant.

Ray has a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Wisconsin and at one time served on the staff of the School for Workers. His special interests in recent years has been in the area of unemployment compensation, to some degree workmen's compensation, and also the impact of certain medical plans on various income groups within the United States. As I understand it he does not have fixed ideas yet as to what he will be working on while at Wisconsin this year.

I have suggested that he come South and talk with us and others that we might gether together before he gets his research interest set. It seems to me we might not only be able to get some of his insights and energies directed topproblems we're concerned with but that he might serve as a useful instrument in getting other pieces of that program related to things of interest here.

Bob Anderson and I have already asked Ray to consider an article for NEW SOUTH soon which would be related to unemployment compensation provisions in the South and how they compare to the earlier years and to national standards, and also to relate some of this to the impact of such programs on disadvantaged groups.

I hope you will keep in mind the idea of a conference with Munts here and make any suggestions you might have of people who should fit in on such an undertaking. It seems to me it might be useful to simply pay for Ray's trip out of the Labor Program if this strikes you as a useful idea, if we can get him to come,

and if we can have him meet with a small group which can make useful suggestions to him.

What do you think?

File copy

July 21, 1966

PROGRESS REPORT: WHO SPEAKS TO THE WHITE SOUTH?

TO: Paul Anthony and Pat Watters

FROM: Antony Whitfield

Largely, the questionnaire returns have reflected a curious assortment of responses. Specific items in the questionnaire have generally elicited varied answers. This would seem to suggest that no clearly defined area of concensus exists among the respective organizations on the issue of race relations.

Also, significant contrasts in the relative aims of each respective organization seem to further preclude generalizations on the merits of such aims as those which relate specifically to race relations.

Perhaps the most outstanding feature in the returns has been the vigorous assessment of current problems now existing within the respective camps of the organizations, i.e., "black power," school textbooks, and fair housing.

AW

js

Original in New South: Rejects.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to obtain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 5, 1966

Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
567 Garden Drive
Louisville, Kentucky 40206

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Thank you so much for passing on to us your stimulating thoughts on business involvement in civil rights. Would that all southern businessmen thought along such progressive lines!

I have taken the liberty of showing your manuscript to Paul Anthony and Miss Josephine Wilkins. Miss Wilkins, as you know, is chairman of SRC's Development Committee, whose mission is directly related to the concerns you express.

We have a problem with using your piece just now in NEW SOUTH. The truth is that we are in the stage of developing a publication here aimed directly at the business community, embodying many of the points you outline, statistically supported, and with the thesis that business involvement is not only morally necessary but economically sound -- as you point out. What I'm saying, I suppose, is that we wouldn't want to scatter our shots just yet, and that while you put the position squarely on the line, there needs to be a filling out of the general outline you present.

There is, too, another problem with one of the points you make -- an editorial policy matter. In effect, as I read it anyway, you are speaking in the last paragraph (when you refer to "adjustments in tradition and program") of change in SRC's focus. Our audience is made up of close friends of SRC, of course, in addition to the members and the Executive Committee.

But we have a much wider general readership, too, whose interests lie outside of SRC's internal deliberations. As a matter of editorial policy, we've just not dealt with discussions of organizational directions in NEW SOUTH.

None of which, I hope, leaves the impression that we think any the less of your manuscript which we'd like to hold on to, if we may, as we move along with the publication I mentioned. We would also like to distribute it to members of the Development Committee.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

PW

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PRELIMINARY SCHEDULE

JOINT MEETING BETWEEN THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND

December 1-2, 1966

Jekyll Island, Georgia

Chairman: Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council

December 1, 1966

2:30 - 3:15	"Where Are We?"	George Esser Paul Anthony

This opening session will provide a brief overview of the objectives and current operations from the vantage point of the respective agency directors. The brief presentations will be followed by a discussion of the program for the next day and a half. The main objective will be to facilitate meaningful communication between the SRC and the Fund staff members and to learn of the respective programs.

3:15 - 4:00	Discussion of conference plans
4:15 - 5:45	Three concurrent work groups (Chairmen and recorders to be announced)

Workshop participants will be asked to give particular thoughts to taking a hard look at the question of race and southern politics, specifically, to engage in a post-election analysis of how such factors as increased Negro registration, white resistance, black power controversy, and reactionary candidates affect the drive for social change. In addition, the participants should look at various techniques for helping the poor and disadvantaged play a more decisive role in the local and state decision-making processes.

Where indeed?

6:00 - 6:45	Social hour
6:45 - 8:00	Dinner - Nathan Garrett, Deputy Director, NCF, introduce speaker. Paul Ylvisaker, Director, Public Affairs Division, Ford Foundation - Comments on the questions under discussion.
8:00	Open evening, with option for work groups to continue their discussions

December 2, 1966

9:15 - 10:30	"What do we do about it?"	Paul Anthony Chairman
	Presenter	Tom Hartmann, Program Director, New Jersey Office of Economic Opportunity and former Deputy Director of Program at N.C. Fund

The opening session will be designed to stimulate creative thinking about institutional changes in the southern regions. The role of the presenter will be to open up ideas that can be discussed and "brain stormed" in the concurrent work groups.

10:45 - 12:30 Three concurrent work groups

The work groups will be asked to pick up the "how" for attacking some of the crucial issues outlined in or arising from the discussion in the opening session. Group members will be asked to focus on new ideas and programs for effective "opportunity structure". This session would look at various opportunity programs that have not been tried, but which hold some promise, and either need to be demonstrated or require legislative action. Such programs might include leadership training, income maintenance, new towns and economic development, and increased union activity.

12:45 - 1:45	Lunch	
2:00 - 4:00	Three concurrent work groups (Continuation of the morning discussions)	
4:00 - 6:00	Free time (Recorders will be asked to prepare brief reports during this time.)	
6:00 - 6:45	Social hour	
6:45 - 9:00	Dinner	Paul Anthony, Chairman (Brief reports from concurrent work groups) Paul Anthony, Executive Director, SRC, introduce speaker. Cliff Campbell, Consultant, Public Affairs Division, Ford Foundation - Comments on conference.

<u>December 3, 1966</u>

9:00 - 12:00	Free time, agency staff meeting, or further discussion time.
12:30	Luncheon (Open for individual or family relaxation)

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

December 12, 1966

Mr. Raymond Munts
The University of Wisconsin
Institute for Research on
Poverty
Social Science Building
1180 Observatory Drive
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Mr. Munts:

I am sorry to be so long in responding to your last letter. Personal family crises have kept me away from the office. The issue of NEW SOUTH containing your article is due to be delivered to us next week and we will send you copies then. As for reprints, we are planning to have 500 available. Emory has indicated that he also wants to distribute some, so it may be well -- to avoid duplications -- for you to compare lists.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

J 302 Exchange Am
Medicine

Emery —

With regard to the attached, AFL-CIO wants to send about 75 to selected places — mostly AFL-CIO state body officers and legislative people in southern states, and to some people on the Hill. I have, in addition, a list of individuals in the south who have worked with me at one time or another.

Whatever slots you can spare me I will send to academics & scholars of the program.

If you prefer to send requests to AFL-CIO people — give me an idea of whom you will be sending to and I'll tell Sherman, to avoid duplication.

So send me whatever you can as soon as you can – the policies for this coming session are being made – I'm going to be adopted Jan 6th for a few days.

It is cold as the devil here but no snow. Meadows will probably freeze up next week.

Time seems to go too rapidly, even here.

Lia has become a regular baby sitter for your servants.

If we can do anything for you here, let me know.

Best wishes – Merry Christmas.

Ray

INSTITUTE OF
ETHICS AND SOCIETY

SAN FRANCISCO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

AT SAN ANSELMO, CALIFORNIA

MA-please reply

2-20-64
MA

Gentlemen

The Institute of Ethics and Society at San Francisco Theological Seminary is conducting an inventory of institutions, agencies, and centers which are engaged in the study and understanding of particular aspects of our society.

Specifically we are interested in knowing how the activities of your agency would aid denominations and cooperating church bodies to understand the role of the church in contemporary society.

We are seeking to compile and publish a directory detailing the resources of agencies like yours. Church administrators will find this material most helpful.

Enclosed you will find a fact sheet which we hope you will complete at your earliest convenience and mail to us in the stamped and addressed envelope supplied. Your help will be appreciated and will provide a valuable contribution to our study.

Sincerely

Robert Lee

Robert Lee
Director

RL:em

File

PW

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

MEETING, MINUTES, Re Program Review and Evaluation, March 20, 1964

Meeting convened at 11:00 a.m. -- those present were Mr. Jordan, presiding, Miss Long, Mr. Watters, Mr. Anthony, Mr. Blackford, and Mrs. Morgan, Secretary.

Purpose: To discuss program Review and Evaluation.

Mr. Jordan stated that there were 19 recommendations, four of which Mr. Dunbar has put special emphases on. They are Nos. 3, 14, 15, 16. Mr. Jordan solicited assistance on No. 11.

RELATIONSHIPS AND FIELD ACTIVITIES:

Pursuant to No. 3, Mr. Jordan stated that Mr. Dunbar has already outlined a study on state governments similiar to the studies on the Federal Executive and Executive Support. Jordan asked Mr. Anthony what help could he give in the area of relat onships with state councils.

P. A. -- "Leave the state councils alone" however, he did add that he and the field department will be grateful for any assistance from indivioals in helping to establish these desired relationships.

PW suggested that we have some specific person from each council to give a brief summary of happenings in New South on a monthly basis. Agreed by all that this was a good suggestion.

PA asked that we keep in mind some strong require-- ments in the field department, namely, another person to come to work. This person should have the following qualifications - most of all please, not another "nut." This person must be brilliant, an exceptional person, and must be a Negro, and, willing to work for not very much work. PA further stated that probably we could hire a person in the field of education, some student from a school or college that will be available for two months -- he is really interested in someone for the summer. PA stressed the fact that the present staff is busy -- and is doing about as much as they can do.

STATE COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATONS

What can we do to assist the State Councils on Human Relations? PW suggested that we should improvise a "How to do it guide," -- PW and Ben Muse are presently writing a piece

Miss ~~Mr.~~ Barbara Jordan

similar to this suggestion -- they are going to be asked to submit their piece as support in assisting the State Councils.

PW suggested that SRC limit its scope -- the statement "broaden its research to include those problems of general social and economic concern..." he feels that is too general, and could cover a great territory.

Re Recommendation #16 -- VEJ inquired as to what we could cover in a study? Welfare services - the aid that is available to people in need? -- school drop-outs; or the training of teen-agers.

There seems to be no available information on school drop-outs for Negroes. However, we are to check with the census data and the State Board of Education figures -- possibly some light could be gained from these sources, on school drop--outs.

ML & PW are writing a piece concerning 'poverty' re country people moving into town -- it is to be very interesting and will be presented for reading at a probably early date.

SDB stated that Ross Green and Mr. Jordan of Emory are working on a piece concerning education. This is in connection with the Savannah River Counties -- Burke, Richmond, McCormick, Aiken and Edgefield. What can these counties do, and how they go about getting better quality education in these places. And, if you can not get desegregation--what will it take to get good schools? White and Negro?

REGISTRATION

From recent observations, there seems to be no racial figures in registration -- VEJ reported that a Mr. Hilburn of the Justice Department was recently working on a breakdown of registered voters in the 159 counties in Ga.

Maggie is to check and see if she can get a registration figure on Georgia (by county and also find out if they are recorded by race. Possibly have the results mailed to her at her new home address under the name of Leonard. However, since this meeting Maggie says that VEP seems to have about as a complete record as could be found elsewhere.

PUBLICATIONS -- (Mailing List)

VEJ stated that sincere efforts have been made to simplify the mailing list -- and gradual success is noticed.

The general agreement was that the complimentary list should be reviewed periodically, determining if the person is still in the area -- in the same position -- or whether another person has replaced him. Determine who should or should not receive complimentary publications -- in order to delete a great number of complimentary lists, it was suggested that "if anyone on the staff requested 'complimentary mailing' for anyone," then that person should be responsible for keeping up with the person he recommends -- this check should be made at least once a year.

VEJ asked, "should we send L-Reports to people who stated specifically that they wanted to be dropped from the L-Report List" -- everyone agreed that we should drop them, if they had requested same.

PW suggested that we ask Claud Sitton to check over the newspaper list -- in view of the fact that he knows almost every newspaper man. Agreed by all.

SDB accepted responsibility of checking magazines monthly for writers -- particularly ones writing about the racial problems -- we hope that through this monthly check, we will be able to get people on our mailing list that will give us some more publicity -- and then too, they might like to be on our mailing list. This is to include serious writers.

VEJ mentioned the fact that a Mr. Welch had suggested the possibility of income for the Council through "Wills." Mr. Jordan asked ML if she thought it possible to include some idea, in some form or other, in NEW SOUTH magazine -- to get the idea over to our readers. Miss Long agreed that she would work on it.

VEJ also mentioned the possibility of ordering a larger amount of copies of NEW SOUTH each issue -- he feels that this will alleviate re-ordering, which has happened recently and at a great expense to the Council. No definite decision was given this matter.

It was suggested that we institute a 'paying set-up'

this will include, 1) $2.00 per year -- New South only, and 2) everything including New South -- $5.00 per year. It appears that people are perfectly willing to pay these amounts just to have our material -- and VEJ is being urged not to let this proposal die -- and that it should go into effect immediately.

PW will draft a letter making our proposal clear about the mailing list and giving them an option. We are not trying to make a profit -- but trying to at least have partial support in the Council's mailing expenses ... nor does this suggest the ADL method.

PW suggested that in some way we should arouse the interest of our readers. This idea was not pursued. Will be explored at a later date.

VEJ reported that he was going to Augusta for a meeting of the Councils on Human Relations -- he is to discuss "What the Civil Rights bill is about."

Meeting adjourned at 12:00.

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER
287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
EDWARD A. POWERS, GENERAL SECRETARY

JOSEPH A. HOWELL, SPECIALIZED MINISTRIES
1505 RACE STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA

UNITED CHURCH
BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

June 25, 1964

To: Those listed in recent issues of our Personnel Services information newsletter, Personnel Openings

From: Joseph Howell

Please let us know

(1.) When the information--as listed--changes

(2.) When other openings occur

We shall appreciate your filing the extra copy of this memorandum--as a reminder to send us information in the future.

Georgia, Atlanta — Southern Regional Council
Refers inquiries from those interested in working in the South to appropriate agencies.
Inquire: 4 Forsyth St., N.E., Atlanta. Phone 404-522-8764.

TR[illegible]AN B. DOUGLASS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
HOWARD E. SPRAGG, TREASURER
287 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
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UNITED CHURCH BOARD FOR HOMELAND MINISTRIES

PERSONNEL SERVICES

Personnel Services is an information (not placement) service which makes available three information newsletters. Personnel Available, Personnel Openings, and Personnel Purposes are mailed to selected staff and board members of the United Church of Christ, to appropriate agencies including those listed in Personnel Openings, and to persons requesting them. The current list numbers some 2,000.

Personnel Available

Personnel Available is a listing of persons, most of whom are unordained, who seek work. Persons requesting to be listed are invited to send the following information: (1) photo of any size; (2) names and addresses of four references; (3) a typed, one-paragraph resume, following in the indicated order the underlined headings of the following outline:

> MILLER, Lewis. Age 35. Objective: ombining journalism, public relations, administration, and/or personnel. Hopes for employment in southern Connecticut, western Long Island, northern New Jersey, or New York City. Experience: Executive editor of a business magazine for doctors, supervising 40 full-time and 15 part-time employees, on a budget of $600,000 a year. Education: Princeton University, 1949, A.B. Member: First Congregational (U.C.C.), Darien, Conn. Personal: Married, 2 children, 8, 11. Address: 90 Goodwives River Road, Darien, Conn. Phone: 203-655-9180.

For promptness and accuracy, resumes, if neatly typed, will be photocopied without change. For uniformity, please note: (1) paragraph is the width of the page, with pictures to be grouped on a separate page; (2) type-face has to be clean, for photocopying purposes; (3) last name is capitalized; (4) if person is ordained, the words "the Reverend" are included; (5) style is objective; (6) ten or so lines should be adequate; (7) elite type preferred.

Any additional information for our files will be welcomed - for example, longer mimeographed resumes, reprints of articles, etc. Although prospective employers usually correspond directly with persons listed, such additional information enables us to reply to some preliminary inquiries. And ordained persons from other denominations are asked to give name and address of the person with whom we may clear the appropriateness of their being listed.

Persons seeking to be known throughout the United Church of Christ as available for eight categories of church occupation - (1) pastor, (2) assistant or associate, (3) minister of music, (4) minister or director of Christian education, (5) campus ministry, (6) teacher, (7) administration, (8) institutional chaplaincy - should correspond first with the Council for Church and Ministry, Personnel Records Office, The Reverend Jess Norenberg, 297 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010; phone 212-475-2121. Some persons available for these eight church occupations may be listed by Personnel Records Office and/or Personnel Services if they have, in addition, occupational interests not listed by the Personnel Records

Office. Any listing of such persons in Personnel Available is made in consultation with the Personnel Records Office.

Personnel Openings

Personnel Openings is a listing of employment opportunities. Any information about employment opportunities anywhere will be sent promptly to those listed in Personnel Available and to persons requesting this more frequent mailing.

Persons seeking information concerning overseas employment are referred to:

(1) The Reverend Fred Hudson, Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri, for Laymen Overseas;
(2) The United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027, for Employment Overseas;
(3) Institute for International Education, 800 Second Avenue at 42d Street, New York, N. Y. 10017, for Job Opportunities Abroad;
(4) Foreign Policy Association, World Affairs Center, 345 E. 46th Street, New York, N.Y. 10017, for (a) Directory of Voluntary Organizations, $1.00;
    (b) Careers in World Affairs, $1.00; and
    (c) three pamphlets at 20¢ each or 3 for 50¢: Teaching Opportunities Abroad, World Affairs Employment in the United States, and Finding Overseas Employment.

Persons seeking information concerning teaching or staff openings in colleges related to several Protestant denominations are referred to the Cooperative College Registry, Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107.

Personnel Purposes

Personnel Purposes suggests resources for interpreting ministry of the laity.

Comment and suggestions with regard to any of the above are welcomed.

June, 1964

Ck $10 7-29-64

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 21, 1964

Mrs. T. M. Fitzpatrick
Vienna
Georgia

Dear Mrs. Fitzpatrick:

We have your check for $10.00, payable to the Southern Regional Council and marked (Special Account). We are not certain to what program or project you wish this credited, or if it is just for the general program of the Council. Will you please let us know as soon as possible? We are, of course, most eager to use this money in the way you would prefer.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)

Mrs. Albright -
The use of the check is up to you - Just wanted to help - in the problems you influence in Racial Matters
Cordially yours -
Mrs. T. M. Fitzpatrick

The Special Acct. is that
There is a regular and a special acct in my name.

TA-fyi + possible reference & follow in Florida

MA

August 17, 1964

Mrs. George T. Noulles
7816 Bellemeade
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Noulles:

Mr. McGill has asked us to send you some information on the Southern Regional Council. May I say, first, that the Council has never been on the list of subversive organizations as given out by the office of the Attorney General of the United States. The Council has never had any connection whatsoever with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Rather than spend any more time defending the Council, I would prefer sending you material on what we are, what we believe and what we do. If you go over this, I believe you will be better able to judge for yourself the kind of organization we are.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately: Agency
encl - A Race Relations and the Facts
SRC: 1944-64
publications list

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

BOX 4689
ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

RALPH McGILL
Publisher

Rec'd 8/12/64

MA - Pls. reply
LWD

August 10, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Will you send this lady some material. I hope you have a copy of the Washington Star editorial apology to go along with refutation of other charges.

Cordially,

RM

RM:gl

August 10, 1964

Mrs. George T. Noulles
7816 Bellemeade
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Noulles:

Thank you for your letter.

The Southern Regional Council has no relationship with any Communist group directly or indirectly. A great many lies have been printed about it. I am asking that office to send you some factual information.

Sincerely yours,

RM:gl

7816 Bellemeade
Jacksonville, Fla.
July 13, 1964

Mr. Ralph McGill
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

During the Fourth of July weekend I was in LaGrange, Georgia in the company of several new acquaintences who condemned in no uncertain terms the new Civil Rights Law, President Johnson and other aspects of our country which I support wholeheartedly. Being a guest among strangers, I kept my mouth shut (which I seldom do on such matters) and cringed. It really made me sick at heart.

Then on Sunday morning I read your front page editorial in the Atlanta Constitution entitled "Symbol of the President" and was greatly encouraged by your viewpoint. You said what I try to say at the right times and never seem able to express myself.

Back in Jacksonville I have, since we became acquainted, had a continuing discussion with a man who is a member of the John Birch Society. I really do not know enough about the details of the current political situation and he "snows" me. I showed him your editorial and he returned the following message to me:

"A very interesting article. I appreciate your letting me read it.

"Let me, if you will, enlighten you about Ralph McGill. He was one of the incorporators of the "Southern Regional Council" of Atlanta, Ga. This group is affiliated with many "Human Relations" councils of the Southeast, including the "Human Relations Council of Greater Jax."

"Nine of the current directors of the "Southern Regional Council" were affiliated with the "Southern Conference for Human Welfare" which has been cited by the Attorney-General's office (prior to Bobby Kennedy) as being a "Communist front" organization.

"Eight of the current directors of the "Southern Regional Council" were directors of the "Southern Conference Educationsl Fund, Inc." which was also declared a "Communist controlled organization" for the purpose of exploiting recial differences of the white and Negro citizens of the South for Communist aims.

"and so, since Radio Moscow, the Worker (the Communist newspaper) and other Communist dominated and controlled organizations have con-

stantly attacked and smeared the John Birch Society, it really isn't surprising that Ralph McGill, who assisted in forming an organization whose current directors aided Communist causes in the past, would come out strongly against the John Birch Society. All Communists are opposed to the John Birch Society, but all who are opposed to us are not necessarily Communist -- but through circumstances such as outlined above (activities with Communist organizations) together with an avowed opposition to the John Birch Society, is certainly, to reasonable men, indicative of either a strong Communistic tie or at the very best, a "dupe" of the Communists."

Will you please, Mr. McGill, tell me what to say to my friend. How about the "Southern Regional Council" and the "Human Relations Council of Greater Jacksonville." Were they "cited by the Attorney-General's office (prior to Bobby Kennedy) as being a Communist front organization." I feel completely opposed to most of what my friend says, but I can't dispute his facts unless I have some of my own.

I will appreciate very much anything you can tell me.

Yours very truly,

Marcia B. Noulles

Marcia B. Noulles
(Mrs. George T. Noulles)

file SRC

Nov. 19, 1964

To Whom It May Concern:

The return of the attached card is very important to you and to me. Its return will assure your organization's correct identification in the text of a book about going to press.

Preliminary to publication of "Pathways to Peace" with names and addresses of over 250 organizations and groups, one of which is you, or yours, I want to make a check to (1) ascertain if the names and addresses are correct, and (2) is the organization a "going concern" as of now?

On the return card please respond to questions asked.

Gratefully,

R. D. Brackett, Minneapolis

date Tuesday April 3 1965 MA

Civil-rights coordination

SRC keeps quietly busy

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta

The Southern Regional Council (SRC) is one civil-rights organization that seldom makes headlines, despite the magnitude of its projects.

In the past three years, for example, SRC's "voter education" project has helped some 700,000 Negroes in the Deep South to register to vote.

The council's registration project was concluded in October of last year. Some $900,000 was spent in preparing Negroes to vote. SRC is now analyzing data accumulated from the project and plans to publish its findings in a book.

The council does not actively participate in demonstrations and marches; however, its funds and research facilities have aided other civil-rights groups in successfully staging such activities.

Varied approach urged

SRC does not advocate "any single approach or any single organization" in its efforts to "open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice" in the South.

The biracial organization contends there is "a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means."

The council's purpose is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region."

A professional staff in Atlanta in addition to "field workers" dispersed throughout the South carry out the organization's counseling and fact-finding programs.

SRC is primarily a research organization. Its headquarters in Atlanta houses one of the nation's largest collections of newspaper and magazine clippings dealing with southern racial and political issues.

Library well stocked

Its specialized library contains volumes of pamphlets, reports, and field studies made by universities and various private and governmental agencies.

In addition to these, the council itself initiates studies aimed at what the group feels is the South's most critical problems. Recent studies have included: "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South," and "The Economic Status of Negroes."

One hundred distinguished southerners from both races comprise SRC. And more than 10,000 Negro and white Southerners are affiliated with the organization through some 200 community and state Councils on Human Relations.

Formed in 1954

The state councils were organized in 1954 to aid Negroes at the local level. The 11 councils were later made autonomous and a "grant in aid" set up to help them.

The local organizations tackle a variety of problems, such as teaching "culturally deprived" children, acquiring equal employment opportunities, and accelerating school desegregation.

"In North Carolina," a SRC staff member said recently, "there are over 800 college students working with school drop-outs and employment."

He added, "It's one thing to get students to participate in a march or to help out for a few weeks, but it's another thing to have them work week after week on their own time."

Interracial meetings spurred

A council in Canton, Miss., he said, is "trying to have interracial group meetings." Another typical SRC project was "Operation Opportunity."

The program, launched last summer, was an attempt to "prepare people to accept the Civil Rights Law."

What may prove to be SRC's most significant contribution to the civil-rights movement is its Southern Inter-Agency Conference. The Inter-Agency Conference links together all of the major civil-rights organizations "from the militant Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to the YMCA," as one staff member put it.

Work coordinated

Representatives of the major civil-rights groups meet periodically in Atlanta to discuss the various aspects of their movement. They map strategy for future projects and compare their individual approaches to the Negroes' problems.

SRC acts as a coordinator. With divergent opinions coming to the surface in the civil-rights movement, the Inter-Agency Conference offers a convenient sounding board for the various organizations.

In some projects — such as the voter education program — SRC financially supports and works with the other civil-rights groups. The council is financed by contributions from various foundations and charitable organizations interested in furthering SRC's cause.

The council was formed in 1944. It was an offspring of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, organized by a group of southern religious leaders in 1919.

SRC had not gone without criticism. In the days of its formation, the council's organizers were denounced as "meddlers and carpetbaggers from the North who are stirring up trouble."

Some Southern Negroes also joined in the attacks against the organization. Other critics told SRC they approved of "what you are trying to do but disagree strongly with the way you are going about it."

SRC reported recently that "the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South" but that "the job remaining is a vast one."

Referring to the goal of "equal opportunity," the council concluded, "we have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly."

Steam pastures

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Albany, N.Y.

An electric "mule" is being "put out to pasture" in a Schenectady museum.

Once used to tow ships through a Panama Canal lock, the locomotive is one of the earliest models used at the "big ditch." It is on its way to the American Museum of Electricity.

The engine will be towed over the last leg of its journey from Panama by the Delaware & Hudson Railroad.

The road will pick up the locomotive at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and transport it to Colonie, N.Y. It will be stowed at shops there until the museum completes its final exhibit space in Schenectady.

date Friday May — 1965

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The Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON, MASS.
D. 171,536

JUN 11 1965

Civil-rights front

Gains in voter education

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Staff correspondent of
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December 30, 1965

Chancellor Donald McNeil
University Extension
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Don:

I thought this might be of some special interest to you.

Best wishes for the coming year.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via

EFV:jb
Enclosure: Southern Teaching Program, 1965

File

Summer Project for the Southern Regional Council

L. Jerrilyn McGhee

I. There are two purposes for this project.

A. This project will provide the opportunity to study the reactions, experiences, and general behavior of children in an Atlanta ghetto.
B. This project will result in a written report of the entire project or some phase of it.

II. Several methods will be used in carrying out this project.

A. Regular visits will be made to the ghetto.
B. Conversations with the children will be encouraged.
C. The children will be involved in and exposed to as many different activities and situations as possible.

III. Various children will be studied.

A. If possible, from four to five children will be selected as case studies.
B. A larger group will be studied and the case studies will be included.

IV. Certain things will be particularly noted.

A. The children's likes and dislikes will be studied.
B. The extent to which the children's needs and desires are fulfilled will be given attention.
C. The children's aims and ambitions for the present and future will be noted.
D. The way in which the children reconcile (or do not reconcile) life in the ghetto with life beyond its bounds will be considered.
E. Their knowledge and evaluation of "life" as they see it will be of interest.
F. Their interest in persons in the ghetto, beyond, and in the news that they idolize.

V. The specific terms of the project are as follow:

A. The length of the project will be approximately eight weeks; from June 5, 1966 to August 5, 1966.
B. The hours will be flexible as the project worker will also be attending summer school at Atlanta University.
C. Two types of reports are to be made:
1. Regular oral reports will be made to Mr. Al Ulmer about the facts discovered during the

project.

2. A written report of the entire project or some phase of it is to be submitted to Mr. Pat Watters for publication in some form.

D. The project worker will be paid two hundred fifty dollars ($250.00) for the entire project.

BY-LAWS

of the

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

ARTICLE I. NAME, AREA, AND PURPOSES

Section 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated. The terms "Council" or "Corporation" used hereafter in these by-laws shall mean the "Southern Regional Council, Incorporated."

Section 2. Area. For the purposes of this corporation the Southern Region shall be defined as embracing the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. All members of the corporation shall be residents of this area. This area may be increased or reduced at any annual meeting of the members as hereinafter defined.

Section 3. Purposes. The purposes of the Southern Regional Council are to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain a Regional Council and to cooperate with like State organizations in the Southern Region for the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region; to reduce racial tension, the basis of racial tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, regional, and national agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives. The Council shall not engage in carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempt to influence legislation nor engage in any form of political activities.

ARTICLE II. MEMBERS

Section 1. Members.

A. The members of the corporation shall be not more than 80 or less than 64 persons, hereafter called members.

B. A member shall hold office for four years or until he shall have resigned, died, or been removed in the manner provided by Section 8 of this article. A member may be eligible to succeed himself; however, there shall be at least five new members elected each year.

C. Successors to members shall, upon expiration of terms or death, resignation, or removal, be elected by all members of the corporation, at the next meeting, following occurrence of such vacancy; except that, in intervals between annual meetings, the Executive Committee shall be empowered to fill vacancies in the membership of the Council.

Section 2. Notice of Meetings and Membership Rights.

A. Notice of the place, day, and hour of every regular and special meetings shall be given to each member not less than ten (10) days before the meeting, by delivering the same to him personally, or sending the same to him by telegraph or telephone or by leaving the same at his last known post office address, according to the records of the corporation. It shall not be requisite to the validity of any meeting of the Council that notice thereof shall have been received by any member who is present thereat or, if absent, waives notice thereof in writing filed with the records of the meeting either before or after the holding thereof. No notice of any adjourned meeting of the Council need be given.

B. The rights of any member in the corporation shall not be assignable or transferable, except in the case of proxies, as provided in Section 4 of this article and his rights shall cease with death, resignation, or termination of membership for any cause.

Section 3. Voting.

Each member shall have one vote and, except in cases in which it is by the charter or by these by-laws otherwise provided, a majority of the votes cast shall be sufficient to elect and to pass any measure. Voting by mail may be conducted on such questions and in such manner as may be provided by the Executive Committee.

Section 4. Proxies.

Any member entitled to vote at any meeting of members may vote either in person or by proxy. All proxies shall be given to members of this body only, and each one shall designate the name of the member who shall act as proxy. Every proxy shall be in writing, subscribed by the member, or his duly authorized attorney, and dated, but need not be sealed, witnessed, or acknowledged. Proxies shall be delivered to the secretary of the corporation before such meeting or to the inspectors at the meeting.

Section 5. Annual Meetings.

The corporation shall hold annually a meeting for the election of officers and for the transaction of general business at its principal office in Atlanta at ten o'clock a.m. on the second Wednesday in November in each year, if not a legal holiday, or at such other place and such other time as may be designated by the Executive Committee, provided notice of such meeting, including day, hour, and place, shall be given each member of the Council in writing at least thirty days in advance. Such annual meetings shall be general meetings; that is to say, open for the transaction of any business within the powers of the corporation without special notice of such business, unless otherwise provided in these by-laws.

Section 6. Special Meetings.

At any time in the interval between annual meetings, special meetings may be called by the president or any ten (10) members.

Section 7. Quorum.

Fifteen members of the Council shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at every meeting of the members; but if at any meeting there be less than a quorum present, a majority of those present may adjourn the meeting from time to time, but not for a period of over fifteen (15) days at any one time, without notice other than by announcement at the meeting until a quorum shall attend. At any such adjourned meeting at which a quorum shall be present, any business may be transacted which might have been transacted at the meeting as originally notified.

Section 8. Removal.

At any meeting called with that purpose stated in the call, any member may, by a majority of the votes cast, be removed from office for cause, and another be appointed in the place of the person so removed to serve for the remainder of his term. Permanent change of residence or citizenship to a point beyond the area, as defined in or pursuant to Article I, Section 2, will automatically terminate the membership of one so changing residence or citizenship.

ARTICLE III. FELLOWS

The Council may award honorary fellowships, not exceeding one hundred (100) in number, to Southerners who have demonstrated exceptional talent for constructive leadership.

Fellows shall be chosen in such manner as the Council may prescribe, provided they are well distributed as to race, sex, creed, occupation, and place of residence. The duties of fellows shall be to cooperate with the Council as observers, advisers, correspondents, and special representatives. Fellows may receive such honoraria or reimbursement of expenses incurred at the request of the Executive Committee as the Council may direct. The term of a fellowship shall be for two years, unless otherwise provided by the Council, and fellowships may be renewed or withdrawn at the discretion of the Council. Fellows need not be members of the corporation.

ARTICLE IV. COMMITTEES

Section 1. Executive Committee.

The Council shall provide for an Executive Committee of not more than nine (9) members in addition to the president and vice-presidents, treasurer and counsel. The Executive Committee shall serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be discharged and the Committee abolished at any time by the Council. Unless one of the members shall have been designated as chairman by the Council, the Executive Committee shall elect a chairman from its own number. During the intervals between the meetings of the Council the Executive Committee shall possess and may exercise all of the powers of the corporation, conferred by these by-laws or the charter of the corporation, in all cases in which specific directions shall not have been given by the Council. The Executive Committee shall keep full and fair accounts of its transactions. All action by the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Council at its meeting next succeeding such action, and shall be subject to revision and alterations by the Council; provided that no rights of third persons shall be effected by any such revision or alteration. Vacancies in the Executive Committee shall be filled by the Council or the Executive Committee itself during the interim between the Council meetings. All vacancies shall be filled from among members of the Council.

Section 2. Meetings of Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee shall fix its own rules of procedure, and shall meet as provided by such rules or by resolution of the Council, and it shall also meet at the call of the chairman or of any three members of the Committee. A quorum of the Executive Committee shall consist of not less than five (5) members of the Committee. If necessary, members of the Executive Committee may by written notice appoint a proxy from among the members of the Council to attend and vote on behalf of such members.

Section 3. National Advisory Committee.

The Council may establish a National Advisory Committee, composed of persons who reside outside the area of the Southern Regional Council and who are sympathetic with the aims and policies of the Council, whose purpose shall be to advise the Council on matters pertaining to its work.

Section 4. Nominating Committee.

There shall be a Nominating Committee of not less than five (5) members. Three members shall be elected by the Council from its membership at its annual meeting. Two members shall be appointed by the joint action of the President and the Executive Committee. The Nominating Committee shall meet not less than thirty (30) days before the annual meeting for the purpose of nominating: (1) members of the Council, (2) officers of the Council, (3) members of the Executive Committee and (4) three members of the succeeding Nominating Committee. As provided in Article II, Section 1-B, the Nominating Committee shall include the names of at least five new persons in its slate of nominees.

Section 5. Other Committees.

The Council may by resolution provide for such other standing or special committees as it deems desirable and may discontinue the same at pleasure. Each such committee shall have such powers and perform such duties, not inconsistent with these by-laws, as may be assigned to it by the Council. If provision be made for any such committee, the members thereof shall be appointed by the Council. Vacancies in such committees shall be filled by the Council or by such committee or officer as the Council may authorize to fill such vacancies.

ARTICLE V. OFFICERS

Section 1. Executive Officers.

The executive officers of the corporation shall be a president; one or more vice-presidents, not to exceed four; an executive director; one or more assistant directors, a secretary, and a treasurer. The president, vice-presidents, and treasurer shall be chosen from among the members of the corporation. The executive director, assistant directors, and secretary shall not be members of the corporation. The offices of secretary and treasurer may be held by the same person, in which case the secretary-treasurer shall not be a member of the corporation. The president and vice-presidents shall be elected annually by the Council. The executive

director and assistant directors, secretary-treasurer, and counsel shall be subject to confirmation annually by the Council, upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee. Officers shall hold office until the corresponding meeting in the next year, and until their successors shall have been fully chosen and qualified, or until they shall have resigned or shall have been removed, in the manner provided in Article II, Section 8. Any vacancy in any of the above offices shall be filled for the unexpired portion of the term by the Council, at any regular or special meeting.

Section 2. President.

The president of the corporation shall serve as chairman of the Council. He shall, when present, preside at all meetings of the Council, and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 3. First Vice-President.

At the request of the president, or in his absence or disability, the first vice-president shall perform all the duties of the president; and when so acting shall have the powers of the president; and shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 4. Additional Vice-Presidents.

Each additional vice-president, if any, shall perform the duties of the office in order of his rank and shall have such powers and perform such duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 5. Executive Director.

The executive director shall be charged with the execution of the program and policies of the Council as defined by the Council, and shall be responsible directly to the Council. He shall have general charge and supervision of the employed personnel of the Council, he may sign and execute, in the name of the corporation, all authorized deeds, mortgages, bonds, contracts, or other instruments, except in cases in which the signing and execution thereof shall have been expressly delegated to some other officer or agent of the corporation; and he shall perform such other duties as, from time to time, may assigned to him by the Executive Committee or by the Council.

Section 6. Assistant Directors.

The Assistant directors shall work in cooperation with the executive director in the administration of the program and policies of the Council. In the absence or disability of the executive director, one of the assistant directors will be designated by the executive director, or by the executive committee, to perform, temporarily, the duties of executive director.

Section 7. Secretary.

The secretary shall keep the minutes of the meetings of the Council and of the Executive Committee, in books provided for the purpose; he shall see that all notices are duly given in accordance with the provisions of these by-laws, or as required by law; he shall be custodian of the records and of the corporate seal or seals of the corporation; he shall see that the corporate seal is affixed to all documents, the execution of which, on behalf of the corporation, under its seal, is duly authorized, and when so affixed may attest the same; and, in general, he shall perform all duties incident to the office of a secretary of a corporation, and such other duties as, from time to time, may be assigned him by the Council or by the by-laws.

Section 8. Treasurer.

The treasurer shall have charge of and be responsible for all funds, securities, receipts and disbursements of the corporation, and shall deposit, or cause to be deposited, in the name of the corporation, all monies or other valuable effects in such banks, trust companies, or other depositories as shall, from time to time, be selected by the Council; he shall render to the president and to the Council annually, and at other times whenever requested, an account of the financial condition of the corporation; and, in general, shall perform all duties incident to the office of a treasurer of a corporation, and such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 8A. Secretary-Treasurer.

All or some of the duties contained in Sections 7 and 8 may be assigned to one person. This person will be designated Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 9. Controller.

The office of controller may be created by the Council, and the duties and authority of such officer shall be fixed by the Council.

Section 10. Counsel.

The duties and authority of counsel shall be fixed by the Council, and he shall be a member of the Council, by virtue of his office.

ARTICLE VI. AMENDMENTS

These by-laws, or any of them, may be altered or repealed, and new by-laws may be adopted at any annual meeting of the members, or at any special meeting called for that purpose, by the vote of a majority of the members represented in person or by proxy and entitled to vote thereat, provided that such proposed change has been submitted to the membership at least thirty (30) days prior to the meeting.

NOTE: Amended version, approved by the full Council, November 11, 1959.

STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

What is right for the South to do has become what is practically urgent for the South to do. During the five years since the Supreme Court's decision in the School Segregation Cases, vast transformations have occurred throughout the world. One has only to recall the advent of space explorations; the fearsome developments in military weapons; the incredible industrialization of China; the growing economic and technological power of the Soviet Union; the emergence of African and Asian nationalism; or the formidable increase of the earth's population.

During these same years, the South has straddled the realities of the twentieth century. Its zeal for economic progress has kept pace with the times. But much of its political leadership, in vain adherence to the unconstitutional practice of segregation, has seceded from reality.

Not for long can this contradiction be kept from blighting the South's economic chance, its moral vigor, and the remnants of its once great capacity to supply statesmen for the country. Nor can the damage be kept from invading the self-interest of every Southerner -- the business man whose operations are endangered by the decay of law and order, the worker and consumer whose fortunes depend on the health of the economy, the youth whose education is threatened by interruption. Unless thoughtless resistance to both law and reality can be outgrown, the region will be a liability to the nation and the cause of human freedom which the South has believed itself to love.

Fortunately, there is a growing understanding that school closings, violence, demagoguery, and the products of defiance come with a price tag. The South has moved far in recent years toward reclaiming its economic equality with the rest of the nation; only the ignorant or the self-serving would willingly risk destroying that progress. To avoid that danger, however, realism alone compels us to discard our outworn myths and prejudices and face up to the imperatives of change.

AN URGENT OBJECTIVE is to get the issue of school desegregation out of the courts and into the hands of responsible educators.

Southern communities need to redefine their school problem. Instead of "How can we keep Negroes out?" or "How few can we admit?", they need to consider, "How best can we educate all our youth?" By revising the question, one moves from an emotional to a professional problem, to be solved primarily by educators; and that is as it should be.

For example, we strongly oppose the use of so-called pupil placement as a political device to evade or thwart desegregation. When placement is not guided by professional concern and criteria, but is designed to perpetuate racial separation, its use will only prolong the South's unrest.

In the present climate there can be value in plans, such as that of Louisville, which permit both Negro and white students relatively easy transfer out of assigned schools. But plans which put on the Negro child and parent the total social and psychological burden of achieving desegregation are unjust and patently intended to escape the law. It is indefensible that children should have to run the gauntlet of hostile officials in order to enjoy their rights under law.

THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM assumes that when the law has been declared in a case, all persons in similar situations will comply, even though not parties to the case. Neither American constitutionalism nor the common law contemplates an endless web of litigation for the spreading of every legal concept. Nor is this the path to rewarding human relations.

Irresponsible political leadership has decreed this ordeal of litigation, and in some states this leadership is so far unwilling or unable to undo the obstruction it has caused. But positive local leadership has been available in certain areas of the South. In six Southern states, more than 200 school districts have initiated desegregation without conflict and without the compulsion of a specific court order. Hesitant and limited though many of these changes have been, they are at least beginnings toward voluntary compliance with the law. They give witness to the fact that where responsible leaders take the initiative, desegregation can be handled by Southerners without turmoil or court decrees.

Those communities which have desegregated, whether voluntarily or through court order, are now free, as they never before have been, to solve the problems of race relations. They can do so by adopting the only approach that has ever had realistic promise -- that is, by treating their Negro citizens as individuals, not as impersonal "problems." Instead of submitting themselves grudgingly to court direction, they can control their destinies by moving on their own initiative to end segregation in good faith.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL was conceived sixteen years ago out of the conviction that Southerners themselves must ultimately work out democratic solutions to the South's problems. We cannot -- any more than the rest of the world's people -- control the global pressures which bear in upon us and dictate the inevitability of change. But we can and must be accountable for the way in wiich we respond to these historic forces of our time.

We remain convinced that the South, out of its long experience and abundant kindliness, will someday set an example

for every part of the world where persons of different color live together. The way to begin is with white and Negro citizens planning together school systems that will respect the personality and rights of each student, and to do this as one phase of a general movement to end segregation in all public life.

Thus will we hasten the time when Southerners are distinguished from each other by individuality, not by race, and are bound to each other by a consciousness, not of color, but of common humanity.

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method -- that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President

James M. Dabbs
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-Presidents

Josephine Wilkins
Athens, Georgia

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President,
S. R. C.
Linville Falls, North Carolin

Chairman, Executive Committee

John H. Wheeler, President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PROGRAM

The Council's present functions may be summarized briefly as follows:

1) Research and publications on southern problems and developments are a continuous concern. As a storehouse of information, the Council has provided through its files and staff facts and interpretative comment to virtually every writer, researcher, and important publication in the nation. SRC reports are available to the general public and are in demand by news media, public officials, educators, students, and others. The Council publishes a monthly magazine, New South, with a circulation of about 6,000. In all of these efforts, SRC has a national reputation for accuracy, objectivity, and soundness.

2) State Councils on Human Relations were organized in the Southern States by the Council in 1954. During 1957 the state groups became independent organizations, but SRC's supporting efforts continue. Staff members make field visits to counsel the state groups on program and organizational development, furnish publications and information, and SRC continues financial aid.

3) Consultative services to private and official agencies by staff, board members, and specialists enlisted by the staff have taken place at the invitation of local and national groups and organizations on every phase of the desegregation process.

4) The Voter Education Project began in 1962, and is one of the most important projects of SRC. The VEP studies the causes of low voter registration in the South to ascertain the most effective methods for increasing the southern electorate and it works cooperatively with other groups such as the National Association of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and various locally organized groups which apply for aid in voter registration. This project ends in 1964, except for evaluation and publication of research reports.

5) The Fellowship of the Concerned, under the direction of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, director of Women's Work for the SRC, grew out of the old Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Mrs. Tilly recognized a need for bringing together key women leaders--Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish--for annual institutes, workshops, and conferences to share ideas and convictions.

6) The briefing and scheduling of foreign visitors, referred to the Council by the State Department and other public and private agencies, is an interesting and sometimes time-consuming part of SRC's services. Most of these visitors are either government officials or other persons of stature and influence in their countries interested in learning more about progress in race relations and racial justice in the South.

7) As a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with southern problems, the SRC has, since 1957, convened (usually quarterly) the Southern representatives of more than 50 organizations. The resulting plans and projects include development of joint field activity, cooperative fact-finding, joint sponsorship of publications, and coordination of efforts to avoid duplication.

POLICY AND AIMS

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region.

The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically.

A portion from "A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council" aptly indicates the Council's goal: It is: "The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be regarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or any other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God."

--April 1956; reaffirmed, November 1962.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience.

It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method--that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Financial Support

The Council enjoys a wide range of support from church denominations, trade unions, business firms, and individuals. However, the major portion of the Council's operating funds are received from the leading national foundations.

A proposed public statement to be placed before the Council on November 25 for discussion and approval.

A

STATEMENT OF VIEWS

By the
Southern Regional Council

I. Three Centuries of Moral Crisis

The South's history for centuries has been intertwined with the travail of racial unrest and injustice. This injustice has been condoned and shared by the other sections of the United States and, indeed, has been part of the common practice of the European-American world. There is nowhere we can turn that the infection of racial prejudice and discrimination has not spread.

These are days of turmoil, but also of hope. Negro Southerners, and Negro Americans generally, in their long struggle against injustice have steadfastly rejected the self-defeating temptations of those who proclaim that Negroes should segregate themselves from whites behind their own wall of hatred; of those who have advocated organized violent reprisal against white men; and of those who by insidious teaching and tactics have urged Negro Americans to join the ranks of the world-wide Communist conspiracy

against constitutional democracy. They have, on the contrary, held to their faith in American institutions and to the inextinguishable instinct of men to deal fairly and honorably with each other.

White Southerners have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian relation. They have been subverted in great numbers by bodies such as the Ku Klux Klan and the white Citizens Councils, which are a corruption of all that American ideals proclaim. Even worse, they have in yet larger numbers surrendered to those social and economic desires and conveniences which blunt the moral sensitivity of men and women toward their neighbors.

Today, however, white Southerners are manifesting a new and a quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence. Generations of white and Negro people have equally and together built this region, imparted to it what virtues and strengths it has, and made the South's positive contributions to the nation and to all mankind.

Out of affection for the South, and out of a belief in the sanctity of every individual as a child beloved of God, we offer the following thoughts to the public in this year 1963, the centennial of several great events of

American history and a year also of unprecedented disorder and anxiety.

II. The Two Leading Issues

In the past, and most especially during the last 80 years or so, the South has deliberately created laws and public policies to keep its two races apart and to discriminate against its Negro citizens. At the same time, southern political leaders contended that law can never be used to bring the two races together or to suppress discrimination. They had thus effectively removed from Negro Southerners every power and privilege of protest, except the privilege of leaving family and neighbors by moving to the North or West.

That we have progressed far in the years since World War II is evidenced by the fact that the present two issues of greatest urgency to our domestic tranquillity are the uses of law and public policy to undo the wrongs of the past, and the right and propriety of protest demonstrations to speed this process.

III. Law is the Servant of Justice

As to the first issue, and while recommending that voluntary solutions to cure racial inequities should always be sought diligently by both white and Negro leaders, we think there is a clear necessity for legislative and executive

actions by the local, state, and federal governments. We are not, in the South or in the country as a whole, starting from scratch; we have an enormous housecleaning and re-building job, and governmental power should be employed for this public service.

Under our system of federalism, most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments. Only their failure to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary, because the condition of our Constitutional rights and of our race relations is a national burden and disgrace. In this connection, we take great encouragement from those federal court decisions and those state enactments which are ending to some extent the vicious and undemocratic apportionment of seats in our legislatures and in Congress; there is good reason to hope that, as urban centers of the South are accorded their fair representation, and government thereby becomes responsive to majority opinion and needs, a new and more responsible politics will grow up in the South.

The increase of federal concern and activity in recent years has done much good. However, Congress and the President need to recognize fully and clearly the two requirements of what is called the "Negro revolt." One

is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise. The other is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the national economy.

The federal government does not serve the public well when, through either legislative or executive actions, it offers minimal help; when it treats symptoms and not the problems; when it merely palliates disorders, leaving them to fester and nag at the nerves of the people; when it enacts measures or makes pronouncements as mere gestures of appeasement, empty of real consequence.

Moreover, there is a large area of direct federal responsibility where action, though hearteningly begun, has been far from enough. We refer to the administration of federal programs, particularly those involving the distribution of large sums of money, as in various grants-in-aid, in agricultural assistance and subsidies, in research subsidies, and in procurement of supplies. The federal government has no right, we believe, to allow its money to be spent in ways that perpetuate or strengthen discrimination against the welfare of any class of citizens.

Again we indicate our belief that vital problems of race relations could be well settled by state and local communities. We commend those southern cities which in

recent months have established effective bi-racial committees. We believe that the essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents. We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual, and that only as it does so will it itself prosper.

We believe that the South, difficult as are its present problems and unhappy as its history has been, can, nevertheless, make a new social life that is richly humane, because it will have grown out of the honestly faced and concrete necessities of a common life. As today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration. We are optimistic that a new South, born of struggle, will, with courage and intelligence, re-shape its economic and educational practices as needed to integrate all its people into a society that serves the free and full development of each individual.

The means to this end is a thoroughly democratic, thoroughly responsible politics.

IV. An Historic Opportunity

There is no virtue *per se* in street demonstrations, but only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of

the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South.

Through this movement Negroes seek no rights or privileges for themselves alone. They seek only those belonging to all American citizens. A wise society would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status.

Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership. The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal Constitution, of justice and of religion.

We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either. Bitterness and prejudice are now, as they have always been, the conditions against which the responsible institutions of American society -- governments, churches, press, educational and professional institutions, business corporations -- must contend and which they must rectify.

We commend those Negro and white citizens who, through lawful assembly, peaceful picketing, and other forms of orderly demonstrations have used the methods of democracy to advance human rights.

We commend their leaders, who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be non-violent, in spirit as well as in form.

Statement - 8.
November 1963

We ask the nation's understanding of and compassion for those white Southerners who, because of the teaching and example of their civic leaders, perpetuate violence and spread malice. We would remind our fellow Southerners that, as the record clearly shows, the bombers, the killers, the haters never act except in areas where they are tolerated by official and community attitudes.

We come back, therefore, to the need for strengthening the leadership of the South. Because we believe profoundly in democracy, we think that democratization of southern public life is the pathway to strength. We believe that the greatest contribution which Negro Southerners can made today to the national welfare and to their own is to register and to vote responsibly, and, together with white citizens, to establish truly representative government in the South.

The qualities which are exhibited in the protest demonstrations are qualities that deserve other outlets. Patience, forbearance, faith in human decency, reliance upon intellectual and moral power -- these are qualities needed in politics, in the schools and universities, in the churches, in business, in all of our society. May this nation have the wisdom to draw strength from them.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PAPERBACK BOOK DISTRIBUTION PROJECT

I. Introduction

This is a pilot project to ascertain the usefulness of low-cost paperback books in making more adequate reading materials available to disadvantaged persons, and generally opening new channels for improved human relations. While the major emphasis is on placing books in areas where access is generally insufficient, there is also an obvious interest in distributing specific kinds of books to institutions which have not previously made such material available. Books are available not only in general catagories, but by specific titles and special interest areas.

Massive distribution is definitely not the object of the program. Funds are limited and the goal is to place a certain number of books in carefully selected institutions or projects which are representative of the most promising uses to which the books can be put. Since this is an experiment in the effectiveness of such distribution, it is necessary that a specific proposal be submitted for each placement and that follow-up reports be made about the effects of the placement.

This project is not intended to permanently involve the Southern Regional Council in a program of book distribution. Instead, the long term objectives are: (1) initiating programs which would be adopted and possibly expanded by other appropriate agencies, especially public ones; (2) involving local groups in this area of concern, and giving them a direct exposure to the disadvantaged of their community through these specific program approaches; and (3) providing certain materials to programs which now exist and can be enhanced through this service. Therefore, the books are not to be placed in temporary projects which exist only to handle these books. Rather the goal is to place them in programs which will continue to operate and serve these needs.

The object of a continuing operation should not discourage the use of the books in new and creative programs. Because this project is experimental, new approaches to the problem of providing reading materials to the disadvantaged will be given full consideration and should be encouraged.

II. How The Books Will Be Distributed

The types of programs which will be considered are as follows (the programs are definitely not limited to those below):

(1) Establishing or supplementing libraries in primary and secondary schools. For schools with extremely inadequate libraries, "packages" of books are available, including 100 selected classics and other scholastically-oriented works. In addition, pleasure reading materials can be had, such as adventure and sports stories. For schools with adequate libraries, supplemental materials may be added, such as Negro history and race relations. The latter would be appropriate for any school, white or Negro.

(2) Providing reading material for tutorial programs, adult education groups, "Head Start" parents groups, and similar adult programs. For general reading, a great variety of books are available, including "limited vocabulary editors" of the better-known classics. Also, materials for practical application are available, such as home-making books, books on home repairs, job skills, clerical training, and the like.

(3) Establishing or supplementing community libraries or bookmobiles. A broad range of materials, for both children, youth and adults would be appropriate here. Although not a deliberate purpose of this program, it would be desirable if such libraries could be subsequently taken over and maintained by public libraries.

(4) Children's books are in demand in many fields, such as day care centers, "Head Start" programs, and for distribution to parents participating in adult education programs. Since children's books are not generally published in paperback editions, these may be somewhat more expensive to obtain, and therefore the quantity will be smaller.

Each organization desiring to receive books for a program should submit a proposal to the Southern Regional Council. This should be written by the person who will have direct administrative responsibility for the use of the books, and should include the following information: (1) a brief discription of the organization or institution, (2) how the books will be used, (3) if the book program is already in existence, what has been its past operation, (4) what persons will have access to the books, (5) how will the books be distributed (loan, sale, give-away, etc), (6) what specific needs will be served by this use of the books, (7) what type of books are needed, in what quantity, and what, if any, specific titles, (8) if you receive books, what plans are there for the future continuing operation of the program?

All books will be obtained by SRC and shipped from Atlanta at our expense.

III. What Books Are Available

Almost any book published in a paperback edition can be had. As previously mentioned, we expect to be able to provide cardboard-back children's books.

The books are being bought wholesale from a major paperback distributor, and we will have access to the distributor's computerized book selection system. Therefore, it will be possible for a prospective recipient of the books to submit a general catagory of books that are needed, and with the aid of the computer, the appropriate titles can be furnished. It is anticipated that in most instances

recipients will request catagories of books rather than specific titles. When this is done, we will be able to use our personnel resources to select the most appropriate material, as well as utilize the computer.

In some cases, it may be more desirable to receive a broad variety of books for certain reading levels, rather than specific catagories. If this approach is used, additional books could be sent to supplement the materials in the variety which prove to be most popular or useful.

On the other hand, if specific catagories of books are desired, the following are suggested as examples of those you may wish to consider:

(1) American history, (2) classical American literature, (3) classical literature from other countries, (4) Civil Rights movement, (5) race relations, (6) community improvement, (7) international relations and world politics, (8) limited vocabulary material (adult), (9) secondary school materials on public affairs, (10) secondary school materials for pleasure reading, (11) children's books, (12) home-making skills, (13) job skills (vocational training) (14) African history, culture, and politics, (15) the labor movement, and (16) the history and organization of cooperatives.

The material selected for these catagories may have an emphasis on the human relations aspects of the subject matter, such as children's books with an emphasis on new friends of other races or American history with emphasis on the Negro's role.

If more specific catagories are needed, such as home repairs, automobile mechanics, or learning to read, you are encouraged to request any such catagories you feel appropriate.

In selecting catagories, it should be remembered that persons with very little reading experience, or those who have little motivation to read, will generally need an introduction to books that stress adventure, sports, love stories, and topics which may seem trite to the more sophisticated reader. Therefore, books going to less experienced readers should not be primarily those which are the best in

academic or literary terms. Appropriate catagories shown above would be "limited vocabulary material (adult)" and "secondary school materials for pleasure reading."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TEENAGERS, ADULTS LEISURE READING

Across Five Aprils (Grosset-Tempo)
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn
Adventure of Robin Hood
Adventures of Tom Sawyer
African Treasury
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass
All Quiet on the Western Front
All the King's Men
An American Tragedy
Andersonville (Sig.)
Animal Farm
Anna and Her Daughters
Anne Frank: Diary of a Young Girl
April Morning
The Assistant
Away All Boats

Banners at Shenandoah
Basketball
Batman books
Beany and the Beckoning Road
Beasts of Tarzan
Beatles in a Hard Day's Night
Becky's Island
The Bedford Incident
Behind the Plate
A Bell for Adano
Beverly Hillbillies Book of Country Humor
Billy Budd and Typee
Black Arrow
Blackboard Jungle
Born Free
Boy Next Door
A Boy Ten Feet Tall
Brave New World
Breaking the Bonds
Bridges at Toko-Ri
Buffalo Chief
Bulfinch's Mythology
But Not Next Door

Call of the Wild; White Fang
Call Them Heroes. Books 1-4 (Silver-Burdette)
Cannery Row
Casino Royale
Catcher in the Rye
Chad Hanna
Cheaper by the Dozen
Childhood's End
A Christmas Carol
Chucklebait
City Boy
A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court
Count of Monte Cristo
Crash Club
Cry, the Beloved Country

Dangerous Summer
A Day in the Life of President Kennedy
Dennis the Menace books
Deputy's Revenge
Devil's Advocate
Diamonds are Forever
Drag Doll

Earthlight
East of Eden
Easy to Make Gifts
Elizabeth and the Young Stranger
Exodus

Fall of the House of Usher

Family Nobody Wanted
Fate is the Hunter
Fighting Angel
Fighting Marines
The Fighting Southpaw
Folksongs for Fun
For Bond Lovers Only
For the Love of Peanuts, other Peanuts books (Schulz)
For Your Eyes Only
Fresh and Salt Water Fishing
Fury

Genghis Khan (Lamb)
Georgia Boy
Glory Be !
Goldfinger
The Good Earth
Goodbye, Mr. Chips
Grapes of Wrath
Great American Short Stories
The Great Escape
Great Expectations
Great Sea Stories
Great Tales of Action and Adventure
Gus Wilson's Model Garage

Harte of the West: 17 Stories by Bret Harte
His Eye Is on the Sparrow
Hobbies for Pleasure and Profit
Hot Rod
Hot Rod Angels
The Hound of the Baskervilles
How to Draw and Paint
How to Write a Song
Humor of J.F.K.
Hunchback of Notre Dame
Hurry Sundown

I Always Wanted to Be Somebody
Immortal Poems of the English Language
The Incredible Journey
Inherit the Wind
Inn of the Sixth Happiness
Invasion: They're Coming
Ivanhoe

The Jungle Books

Kidnapped
Kim
Kon-Tiki

Language of Love
A Lantern in Her Hand
Lassie Come-Home
Laughing Boy
The Learning Tree
Legend of Sleepy Hollow
My Life as an Indian
The Light in the Forest
Lilies of the Field
The Living Tide
Lord of the Flies
Lost on Venus

The Mad Sampler
Major American Poets
Man on a Raft
The Man Who Never Was
The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis

Mastermind of Mars
McCall's Book of Paper, Wood and Paint Crafts
McCall's Make Your Own Decorations and Gifts Book
Member of the Wedding
The Miracle Worker
Mister Fisherman
Moon Fleet
The Moon is Down
Moonraker
Moonstone
The Most Dangerous Game
My Antonia
My Life and Hard Times
My Lord, What a Morning
The Mysterious Island
Mysterious Stranger and Other Stories

Nature Crafts
New Pocket Anthology of American Verse
New Treasury of Folk Songs
The Night They Burned the Mountain
1984
The 1965 Olympic Guide
No Time for Sergeants

Of Mice and Men
Official Rules of Card Games
Old Man and the Sea
Old Yeller
On the Beach

The Pearl
Pocket Book of Stories-O. Henry
Popular History of Music
Prince and the Pauper
Prison Nurse
Pro Football Handbook
Pudd'nHead Wilson

Quest of the Snow Leopard

A Raisin in the Sun
The Red Badge of Courage
The Red Pony
Robinson Crusoe
Romance of Leonardo Da Vinci
Romeo and Juliet and West Side Story
Run Silent, Run Deep

Sartoris
Scaramouche
The Scarlet Letter
Screwball
Sea Wolf
Serpent's Coil
Seven Days in May
Seventeen
Shane
The Shook-up Generation
A Single Pebble
Six Great Modern Plays
Somebody Up There Likes Me
The Spy Who Loved Me
Stories from the Twilight Zone
Stories My Mother Never Told Me
The Story Catcher
Strangest of All
Street Rod
Study in Scarlet and Sign of the Four
Superman books

Sweet Thursday
Swiss Family Robinson

Tales of the Incredible
Tales of Terror and Suspense
Teahouse of the August Moon
Teen-Age Dance Book
Teensville, USA
Ten Modern American Short Stories
Three Comedies of American Life
Thunderball
Time is the Simplest Thing
The Time Machine
The Time of Her Life
To Kill a Mockingbird
Tobacco Road
Tortilla Flat
The Train from Katanga
Travels of Marco Polo
Treasure Island
The Tunnel Escape
20,000 Leagues Under the Sea
Two Years Before the Mast

Vietnam Diary
Von Ryan's Express

The Wanderer
War Beneath the Sea
War of the Worlds
What Then Is Love
Where's Annie?
Wit's End

You Only Live Twice

A Zoo in my Luggage

CLASSICS SHELF AND LIMITED VOCABULARY EDITIONS

THE BASIC ONE HUNDRED

Pride and Prejudice	Jane Austen
Sense and Sensibility	Jane Austen
The Wizard of Oz	L. Frank Baum
Jane Eyre	Charlotte Bronte
Wuthering Heights	Emily Bronte
The Age of Chivalry	Thomas Bulfinch
The Age of Fable	Thomas Bulfinch
The Way of All Flesh	Samuel Butler
Alice's Adventures in Wonderland	Lewis Carroll
The Moonstone	W. W. Collins
Lord Jim	Joseph Conrad
The Deerslayer	James F. Cooper
The Last of the Mochicans	James F. Cooper
The Pathfinder	James F. Cooper
The Pioneers	James F. Cooper
The Prarie	James F. Cooper
The Red Badge of Courage	Stephen Crane
Two Years Before the Mast	Richard Henry Dana
Pere Goriot	Honore de Balzac
Robinson Crusoe	Daniel DeFoe
A Christmas Carol	Charles Dickens
David Copperfield	Charles Dickens
Great Expectations	Charles Dickens
Oliver Twist	Charles Dickens
A Tale of Two Cities	Charles Dickens
The Mutiny on Board H.M.S. Bounty	William Bligh
The Hound of the Baskervilles	A. Conan Doyle
Silas Marner	George Eliot
The Mill on the Floss	George Eliot
The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin	Benjamin Franklin
The Vicar of Wakefield	Oliver Goldsmith
The Mayor of Casterbridge	Thomas Hardy
The Return of the Native	Thomas Hardy
Tess of the D'Urbervilles	Thomas Hardy
The Outcasts of Poker Flat	Bret Harte
The House of the Seven Gables	Nathaniel Hawthorne
The Scarlet Letter	Nathaniel Hawthorne
Twice-Told Tales	Nathaniel Hawthorne
O. Henry, The Four Million and Other Stories	O. Henry
The Odyssey	Homer
Green Mansions	W. H. Hudson
The Legend of Sleepy Hollow	Washington Irving
The Ambassadors	Henry James
The Story of My Life	Helen Keller
Captains Courageous	Rudyard Kipling
Kim	Rudyard Kipling
The Call of the Wild	Jack London
The Sea Wolf	Jack London
White Fang	Jack London
Evangeline	Henry W. Longfellow
The Prince	Niccolo Machiavelli
Moby Dick	Herman Melville
Typee	Herman Melville
The Scarlet Pimpernel	Baroness Orczy
The Oregon Trail	Francis Parkman
Edgar Allen Poe, Selected Stories And Poems	Edgar Allan Poe
Men of Iron	Howard Pyle
Aesop's Fairy Tales	Aesop
Ivanhoe	Sir Walter Scott
As You Like It	William Shakespeare
Julius Caesar	William Shakespeare
Hamlet	William Shakespeare
Macbeth	William Shakespeare
The Merchant of Venice	William Shakespeare
A Midsummer Night's Dream	William Shakespeare

CLASSICS SHELF AND LIMITED VOCABULARY EDITIONS

THE BASIC ONE HUNDRED

The Tempest	William Shakespeare
Twelfth Night	William Shakespeare
Man and Superman	George Bernard Shaw
Frankenstein	Mary Shelley
The Jungle	Upton Sinclair
The Black Arrow	Robert L. Stevenson
Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde	Robert L. Stevenson
Kidnapped	Robert L. Stevenson
The Master of Ballantrae	Robert L. Stevenson
Treasure Island	Robert L. Stevenson
Dracula	Bram Stoker
Gulliver's Travels	Jonathan Swift
Walden-Essay on Civil Disobedience	Henry David Thoreau
A Connecticut Yankee in King Arhtur's Court	Mark Twain
Huckleberry Finn	Mark Twain
Life on the Mississippi	Mark Twain
The Prince and the Pauper	Mark Twain
Tom Sawyer	Mark Twain
Around the World in Eighty Days	Jules Verne
A Journey to the Center of the Earth	Jules Verne
Master of the World	Jules Verne
The Mysterious Island	Jules Verne
Michael Strogoff	Jules Verne
Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea	Jules Verne
Robin Hood	E. Charles Vivian
Ben Hur	Lew Wallace
The First Men in the Moon	H. G. Wells
The Food of the Gods	H. G. Wells
The Invisible Man	H. G. Wells
The Time Machine	H. G. Wells
The War of the Worlds	H. G. Wells
Leaves of Grass	Walt Whitman
The Virginian	Owen Wister
The Picture of Dorian Gray	Oscar Wilde
The Swiss Family Robinson	Johann Wyss

(Entire set ordered as a unit)

LIMITED VOCABULARY--

Billy Budd (1000 word level)
Golden Trails (2000 word level)
The Red Badge of Courage (2000 word level)
The Turn of the Screw (2000 word level)

CHILDREN'S BOOKS--LEISURE

Abe Lincoln Gets His Chance
The Adventures of Pinocchio
Aesop's Fables (Dell)
Ah Fu: A Chinese River Boy
Alice Gets a New Look
The Anytime Rings
Bambi
Barney Beagle
Black Beauty
By Myself (I-III)
Case of the Aluminum Crutch
The Cat Book
Child's Garden of Verses
Child's Story of Ancient Days
Colors Are Nice
Coming of Flame
Day with Debbie*
The Dog Book
Donald Duck Book
The Duck on the Truck
The Elephant Book
Every Child's First English Color and Learn Book
The Fir Tree
Fish Book
Flame, Son of Silver Cloud
Four Seasons with Suzy*
Fun with David*
Fun with Dots
The Gilead Bomb
Golden Shape Books
Happy Children
The House that Jack Built
Humpty Dumpty Book
Hurry Up, Slowpoke
I Made a Line
In the Big City*
Jack and the Beanstalk
King Who Learned to Smile
Laugh with Larry*
Little Gray Mouse and the Train
New Girl at Merrywhether
Night Before Christmas
Our Animal Story Books
The Owl and the Pussycat
Penny Takes the Stage
People Read (Macmillan--Bank Street Readers)
Peter Pan
Popeye
Question and Answer Book
Read-Aloud Funny Stories
Robin West: Freshman Nurse
Robin West: Nurse's Aide
Samax, the Gladiator
Secret of the Dark Stranger
The Selfish Giant
Sturdi Contour Books
Sunny Days in the City*
Sunshine Book
Surprise in the Tree
Tip Top Elf Rand McNalley Golden Future Coloring Books
Three Bears and Goldilocks
The Tracy Twins in Japan
12 Days of Christmas
Wizard of Oz
Wonderbooks
The Wouldbegoods (Penguin-Puffin)
Wynken, Blynken & Nod

*1st grade readers with integrated pictures

NEGRO HISTORY, CULTURE, RACE RELATIONS, AFRICAN HISTORY

The African (Signet)
African Heritage
African Independence (Dell)
Africa's Freedom
American Race Relations Today
The Angry Black South
Before the Mayflower--History of the Negro in America (1619-1962)
Black Boy
Black Humor
Black Like Me
Black Metropolis
Black Muslims in America
Black Nationalism
Black Treasure (Barlow, Tempo)
But Not Next Door
Cool World
Crisis in Black and White
Essays on the History of the American Negro
Fight for Freedom: Story of NAACP
The Fire Next Time
Fire-Bell in the Night
For Human Beings Only
Freedom Summer
From the Back of the Bus
Geography of African Affairs
Go Tell It on the Mountain
A Handbook of African Affairs
Home to Harlem
I Always Wanted to Be Somebody
Inside the Ku Klux Klan
In White America
Invisible Man
Lift Every Voice: the Lives of Booker T. Washington, W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary Church Terrell, and James Weldon Johnson (Doubleday)
Mind of the South
Mississippi: the Closed Society (Harvest)
The Movement (Hansberry)
Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes
Native Son
The Negro in the Making of America
Negro in the United States: A Brief History
Negro Question
The Negro Revolt
Negro Today
Nigger
Nobody Knows My Name
Notes of a Native Son
On Being Negro in America
Portrait of a Decade
Race and Nationality in American Life
Roosevelt Grady
Sex and Racism in America
Souls of Black Folk
The South and the Southerner
South Town
Southern Temper
The Story of Jazz
Strange Career of Jim Crow
The Strength to Love
Stride Toward Freedom
This is My Country Too
The Troublesome Presence
Up From Slavery
We Shall Overcome (Dell)
When the Word is Given
Who Speaks for the Negro
Why We Can't Wait
Years Pictorial History of the American Negro

HISTORY (MAINLY AMERICAN)

Abraham Lincoln (Charnwood)
Age of Jackson (Ment.)
The Age of Napoleon
America and Its Presidents
America as a Civilization
America in Perspective
American Labor (Pelling. U of Chicago)
The American Scene: 1600-1860
Americans All: Story of our Latin American Neighbors
Ark of Empire: American Frontier, 1784-1803
Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin
Autobiography of Will Rogers
Background to Viet Nam
Banners at Shenandoah
The Big Change: America Transforms Itself, 1900-1950
Book About American History
Brief History of the U.S.
China: the Country Americans Are Not Allowed to Know
Christopher Columbus, Mariner
Cimarron
Citizen Tom Paine
The Civil War: A New One Volume History (Mentor)
Combat: War with Germany
Combat: War with Japan
Day Lincoln Was Shot
Day of Infamy
Documentary History of the U.S.A. (Heffner)
Eight Courageous Americans
The Final Challenge: the American Frontier (1804-1845)
Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Age of Action
George Washington (Mentor)
The Good Years (1900-1914)
The Great Adventure: America in the First World War
The Great Dissenters
Great Untold Stories of World War II
Here to Stay
Hiroshima
A History of Russia
History of the U.S. Since 1945
Hitler, A Study in Tyranny
Hoofbeats of Destiny: Story of the Pony Express
How and Why Wonder Book of the American Revolution
If the South Had Won the Civil War
Indian-Fighting Army
Indians of the Americas
Inside Europe Today
The Last Days of Hitler
Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of 18th Century America
Life on the Mississippi (Twain)
Main Street, U.S.S.R.
Nation Divided
The New Asia
New History of the United States
A Night to Remember
The 19th Century World
The Octopus
Only Yesterday
Our 50 United States
Paul Revere and the World He Lived In (Sentry)
Peking and Moscow
Picture History of the Modern World
A Pocket History of the United States
President Kennedy Selects Six Brave Presidents
Presidents of the USA: Profiles and Pictures
Rebels and Redcoats
Roughing It
Secrets of the Past
Sink the Bismarck
Stillness at Appomattox
Stories of Modern America

They All Discovered America
Thomas Jefferson
A Time to Stand
The Wall
When the Legends Die
Wonders of the World
Woodrow Wilson and the New America
The World of Ancient Man
World War II in Pictures

SCHOOL SUBJECTS, SKILLS, REFERENCE BOOKS

Art of Being a Successful Student
Basic Algebra Self Taught
Basic Biology Self Taught
Basic Chemistry Self Taught
Basic Facts of Human Heredity
The Body in Action
Books That Changed the World
Butterflies and Moths
College Scholarships and Loans: Who Gets Them--How and Why
Complete Handbook of Better English
Computers: the Machines We Think With (Dell)
Darwin and the Modern World View
Double Your Reading Speed
Economics in One Lesson
Electronics for Everyone
Engineering
English for Everyone
English Through Pictures, Books 1 and 2
Everglades National Park
Everyday Arithmetic Self Taught
Exploration of Space
First Workbook of English
Flowers
Fossils
Fun with Words, Grade 1, 2, and 3
Fun with Words and Pictures
Getting Ready to Read
Grade One Practice Workbook Reading
Grammar Self-Taught
Great Inventions
Growing Plants
Help Your Child Succeed in School
Heredity, Race, and Society
How and Why Wonder Book of Beginning Science
How and Why Wonder Book of Our Earth
How Much Is a College Degree Worth to You
How the Great Religions Began
How to Become a Better Reader
How to Get Higher Marks in School
How to Prepare for College
How to Study
How to Study Better and Get Higher Marks
The Human Body
The Human Mind (Curtis Co.)
Ideas of the Great Economists
Little Book of Stars
Machines that Built America
Mammals
Man in Flight
Math, Grade 1, 2, 3, 4
Mathematics in Everyday Things
Mathematics Tables and How to Use Them
New American Guide to Colleges
New American Webster Handy College Dictionary
New Hammond World Atlas
The New Mathematics Dictionary and Handbook
New Ways to Greater Word Power
Number Fun
Pacific Northwest
Parent's Guide to Children's Reading
Penguin Dictionaries (Art, Music, Politics, etc.)
Penguin Encyclopedia
People and Places
Pictorial History of Western Art
Picture History of Painting
Rapid Vocabulary Builder
Reptiles and Amphibians
Sailing
Satellites, Rockets, and Outer Space
Science Projects Handbook
The Sea Around Us
Sea Shells

SCHOOL SUBJECTS, SKILLS, REFERENCE BOOKS

Seashores
Shortcuts to Effective English
Silent World
Southwest
Stop, Look, and Write
The Strange Story of Our Earth
30 Days to a More Powerful Vocabulary
3-In-1 Workbook, Grade 1 and 2
Trees
20 Steps to Perfect Spelling
Walt Disney Story of Our Friend the Atom
Weather
Words Most Often Misspelled and Mispronounced
You and Your Senses
Zoology

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

The Bantam Book of Correct Letter Writing
Career Guide for Young People
The Delso Sisters, Beauticians*
From High School to a Job
How to Be an Effective Secretary
How to Become a Government Girl
How to Land the Job You Want
John Leveron, Auto Mechanic*
Marie Perrone, Practical Nurse*
The Millers and Willie B.; Butcher, Baker, Chef*
1001 New Job Opportunities
1001 Top Jobs for High School Graduates
Opportunities in Agricultural Engineering
Opportunities in Free Lance Writing
Opportunities in Machine Shop Trades
Opportunities in Office Occupations
Opportunities in Pharmacy Careers
Opportunities in Recreation and Outdoor Education
Opportunities in Social Work Careers
Opportunities in Teaching Careers
Six Ways to Get a Job
So You Want to Be a Doctor
So You Want to Be a Lawyer
So You Want to Be a Nurse
Television as a Career
Touch Typing in 10 Lessons
Writing Fiction

*Follett. Vocational Reading Series, Lerner and Moller, 1965)

More books to be added.

THE FAMILY--HEALTH, REARING CHILDREN, DOMESTIC SKILLS, HOME REPAIRS

Accident Handbook
All New Fannie Farmer's Boston Cooking School Cook Book
Ann Landers Talks to Teenagers About Sex
Ann Pillsbury's Baking Book
The Art of Dating
Be Happier, Be Healthier
Becoming Parents
Better Homes and Gardens Baby Book
Betty Bissell Book of Home Cleaning
Bulky Knitting
Calories, Vitamins, and Common Sense
Children's Knitting
Complete Book of Knitting and Crocheting
Complete Guide to Home Sewing
Cookbook for Beginners
Drink, Eat, and Be Thin
Encyclopedia of Clothes Care
Etiquette and Manners
Explaining Life to a Child (Dell)
Facts of Life and Love for Teenagers
Facts of Love and Marriage for Young People
Family First Aid
Family Legal Adviser
Family Medical Encyclopedia
Fannie Farmer Junior Cook Book
Fathers Are Parents, Too
First Aid for the Ailing House
Gardening the Easy Way
Good Housekeeping Book of Baby and Child Care
The Handy Book of Gardening
Heloise's Housekeeping Hints
Home Maintenance: Quick and Easy Guide
Household Encyclopedia
Householder's Manual
How to Clean Everything
The I Never Cooked Before Cookbook
Infant Care (Lancer Books)
Instant Household Tricks
Instant Kitchen Tricks
Key to Physical Fitness
McCall's Easy Sewing Book
New Handbook of Modern Birth Control
New Ways in Sex Education
Nutrition in a Nutshell
On Life and Sex
1001 Questions and Answers from the Family Handyman
The Painless Way to Stop Smoking
Planned Parenthood
Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care (Spock)
Pregnancy and Birth
Premarital Dating Behavior
Protecting Yourself and Family
Sewing: New Ways, New Tools
Sex and the Adolescent
So You're Going to Be Married
Social Security and Medicare (Dell)
Stop Dieting: Start Losing
Tell Me, Doctor
To Goof or Not to Goof
The Vanishing Adolescent
Your Adolescent at Home and in School
Your Complete Home Medical Reference Book
Your Happiest Years

COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

ABC's of Community Planning (Sears)
ABC's of Urban Renewal (Sears)
America Tomorrow, Creating the Great Society
Basic Facts of American Government
Conventions and Elections: 1964 (Dell)
Democracy in America (Mentor)
Democratic Way of Life
Federalist Papers
Handbook of Everyday Law
Handbook of Practical Politics (Henry Holt & Co.)
How to Succeed in Politics
Living U.S. Constitution
Making of the President
A Manual for Direct Action (Quadrangle Books)
National Relocation and Housing Guide
Our American Government
Parties and Politics in America
The Peace Corps (Kittler)
Politics and Policies in State and Local Governments (Prentice-Hall)
Questions and Answers on American Citizenship
Report of the County Chairman
Slums and Suburbs
The U.N. and How It Works
U.S. Political System and How It Works
The Wasted Americans
What We Must Know About Communism (Overstreet)

CONSUMERS, COOPERATIVES

Buyer's Guide to Nearly Everything
Consumer's Guide to Better Buying
Family Handbook of Dollars and Sense
How and Where to Borrow Money
How to Borrow Money
How to Get More for Your Money
How to Lower Your Food Bills
How to Spend More, Owe Less, and Live Better
Principles of Cooperation (Bogardus, Cooperative League of USA)
Sense with Dollars
Something of Our Own (H.J.K. Publishing Co., Jackson, Miss.)
Vice President in Charge of Revolution (McGraw Hill)

SA

MEMORANDUM

TO: LWD

FROM: SDB

SUBJECT: Future SRC Publications: Possible Projects

DATE: 9/13/63

Attached herewith are the outlines of several projects we might consider undertaking as future SRC publications. In some cases, these projects are barely more than an idea at the moment. But if we feel that they have merit, we can develop them further.

--SDB

Three Cities Individually Examined (Cont).

--Outlook; how far and how fast will city continue desegregation; what obstacles confront it; what prospects are pleasing.

4) Conclusion

A summing up, pointing out what other southern cities can learn from the experiences of these three; what steps they took might be applied elsewhere, what mistakes avoided.

Of the cities discussed above in Section #2, my pick would be these: Brunswick, Baton Rouge, and Durham. One is a small Deep Southern city, the second a growing metropolis which has gone from 40,000 in 1940 to well over 200,000 today, and the third a medium-sized inland city of the upper South. Alternates would be: Asheville, Memphis, and Norfolk, one a mountain city, the second a Mississippi port city with a Deep South tradition, and the third a seaport city of the upper South. Let's discuss.

As for possible writers, my first choice is Reese Cleghorn. He's a good reporter and writer, has a first-hand knowledge of what's been happening in the South (including on-the-scene observation of Albany and Birmingham), and has turned out numerous freelance pieces. Moreover, he knows the kind of stuff we put out and could prepare his piece accordingly.

Walter Reugaber is another good possibility. He is now covering the racial scene for the Journal, is certainly au courant about happenings in Brunswick, and strikes me as a perceptive reporter who can turn out a readable and reliable story. He, too, is available for freelance assignments.

Slyvan Meyer is also worth considering, though I'm not as familiar with his work. But he's sure been involved in the race crisis, and he sure knows what should go into an SRC report. And he has his own private plane.

Two longshots might be Pat Watters or Karl Fleming. Since we plan to publish this report this fall, I don't think there's much use our seeking out a writer in the groves of academe.

# # #

Addenda

One point and/or problem to keep in mind about this project: it's liable to be an expensive proposition. Besides trip expenses, it seems to me that the minimum fee we can offer is $300.00 or $100 per city. Actually, $375 would seem a fairer fee. So I wonder if we can charge this project off to the leadership project.

Possible Projects: "A Tale of Three Cities."

1) Basic Idea.

To describe and discuss how some southern communities have made quiet but substantial progress in improving race relations and in desegregation of their public facilities, private businesses, etc. The report is to focus on three southern cities as examples of what can be achieved if Southerners of both races are willing to work in concert instead of wrangling in conflict.

2) Possible Cities.

a) Asheville, N. C.--Thomas Wolfe's hometown has come through this summer of strife unmarred by demonstrations and undisturbed by racial tension. On June 13 total desegregation of all public and commercial facilities was urged by the City Council, which also adopted an ordinance repealing Article 23 of the City Code, a measure which prohibited the sale of property to Negroes in a predominately white neighborhood. The city has a ~~bixx~~ Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12, formed last spring. Five lunch counters and three drive-in restaurants desegregated without incident in late June. Apparently, the city has been willing to accept desegregation with little of the difficulty experienced by other North Carolina cities. We may want to check on recent developments in Asheville, but it does appear to be a good candidate for consideration.

b) Baton Rouge, La. --While Louisiana's capital city has a poor past record (e. g., the December '61 demonstrations) and while there have been demonstrations there this summer, it appears that things are on the upswing ~~thxx~~ now. A bi-racial committee has been formed, the first of its kind in the state. Three Negro policemen have been hired, 12 lunch counters desegregated, and 28 Negro students enrolled in white schools without trouble. True, BR has a long way to go yet, but at least it now seems headed in the right direction. It is also an example of a relatively large Deep South city which has ~~xxxxxxx~~ moved from die-hard resistance to desegregation to gradual acceptance of it. The way in which the city ~~xxx~~ went about making this change, the way in which it met the challenge and averted the crisis of school desegregation, ~~xxx~~ may provide some lessons that similar cities in the Deep South can apply when it comes time for them to do likewise. I think it merits our consideration as another promising candidate.

~~xx~~

c) ~~Brunswick~~ Brunswick, Ga.--Since the Brunswick story is familiar to you, I see no need to recount it here. But a detailed account of recent developments there may ~~x~~ provide some valuable information to readers elsewhere in the South, particularly those in relatively small Deep South cities. Furthermore, ~~xxgxx~~ by taking a good, hard look at the city, our writer may come up with some new angles and new aspects on the story of the city that, as M. S. Handler's Times story described it, sought "an accomodation with the Negro population without pressure of court actions or demonstrations." In short, a very promising candidate.

d) Charlotte, N. C.--Since this city has already received great publicity as a result of its ~~xxxxx~~ desegregation policies, including an SRC L-Report and the spotlight of ABC-TV's cameras, I think it would be a waste of time for us to repeat an already much-told story.

e) Durham, N. C.--Durham, on the other hand, has ~~xxx~~ not been given a big play by the press and TV. ~~Xxxxx~~ It has, admittedly, had its share of troubles, with 1,400 arrested during demonstrations there last May. But because of or in spite of these demonstrations, Durham has moved fast and far on the desegregation front in recent months. ~~Xxxxly~~ Virtually all its hotels, motels and restaurants have desegregated; at least 31 business firms and/or factories have adopted open employment policies; the Junior Chamber of Commerce has dropped its "white only" membership clause; and a bi-racial committee ~~xxx~~ appointed by the mayor is, according to a phone chat I had with Hohn Wheeler ~~xxf~~ some weeks back , in full ~~x~~ swing. Another worthy candidate, I'd say.

f) Knoxville, Tenn.--As the city which pioneered the "Open City" plan, Knoxville has received a very favorable press, notably a feature story in the National Observer and the Stokeley's piece in the N . Y. Times magazine. But they were written just after the plan had gotten underway. We might examine how it is working now, what Knoxvillians of both races think about it, how it might be adopted by other southern cities, what the outlook is for the city's future progress. Incidentally, Paul Anthony has mentioned the possibility of an SRC report on Knoxville on several occasions. To do such a report might represent a case of research providing what the field desires and needs.

g) Mobile, Ala.--It's true that Alabama's "honeysuckle heaven" has a pretty good record in race relations, particularly when compared to Birmingham and Montgomery. But just how far has Mobile moved in opening its doors to Negroes? And what, with the Birchers on the warpath, are its chances for progress in the immediate future? Even though now has a desegregated high school, its school troubles do not appear to be over. In short, I'm inclined to think Mobile's reputation in race relations is somewhat overrated.

h) Memphis, Tenn.--Very little has been reported about Memphis during this season of turmoil. But no news is most surely good news about a southern town right now. The city has a permanent bi-racial committee, a number of desegregated hotels and restaurants (in fact, all first-class motels and hotels desegregated May 20, were followed May 30 by all public recreational facilities except swimming pools in compliance with Supreme Court order), and a long-standing record of good relations between Negroes and whites. Another point: Memphis is an oasis of progress in a desert of die-hard segregationism, the Delta country. Merits serious consideration.

i) Norfolk, Va.--The most progressive as well as the largest city in the Old Dominion, Norfolk is another town which has not made headlines this summer. Its city council has appointed a 25-man bi-racial committee, all major movie theaters have desegregated, and, according to a Citizens Advisory Committee report July 23, over 75% of the city's motels and hotels have agreed to integrate. Recommend consideration.

3) Story Breakdown: Tenative Outline.

a) Introduction

--Explain the purpose of this report.

--Cite cities chosen; brief explanation of why chosen.

--Compare and contrast similiarities and differences.*

b) The Three Cities Individually Examined (i. e. a section devoted to each city)

--background information on each city--its history, character, size, principal industries, attitude and size of its white and Negro population respectively

--Previous record in race relations.

--When and how each city went about desegregating. Results, Pro&Con.

--Character and composition of its bi-racial committee.

*For example, the Negro vote is minute and unimportant in Baton Rouge, while in Durham no office seeker can hope to be elected without the Negro vote.

III

Possible Projects: State Executive and ~~Federal~~ Civil Rights.

1) Basic Purpose: to prepare a study similar to Fed Executive and Civil Rights which would stress what southern state governors could do in this field.

2) Plan of Attack

Initially, I was strongly in favor of this project. And I still am if we can determine just how much power a state governor has to employ in the civil rights field. This I simply don't know. But in looking over the constitutions of Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas, I get the impression that a state executive does not ~~enjoy~~ wield as much executive authority as the federal executive. In fact, the Texas constitution places the bulk of ~~fxxx~~ governmental power in the hands of the legislature, while in Florida, as Bill Havard makes clear in THE POLITICS OF MISREPRESENTATION, the governor is actually more of a figurehead than a force.

I would, therefore, suggest that our first step should be to have a few outside authorities on state governments prepare us memorandums outlining the powers of the respective southern governors. This memo would, hopefully, tell us exactly what the governor of a particular state can do and what he cannot, what steps might be taken to improve the lot of the Negro that thus far have not been taken. It would also point out the limitations on the governor's power. And possibly it might conclude by setting forth a civil rights program that could be undertaken by a particular governor in his capacity as state chief executive. I would imagine that what we want such a memo to provide is much like what you were looking for in the fed executive memo prepared by Dan Pollard. At least, that memo ought to give us guidelines.

Rather than having separate memos prepared by separate people~~x~~ for each state, I suggest we ask a consultant to serve for two or three states. For example, Bill Havard would be a good man for Florida and Louisiana. Maybe Donald Strong of Alabama could handle that state and Mississippi. Perhaps Dan Pollard could take North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee (in view of fact he has previous experience with this kind of memo). Marion Wright could handle South Carolina, and I think we could investigate Georgia ourselves. Off hand, I can't suggest anyone for Texas and Arkansas, but as noted above, the governor of the Super Americans has limited executive power.

Once these memos have come in (and obviously this won't be next Tuesday), we can decide if the project has merit. If it does, the next question is this: do we prepare the study on a state-by-state basis or do we concentrate on those powers which are ~~xxxxxx~~ enjoyed by most, if not all, southern governors. A state-by-state study would be exhaustive, and possibly exhausting, but it might also be more valuable.

Incidentally, another aspect of this ~~xxxxxx~~ matter of state executive authority is this: like the U. S. President, a state governor takes an oath to uphold and ~~xxxxxx~~ support the state constitution. What interests me about this is the fact that the constitutions of every southern state have a bill of rights. And the state bills, at least those I've seen, are almost carbon copies of the U. S. Bill. Hence, in Georgia, for example, "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, except by due process of law." Point: ~~xxxxx

IV

Civil Rights, 1963.

Possible Projects: The News of the Year in Review, ~~1963~~

~~Basix~~

Basic Purpose: to present a summing up of developments in the civil rights field during the critical year of 1963.

Discussion

This special report would be along the lines of what Henry suggested in his SRC evaluation. It would briefly trace the major events of this year (i. e., Birmingham, Washington March, civil rights bill, etc.). It would also ~~xxxly~~ assess and analyze the progress of desegregation in the South during the past year, particularly with regard to schools and public accomodations. Assuming the civil rights bill has gotten through Congress, we would probably want to have a section devoted to it. Briefly, here is a tenative outline of what I have in mind:

Introduction

~~Sit~~ This section would outline the purpose of the report and stress the importance of 1963 as possibly the turning point of the civil rights struggle. It would briefly sum up the accomplishments and set-backs of the year and try to place the events of the year in their historical perspective. ~~Ixwouldxpointxtoxthe~~

The Progress of Desegregation

--in public accomodations

(Perhaps, if possible, we could have a state-by-state breakdown of developments in this area)

--in public schools

(also have a state-by-state breakdown)

Civil Rights Bill

Discussion of its provisions (assuming it's passed), what it does and does not provide

~~Ox~~ Outlook

Where do we stand in civil rights as year ends; what ~~xx~~ is the outlook for 1964, a presidential election year.

Appendix

Chronology of ~~xx~~ principal events in the South in 1963.

Possible Projects: Other Ideas

1) School Textbooks and the Race Question.

What does a southern child, Negro or white, learn in school and from school textbooks about present and past race relations in U. S. ? How is the '54 decision and subsequent develpments covered in textbooks?

If possible, this report would examine what is being taught in the various public schools of the various southern states about the most important problem confronting the South today--and tomorrow. Somewhat like the plan for getting information on state executives and civil rights, I think we would have to call upon SRC friends in the individual states to find out what is being taught. It's really a pretty simple matter: our correspondents would be asked to go through the history or civics textbooks used in their respective states, compile a report of ~~this~~ their findings, and sent it into us. It might be useful, too, for them to give us some idea of the people and procedures involved in the selection of textbooks for use in public schools.

Along this line, I noted a recent news item reporting that a town in Louisiana was urging the state education board to drop all textbooks published by MacMillan since the company has just published a textbook showing ~~pink~~ pictures of Negro children in schools with ~~wht~~ whites.

2) Violence and Intimidation

~~xTink~~ Think we should consider the possibility of updating the '59 report on violence and intimidation in the South.

3) ~~The~~ Racial Crisis and the Press

Maybe we could get ~~Mr~~ Sylvan Meyer to do a sequel to his earlier report on how the southern press is handling the racial crisis today, comparing coverage and editorial comment today with that of a few years ago. How much change has there been in emphasis, opinion, and coverage of this story? ~~What~~ How much is racial news being slanted? ~~Whatxarexthe~~ Examples of good treatment and examples of bad.

4) Southern Policemen

While this idea is still somewhat nebulous, it is related to the recommendation that SRC concern itself with matters not directly connected to race problems. It is, of course, indirectly connected.

What I have in mind is a study of why southern police forces are as good ~~and~~ or as bad as they are. This report would examine the type of person who joins a police force, his background and education. It would look into the ~~mirror~~ salary scales of southern police, compare them with those in other parts of the country and with the salaries of similar professions. It would discuss the eduaation requirements of various southern police forces and other requirements. It would describe police training programs. It would go into the rate of turnover on southern police forces. It would try to reach some conclusions about the strong ~~and~~ points and weak points of such forces, makes some recommendations for improvement, and suggest reforms where reforms are needed.

All this may sound like a tall order, but we might at least consider it.

5) A Negro Looks at His Profession.

This idea was provoked by Gormillion's observation that the SRC doesn't deal with problems but rather with people. I wonder if we couldn't undertake to do a series in which various Negro professional men discuss and describe the position of a Negro in such professions as law, medicine, education, and business. What obstales confront a Negro lawyer, for ~~example~~ example, that do not confront a white lawyer. What is the quality of their training, etc. If you think this germ of an idea has merit, we can examine further.

10-4-63

SA

Les:

2 things that occurred to me during editorial conference but there didnt seem a chance to say:

1. Maggie Long's NYTimes piece ~~x~~ showing much as Hannah Arendt did Eichmann the human side of totalitarianism-- is it the kind of thing that we could reproduce? A lot of people don't see (or read) the Times Magazine.

2. The radio propaganda (right wing, seg) in the South and nationally-- has anybody done a study of it, and if not, would it be the kind of thing we could do? TRB in New Republic cites it often as 1 of the main reasons for the Goldwater craze. But nobody else, as far as I know, pays any attention to it-- except of course for the ignorant people who soak it in...

Pat Watters.

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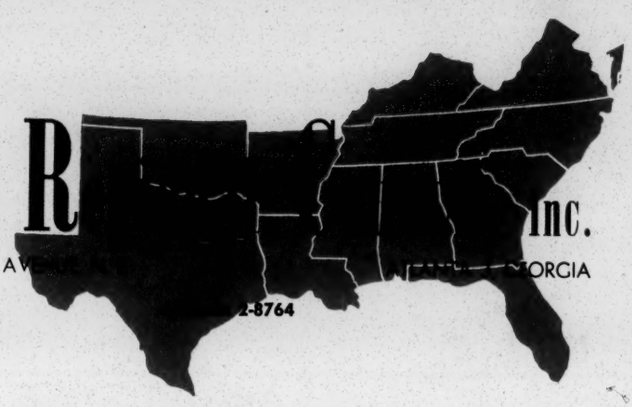

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[redacted]ORGIA
[redacted]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 10/4/63

To: LWD From: SDB

Subject: Research Odds & Ends

Les,

Since you got away before I could brief you on a few matters that you may want to think about or act on while I'm gone, herewith a rundown on them:

1) October Publications--While we have nothing big slated to come out while I'm gone, I do think it might be well to bring out a new L-Report and take 4 of our civil rights crisis synopsis (which Barbara is already preparing). As for L-Reports, two ideas come to mind. They are respectively: a) if the series is good, I think we might reprint Susanna McBee's upcoming D. C. Post series on what happens to schools and to the pupils in them after they are integrated; From what Susanna told me last week, I gather the series will start running shortly and I'll ask Vernon to keep an eye out for it; and b) an L-Report describing and discussing the bills of rights to be found in the constitutions of southern states. I have left the constitutions with Barbara and mentioned the idea to her. From what my lawyer friends tell me, civil rights lawyers have not brought suit on the grounds of violations of a state's bill of rights for two reasons: a) because they want to get the case in federal court, and b) because [redacted] state judges are not likely to decide a case on such grounds. I think we should check with Wiley or Don Hollowell about this. But whatever the reason cases haven't been bought, I don't think anyone has ever raised the point before, and it does seem worth noting that state and local officials in places like Albany, Orangeburg, Selma, Americus and Greenwood are not merely violating the U. S. Bill of Rights but the bill of rights of their own state constitutions. So maybe you and Barbara will want to discuss preparing such an L-Report.

2) Earlier Research Memo--Re "A Tale of Three Cities," if you want to write possible authors for individual pieces on individual cities in my absence, a good man in Norfolk would be: William Tazewell, Editorial Page, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot. In Baton Rouge, you might try Martha Wilson of the BR State Times or our old friend Bill Havard (a native of BR). In Mobile, there's a features writer--and liberal--with the paper named Vivian Cannon (a gal). I mention this only because I think we may want to get cracking on this while

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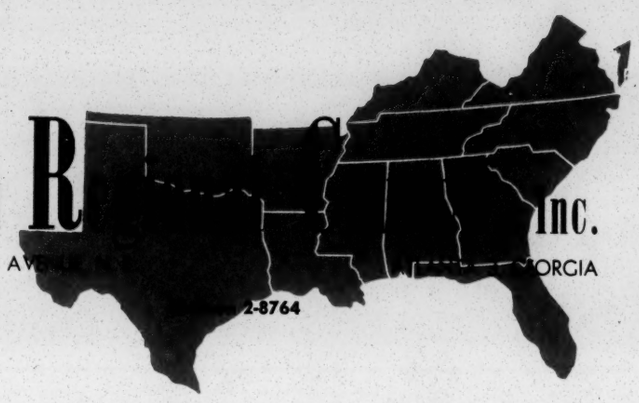

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

 Date 10/4/63

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: Odds & Ends

I'm away. Re Textbooks project, I didn't write Ed Barber of Harper & Row because I am planning to have lunch with him in NYC tomorrow. I will discuss the matter with him at that time, particularly the possibility of our getting sample textbooks direct from the publisher. I'll let you know by mail what I find out.

3) Direct Action--So far as I'm concerned, you-all have a carte blanche to do whatever you want to this second draft, revise it, rearrange it or rewrite it. Paul, as usual, had some good points, and you may wish to discuss them with him, ~~ix~~ particularly his feeling there is a need for "more sophisticated thinking" (no sophisticated thinker, me). I might just say that I've tried to make the piece what you said you wanted, namely a narrative history. It is certainly more that than a think piece. Maggie mentioned that you'd said something about running it as a NEW SOUTH special. That's fine with me; in fact, I've felt all along it is really more suitable as a NEW SOUTH piece than as an analytical SRC special report. It may well be you'd prefer to hold it till I return, and that's fine too except I do think that if we're going to run this piece we should do so soon. Coming right now while there's a relative lull on the civil rights front (that, of course, may change tomorrow) and before the civil rights bill comes up in Congress, it might attract some attention, might make people at least see that the so-called Negro revolt ain't something that happened overnight, ain't something that began just this past summer. In sum, do whatever you think is best.

4) Religion and Race--So far we've heard from three readers (Harmon, Charles Wittenstein and John Youngblood). Their reports have, on the whole, been favorable. Like me, they think Part III should either come out or the bulk of it run as an appendices. Lord knows this thing still needs plenty of work, but the consensus thus far seems to be that we should by all means publish the study. Incidentally, Mr. D., I've a small bone to pick with you about this: you were the guy who said send the second draft out ~~and~~ unedited, which, for the most part, we did. So why all this sighing and suffering Monday about doing what you yourself had asked? At any rate, our readers so far

seem to think the draft is a great deal more than a collection of notes. Indeed, their reactions have been a great deal more favorable than my own. Since Montez regards this piece as [redacted] she would a child of her own (so she told Youngblood and me yesterday), handling it--and handling her--is going to require being a diplomat-psychiatrist as well as an editer, as I'm sure you're aware.

5) I've told Maggie that if anything strikes me as a relevant New South piece during my journey, I'll prepare same. I'll also forward any clips which appear to be good examples of English and Spanish coverage of the American dilemma today.

Many thanks for allowing us the time to make this journey; we 'll try to make it up to you and SRC when we get back. Till then, keep the homes [redacted] fires burning.

Cheers&Cheerio,

Saigl

Population
Negro Political, Economic, Moral Power
Negro "Mood"
Education *
Behavior *
Housing - Urban Rural *
Income - Employment *
Labor Union
Health - Welfare
Agriculture
Politics of Race ??

Bogalusa - Virginia
Education - Atlanta
Behavior - Houston
Housing - Jacksonville
Income - South Carolina
South Carolina
Health - Nashville
Agriculture - Louisiana

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LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

June 29, 1965

MEMO TO: Research Dept. Staff

FROM : SA

I would like to meet with the entire research department staff at 11:30 this morning in the conference room. Thanx.

BP
BB
BSM
MA

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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July 15, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Samuel Adams

From: Leslie W. Dunbar

Ordering books for the library is a continuing chore that does not take much time, but does require constant attention and intelligent selection. We have not had this chore organized systematically; perhaps you can do so.

As I understand it, it has worked something like this: Members of the staff request books for order through Nobbie; Nobbie places the order; when the books are received, Bernice Morrison catalogs them. I previously have done much, maybe most, of the selecting. You should have this responsibility instead of me.

Nobbie usually orders directly from the publisher. In years past, we used to place our orders through Rich's, and that involved a little less letter and check writing, and you might want to discuss the pros and cons involved and consider placing orders either through Rich's or some other local book store.

There should be a better arrangement than now exists between the library and Maggie Long. Maggie receives a number of books for review and, unless these books are actually reviewed in New South, they should go to the library and SRC could save the expense of buying them.

Our library should be a "selection" and not a "collection." We tend to order everything about southern race relations; most things about the South, especially politics and economy, and most things about race relations generally unless they are such that they are of no obvious interest to anyone except social scientists.

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LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

July 27, 1965

MEMO TO: LWD

FROM : SA

RE : Hill Foundation Program

We should help screen exchange professors from UNCF colleges. They should show some degree of "community" interest in addition to educational abilities so they will be helpful to our program after their return. Presidents get too much leeway for nominations of this sort. Faculty committees or some combination is better. SI's in our summer teaching program might be helpful in screening. Certainly, our state directors of CHR would like the involvement. It might give them an entre to untapped resources at some of the colleges.

For initial recommendations, I am sending copy of Don Hughes letter to Paul Gaston, suggesting that he keep his eye open for someone from the behavioral sciences or economics. You might want also to have other contacts at various UNCF schools aware of our interests.

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LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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M E M O R A N D U M

SA
Hankypa

September 7, 1965

TO LWD

FROM: SA

The first installment of the housing studies won't be completed until after Lloyd returns from vacation. So it must be withdrawn from the tentative schedule of publications to go to the printer this month, for he will be away about three weeks.

Marge will finish reading galleys of The Migrant Farmers piece on Wednesday, after which I will ask Barbara to drop it by your place for you to do a short foreword.

The rural school piece will go to the printer Thursday.

Southern R Inc.
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LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

August 19, 1965

TO LWD, PA
FROM: SA

Norman Francis in New Orleans won't be available to me until Friday, but I won't wait until then to get started. Partly because I have some legal documents to sign there, I will route myself through St. Petersburg, where I want to discuss the civic education program with Don Baldwin, whose opinions I respect.

I will arrive in New Orleans Thursday night for my first huddle with Francis. He and I will have all day Friday to talk with others there.

On Friday night or early Saturday, I will be taken in tow by Ken Dean. I'll remain in Mississippi through Monday, possibly, and will see Aaron Henry just before leaving for Memphis, since he lives in the northern part of the state.

My plans are to return to Atlanta Monday night. With the remainder of the week in Atlanta, I should be ready for Washington, North Carolina, and South Carolina, beginning for the following Sunday, August 29.

THE ITINERARY INCLUDES:

THURSDAY -- Tampa - St. Petersburg -- Don Baldwin

FRIDAY -- New Orleans -- Norman Francis

SATURDAY -- Memphis, Tenn. -- Sugarman

SUNDAY -- Clarksdale, Miss. -- Aaron Henry

MONDAY -- Jackson, Miss. -- Ken Dean, Guyot, Jewett

TUESDAY through SATURDAY - - Atlanta

SUNDAY -- August 29 thru Tuesday -- Washington, D. C.
Bureau of Census; Louis Martin;
Branton, Holman, and Don Slaiman

MEMO TO: LWD, PA -- August 19, 1965 -- 2.

WEDNESDAY -- Chapel Hill and Durahm
Prothro, Esser, Matthews, cancelled

THURSDAY -- Columbia, South Carolina
Dick Myles

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LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
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M E M O R A N D U M

October 25, 1965

TO: RHA

FROM: SA

Please be advised that Kit Taylor's employment is to be terminated as of October 31, 1965. Please comply with usual routine in such matters.

Thanx

Southern F Inc.
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n 2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

November 10, 1965
11:05 a. m.

FROM: NM

Bernice, P. A. has requested that the attached xerox copy and the report "Programming for Civic Education " be mailed to Wiley Branton -- VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY -- Label attached accordingly.

Also, he asked that the reports "Southern Justice" and "School Desegregation Under a New Law" be mailed -- First Class Mail, label also attached.

Paul asked that these be mailed IMMEDIATELY!

Thanx

FYI - SA

November 19, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

To: BCC

From: PW

Please follow the following for distribution of Ross Green's pamphlet:

2
3 - 1
4
5
6
7
8
9 (1 & 2)
10
11
12
13
17
19
FCR
VIP

Thanx.

PW:js

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303
[illegible]n 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

November 23, 1965

TO: Doris Reed

FROM: Samuel Adams

This confirms our offer for your full-time temporary employment during the month of December, provided you are able to adjust your business to meet our regular office hours. This offer is partly due to the very satisfactory way in which you have carried out assignments given you.

Also, your working seven (7) hours each day for the next four remaining days in this month, November 23, 24, 29 and 30, at the pay rate of $1.50 per hour , is hereby confirmed in this memo.

While we are not able to assure you, at this tiem, that this arrangement will continue beyond December 31, we hope that our financial and staff situation might eventually make this possible. Your rate of pay for the month of December will be $300.00.

Included in this offer are our regular staff benefits, and time off including the Christmas holidays. Regular office hours are from 9:00 a. m. to 5:00 p. m. with time off for lunch.

cc: RHA

December 9, 1965

MEMORANDUM

To: PA
From: SA

On November 14, 1965, the full text of our double justice report was run in the St. Petersburg Times with illustrations and a special report prepared by the newspaper on Florida's "Checkerboard Justice." The articles appeared on page 1-D -- the Sunday "Think" section.

December 16, 1965

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM : Pat Watters

This is a reminder of the call from Paul Ylvosaka about Dr. Ernesto Galarza coming to see us Tuesday morning to talk about plans for the southwest.

SEAL FROM BOX

js

12/3/65

M E M O R A N D U M

To: BCC

From: JShortt

Please send 200 copies of, "Southern Justice: An Indictment," to:

Miss Anne Strickland
Executive Assistant
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Label attached.

Thanx.

January 25, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M **PLEASE RETURN TO SA**

To: All Staffers

From: Sam Adams

Re: Staff Survey of Periodical Reading

Some senior staffers subscribe regularly to special periodicals that help them in their work. Some of these periodicals might carry articles of value to the research department. For that reason, we would like to know the names of magazines -- other than those we receive at the office -- you take at home.

Would you provide us with tear sheets or permit us to make copies of articles you believe would be valuable additions to our research files?

NAME OF MAGAZINE	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE	RECIPIENT

February 1, 1966

MEMORANDUM

To: Ed Lewis

From: Sam Adams

Re: Use of Xerox machine

- : -

To control the use of the Xerox machine, both in terms of amount and quality and care and maintenance, some system has to be set up and responsibility has to be assigned. To facilitate the work load of departments doing a lot of copying and to guard against over-use of staff time in other departments, the temporary plan we are suggesting will call for the training of several persons in various departments.

Normal copying should be done between the hours of 9:30 and 4:15 p. m. except in cases of urgent need. In such rare cases, the requesting department should notify the persons in charge of the copier so that the regular cleaning of the copier drum or other care and maintenance scheduled for 4:30 p. m. may be delayed.

Doris Reed will have the primary responsibility for maintenance of the machine and for the copying of other agencies. Esther Lumpkin will be second in charge. Doris will be responsible for cleaning the drum, keeping proper records of use, and controlling use by operators assigned by the various departments and by outsiders.

Department secretaries should be trained for using the machine and should be authorized to do copying for their departments.

It might be more efficient to hire a person whose primary work would be operating the copier and doing such other work as might be needed, for example, clipping newspapers. Such a person might be paid the minimum wage and would not be required to have research skills. If we eventually get a multilithing department, he might also have responsibilities in that operation.

If this seems impractical, let's discuss.

js

cc: Paul Anthony

BM
DR
EL
GB
BP
VJ
EL
AL
MS

February 1, 1966

MEMORANDUM

RE: TENTATIVE ASSIGNMENTS OF NEWSPAPERS FOR CLIPPING AND CATEGORIZING

Bernice Morrison:	New York Times (marked by PA & PW) Atlanta Journal Atlanta Constitution Chattanooga Times
Doris Reed:	Atlanta Daily World Raleigh News and Observer Houston Chronicle Vanguard
Esther Lumpkin:	Los Angeles Times New Orleans Picayune Virginian Pilot Richmond News Leader The Voice (Prince Edward County)
Glenda Bartley:	Birmingham News Jackson Daily News N'side Reporter The State Delta Dempcrat
Barbara Patterson:	Washington Post
Vernon Jordan:	Washington Post
Samuel Adams:	St. Petersburg Times
Ed Lewis:	Miami Herald
Al Ulmer:	Memphis Commercial Appeal
Moreland Smith:	Montgomery Advertiser

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

MEMORANDUM

TO: Vernon Jordan
Al Ulmer
Paul Anthony
Sam Adams
Ed. Lewis
Al Kehrer

FROM: Emory Via

DATE: February 21, 1966

The U. S. Department of Labor on the regional level is planning a conference to which a variety of persons will be invited; purpose of conference is two-fold: (1) let people know what services and programs are available from Labor Department; (2) to solicit help and discuss problem of how Labor Department programs can more effectively reach "the folks". This latter is especially true in terms of the disadvantaged (with special emphasis on such Negroes).

What is wanted from you:

1. A list of the regional organizations that might profit from such a meeting or who could serve as useful critics or consultants; give names of individuals where you know of special interest.

2. A list of local or state people in the Atlanta area who might profit from such an exposure or make a contribution. In most cases we would want people identified with some organization but we should be sure to include less formal and smaller groups if they are effective in reaching people in their own bailiwicks.

This regional office is mainly concerned with the states of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi.

COULD I HAVE YOUR SUGGESTIONS WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. HOPEFULLY BEFORE WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 23. I thank you.

Background Information:
The regional offices have a committee to focus on these problems. It has been collecting itself together for some time and recently has persuaded enough programs that something was needed (along with national pressure) that they are now able to move in a way that includes all of their programs.

At the conference their staff should focus on how their programs might be of benefit to the disadvantaged. For instance the various programs dealing with training will want to say what opportunities are available as well as to explore the difficulties they have had with recruitment. But a program such as Wage Hour Administration might well talk about minimum wage enforcement, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics might explain the relevance of its information collecting activities.

Janet - attach

MEMORANDUM

February 22, 1966

TO: Sam Adams

FROM: Emory Via

RE: Your memo "Staff Survey of Periodical Reading" of January 25

I saw the reading file copy of your memorandum. I receive the following periodicals at home and will permit copies to be made or tear sheets if they do not destroy the periodical.

The Harvard Law Review

Industrial Relations Research Association, Proceedings (twice a year)

Supreme Court Reporter - Lawyers Cooperative

American Political Science Review

Reporter Magazine

Christian Century

Congressional Quarterly Weekly Reports

Race Relations Law Reporter

Look

New Yorker

Saturday Review

Could I see the complete list when the memorandum comes back to you?

Sandy Foller

SRC ROUTING SLIP

RECEPTIONIST, Luesta Knox

****

Return to

ADAMS, Sam, Research

ALBRIGHT, Montez, Research

ALEXANDER, Ruth, Sec.-Treas.

ANTHONY, Paul, Director

BARTLEY, Glenda, Research

~~BRINSON, Albert, Mail~~

BROWNING, Joan, Sec.

COOK, Bernice, Mail

FRANKLIN, Pat, Sec.

GIMARC, Jerry, Sec.

HOWARD, Ruth, Sec.

JOHNSON, Mildred, Sec.

JORDAN, Vernon, VEP

LEWIS, Ed, Asst. Dir.

LONG, Margaret, New South

LUMPKIN, Ester, Research

MANDERSON, Marge, Research

MORGAN, Nobbie, VEP

MORRISON, Bernice, Research

PATTERSON, Barbara, Research

REED, Doris, Research

SHORTT, Janet, Research

SMITH, Janet, [redacted]

SMITH, Moreland, Urban Planning

STANFIELD, Ed, Field Director

TILLY, Mrs. M.E., Women

ULMER, Al, Program Specialist

VIA, Emory, Labor

WATTERS, Pat, Information Dir.

January 25, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

PLEASE RETURN TO SA

To: All Staffers

From: Sam Adams

Re: Staff Survey of Periodical Reading

Some senior staffers subscribe regularly to special periodicals that help them in their work. Some of these periodicals might carry articles of value to the research department. For that reason, we would like to know the names of magazines -- other than those we receive at the office -- you take at home.

Would you provide us with tear sheets or permit us to make copies of articles you believe would be valuable additions to our research files?

NAME OF MAGAZINE	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE	RECIPIENT
NEWS WEEK	✓		Gladden Olive Jr.
LOOK	✓		"
POST	✓		"
~~[illegible]~~ HOLIDAY	✓		"
LIFE	✓		"
HARPERS	✓		Glenda B.
New Republic	✓		Joan Browning
Progressive	✓		"
Bulletin of Atomic Scientists	✓		"
LIFE	✓		(the) N. MORGAN
Readers Digest	✓		"
ATLANTIC	✓		Lucita Kurtz
Newsweek, Look	✓		
New Yorker	✓		Margaret Long
Reporter, Look, So. Courier	✓		Moreland Smith
Harper's, Motive, Episc College Mag.	✓		"
SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN			Jerry Dell Gunnar
DAEDALUS			"
SCIENCE - Amer Ass'n for Advancement of Science			"
HORIZON			"

NAME OF MAGAZINE	AVAILABLE	NOT AVAILABLE	RECIPIENT

February 23, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RESEARCH STAFF

FROM: SAMUEL L. ADAMS SA

In order to control the quality and be aware of the content of letters in answer to inquiries going out of the Research Department, please route all outgoing correspondence to the Research Director through the secretary.

ps
RR
Sch
BSM

March 10, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ed Lewis

FROM: J Shortt

Today I made several long distance calls for August Meier as follows:

Birmingham, Alabama -- Area Code 205

Arthur B. Shores	-	322-2511
Orzell Billingslea	-	FA 4-7691
W. C. Patton	-	322-0708
Tuskegee Inst. Dorothy Hall Guest House	-	727-3400

There may have been some others placed, but they did not go through me.

cc: RHA

March 10, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: RESEARCH STAFF

FROM: SA

Effective immediately, all letters for requests for information will be done in rough draft to be typed by JS in order that we can have conformity in style as discussed in a recent staff meeting.

GB
BM
DR
EL

SLA:js

March 10, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RESEARCH STAFF

FROM: SA

Effective immediately, all letters for requests for information will be done in rough draft to be typed by JS in order that we can have conformity in style as discussed in a recent staff meeting.

GB
BM
DR
EL

SLA:js

2/24/66

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: STAFF

FROM: J SHORTT

Since the winter issue of NEW SOUTH is a new effort on our part, it would be nice, I think, to keep a record on the response we get to the new publication.

Would everyone please buck any correspondence which mentions this new venture to me for filing? If necessary, a xerox copy can be made and returned to the original addressee.

Thanx.

March 15, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Research Staff

From: Samuel L. Adams

Monday, March 21, 1966, will mark the start of an intensive self-study by the Research Department. The self-study will be followed by a series of seminars -- perhaps one hour a week -- designed to improve individual and group competencies and to open new avenues for the development of staff talent.

The seminars may cover what you wish to study provided it achieves our general purpose. They may cover subjexts as technical as computing coefficient of correlation and measuring central tendencies or as practical as techniques of marking, clipping, and filing articles from periodicals.

From the self-study, we hope to come up with a more realistic expectation of the department's production and a better knowledge of departmental needs. Each staffer will be asked to relate the strengths and weaknesses of our present system and to make recommendations for improvement. So that we may feel perfectly free to speak our minds, we are not to sign our names to the list of recommendations and criticisms.

Another part of the self-study will be coordinated by Janet Shortt. She will be clerk for a one-hour time study which will give us some idea of the number of periodicals we clip and file. We hope staffers will work at normal speed rather than souped-up speed so that her study will be valid.

Meanwhile, will each person in the department begin thinking about what we can do to make this undertaking meaningful and helpful. The one hour-a-week we use for this purpose might be equivalent to time squandered for coffee breaks or meaningless camaraderie.

March 16, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JCS

Please send 10 copies of the winter issue of New South to:

Ms. Carol Anderson
Student YWCA
818 Queens Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Thanx.

Label attached.

Note:
ltr to Ms. Anderson is in:
General: Requests for Information

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony
Sam Adams
Vernon Jordan
Ed Stanfield
Al Ulmer

FROM: Emory Via

The current (3/18/66) issue of Congressional Quarterly Weekly Reports has two articles that may be of special interest.

1. "Project Head Start"
2. "School Aid Cuts" (a la LBJ)

SEAL FOR MEMBERS

Requested by: Edward T. Ladd, Dept. of Teacher Education, Emory U.
(Telephoned in by Mr. Ladd's secretary 3/18/66)

March 18, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: J SHORTT

Please send the following individuals a copy of, "A City Slum - Poor People and Problems" to:

Mr. David Day, Mr. Alexander Moore, Mr. Phillip Blumenthal, Mr. Richard L. Henderson, ~~Mr. Edward~~ ~~[illegible]~~ -- all in the Department of Teacher Education, Emory U.; Ms. Martha Levin, Department of Sociology, Emory U.; and Mr. Arthur G. Parhlman, Atlanta Public Schools, 2930 Forest Hill Road, SW, Atlanta 30315.

Labels attached.

Thank you.

March 23, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Sam Adams

FROM: Paul Anthony

At your convenience would you please supply me with the following information:

1 - The names of the daily newspapers now being received by SRC and the total number of them.
2 - The number of papers now being read and marked by persons other than the Research staff.
3 - The number and name of the papers being read and marked by Research.
4 - The names of the persons in Research who are responsible for reading and marking these newspapers.
5 - The number of the duties other than reading and marking of the persons referred to above.
6 - An estimate from the persons doing the work of the minutes or hours required for reading and marking each newspaper.
7 - An estimate of the duties and cost of part time personnel in the Research Department.

4/1/66

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: RHA
FROM: JShortt
RE: Telephone Log

The following calls were made today for Bob Anderson:

The South Carolina Council on HR
a/c 803 -- AL 6-8808

The Tennessee Council on HR
a/c 615 -- 297-6568

The Mississippi Council on HR
a/c 601 -- 948-0878

April 12, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Samuel L. Adams

RE: Report on Research Department Activities from 1/1/66 to 4/1/66.

The Research Department, during the period January 1, 1966 to April 1, 1966, has been called upon for increased services paralleling the expanded programs of Southern Regional Council. In addition to the fluctuating number of specialty periodicals such as labor newspapers and various newsletters, special publications and magazines, the four regular employees of the central research department read, clip, categorize, and file articles from 34 newspapers, about six of them weekly publications. The daily newspapers include such well known publications as the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Washington Post, and the Wall Street Journal.

Special requests were heaviest during the month of March when the researchers answered about 40 mail inquiries. Services to the various SRC program areas, such as community organization, urban planning, and information departments increased about 30 per cent during the three-month period.

Some specific activities included the following: Confirmation of facts and help with writing "State of the States" news round-up for the winter quarter of New South; special compilation of new occurrences of southern violence; completion of a research report proposal on Atlanta housing in cooperation with the Atlanta Council on Human Relations, and Adley Associates, Inc., for the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing; and the director's participation in a three-day Columbia University Arden House Conference on Behavioral Sciences and the Mass Media.

Also during the winter period, the research department got wide projection in the various news media for a report completed before the end of the year on civil rights related deaths and race violence. Much staff time in January was spent updating this information for the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times, Time-Life, Inc., and others.

SLA:js

5/4/66

MEMORANDUM

TO: Pat Watters, Sam Adams, Bob Anderson

FROM: JShortt

Attached is a telephone log for each of you. I am asking that you use this log whenever you make long distance calls that I do not put through for you. It will help me keep track of all calls tht should be reported to MRA thus making her job a little easier at bill paying time.

I am sure I can count on you guys to cooperate??????

May 7, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Pat Watters

FROM: Paul Anthony PA

You may recall that I mentioned at the White House Conference that J. Saunders Redding had agreed to write something for us. He is professor of English, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. What about you writing him a follow-up letter indicating you know about the conversation and giving him any suggestions you think best.

NOTE: Relating correspondence in NEW SOUTH files.

May 19, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC
FROM: JSHORTT

Please send 60 copies of "The Continuing Crisis: An Assessment of New Racial Tensions in the South" to:

Mrs. Roberta E. Blackwell
Office Manager
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C. 28202

Label attached.

Thank you.

June 7, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JSHORTT

Pat wants 500 copies of "The Continuing Crisis" sent as soon as possible to:

Mr. Morton Yarmon
Director of Public Relations
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Label attached.

Thanks.

June 10, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Sam Adams

Paul, shall we speak to the Research staff today, or wait until Esther returns? I assume she will be back on Monday.

If today, buzz me when you're available.

js

File: Interoffice Memos

June 10, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Bernice C. Cook

FROM: JSHORTT

Please send 45 copies of "Black Belt Schools" to:

Mr. Percy H. Stone, Jr.
Assistant Professor
Department of Social Science
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, South Carolina

Label attached.

Thanks.

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: THE SRC STAFF AND OTHERS

FROM: EMORY F. VIA

RE: "THE INHERITANCE", A FILM PRODUCED FOR THE AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

You are invited to see a film, "The Inheritance", at 4:00 p.m. Tuesday (June 14).

The reasons why you are invited and that I would urge you to see it if you can are several:

1. I have it on hand;
2. It's an excellent film, artistically and technically;
3. It deals sympathetically and forcefully with important events in labor history;
4. It has an interesting low-key civil rights message;
5. I would very much like to have your reactions as to the usefulness of this film in explaining labor history tod non-labor people and whether or not its content has other uses in the South.

We will show it in the conference room. I hope you can make it.

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR: All interoffice memos concerning the working conference held June 17, 1966, on state governmental policies,

SEE: General: Working Conference on State Governmental Policies Study

MEMORANDUM

6/21/66

Paul -

For our prison man when he gets here, I am informed that Draper Prison, a state institution in Alabama, has a half-million dollar grant from the federal government for education of first offenders, and that the warden there, one Watkins, native Alabamian, is a good man, really doing a job. For whatever this might be worth.

PW

MEMORANDUM

6/21/66

Sam:

Have we got, or could we get, a study on child-rearing habits of Negro Americans done by the National Institute of Mental Health? By somebody named Liebow.

PW

File

P Watters

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [redacted] 30303
[redacted]2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH, FAIA

DATE: JUNE 23, 1966

Attached is a rough draft of an outline for a pamphlet on which we would like to get your frank reaction.

Would a short "How to Build or Buy" be of value to the people SRC is interested in?

If so, what other information should we include?

Your reactions will be most helpful.

LET'S BUY A HOUSE

I. Should we buy or rent?

A. We should buy because -

1. We'll get more living area for our money.
2. We'll have increased privacy in our own home.
3. Besides I would like to have a lawn so I can grow radishes and roses.
4. It's time we established roots; the house will give us some permanency.
5. And buying a house is an investment; we'll be building up equity.
6. It will help us establish a good credit rating, and that in turn, may help us at some later time.

B. But we should consider the disadvantages -

1. After all, we probably won't be here the rest of our lives; if we move in a couple of years we may have a hard time selling.

2. If we stay in an apartment we don't have to bother with real estate taxes or with painting the building.

C. What sort of house could we afford to buy - and can we afford to buy?

Compare total income with total expenses and obligations which one would have with a house (housing expenses + living expenses + fixed obligations). [from Philadelphia Council on Human Relations pamphlet]

D. I've heard that the cost of a house is more than downpayment and monthly installments. What are these other expenses we ought to consider?

1. Interest on the loan
2. Taxes - city and county
3. Maintenance - For the house what are the estimated maintenance costs including painting, repairs, etc.?
4. Insurance - necessary to cover the amount of the loan and advisable for the full house investment which would also cover owner's equity.
5. Closing costs - including registration fees, transfer fees, title search, survey, etc. and which must be paid at the time of paper signing.

E. Where will we get the money?

1. FHA
2. VA
3. Conventional loan

II. I think we can afford it. Let's look for a house!

A. What should we look for in a house?

1. Location - neighborhood, nearness to work, good schools close by, conveniently located shopping areas, good transportation facilities and recreation areas
2. Physical properties - floor plan that conforms to family activities, adequate plumbing, electrical system capable of handling appliances and electrical load, sound roof, proper drainage of land, dry basement, sound floors, convenient arrangement of kitchen
3. Room for future growth of family; can a room or so be added?

B. Perhaps we should build -

1. Plans - architect drawn or stock plans from government agencies, home and garden magazines, building material supply houses, financial institutions, builders' magazines
2. Specifications - if FHA or VA financed the house must conform to certain specifications
3. Inspection - for FHA and VA homes an inspector will check periodically to see if plans and materials are the same as those approved by the government agency.

III. We think we've found OUR house, now what do we do?

Precautions before signing the mortgage -

A. Title search - check to see that there are no liens or taxes due on the property and that the buyer would have a clear title.
B. Property survey - to see what the property lines are and to make sure that you are buying what you think you are.
C. Use of services of an assessor to look at the house and give the buyer an appraisal of what the house is worth on the present market and what its general condition appears to be.
D. In case of questions about particular aspects of the building it may be necessary to con on an expert for advice - in roofing, heating, termite inspection.
E. Use of services of a lawyer to check papers, particularly the mortgage <u>before</u> signing!
F. Inquire about city services and regulations

1. Property taxes and whether increases are planned
2. Zoning regulations to see whether the property is protected from industrial or commercial use if this is important to the buyer and to see if any contemplated subsidiary use of the house is forbidden, such as using a room as an office
3. Garbage pick up, sewage service, street lighting, fire and police protection, gas, electricity and water rates
4. Whether the neighborhood might be destined for an urban renewal project or freeway construction
5. Fire and theft insurance rates

G. Take care to read the mortgage terms and specifications

IV. But will we have trouble in buying or building in a neighborhood predominately of another race? We're Negro.

A. Some houses are required to be sold on an equal opportunity basis - FHA and VA financed, FHA and VA repossessed. Prospective buyers can obtain a list of the repossessed houses through _____.

B. Color tax and proof of discrimination. Work through the councils on human relations or fair housing groups, using a white couple to follow up to see that terms and prices are the same for white and Negro.

C. If the builder and/or seller is found to discriminate, and if there is a legal basis to sustain the complaint, write to _____

D. If the Negro home seeker feels that the neighborhood in which he is interested may be hostile to his residence there, some precautions he might consider are -

1. Making a brief and apparently uninterested inspection of the house, then sending an appraiser or friend to make a careful inspection
2. Engaging a lawyer to make sure that the sale and mortgage is in proper order and that the title is clear
3. If the house is not in the equal opportunity group it may be necessary to use the services of a white friend to act as decoy buyer
4. Once the house is bought, notify the law enforcement agencies so that they may provide proper protection of property and life.
5. When moving day comes, move quickly, put up curtains first, then continue activities.

V. Appendix

A. Helpful telephone number and some blanks (to be filled in in part by the local council on human relations)

B. Sources of information about houses, finances, selection and details - a bibliography of pamphlets and books.

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
[illegible] 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

TO: STAFF

FROM: MORELAND GRIFFITH SMITH, FAIA

DATE: June 30, 1966

RE: MEMO ON HOUSE BUYING

Reference is made to my previous memo and the enclosure on house buying. I would like to have everyone meet for a short time at 10:00 Friday, July 1, to discuss this idea. We would like your candid comments and criticisms. I hope we will have a stimulating discussion.

July 13, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: ED LEWIS

FROM: JSHORTT

Pat Watters has requested that we order some of the spiral notebooks that he likes for jotting information during interviews, etc., a sample of which is attached. To assure getting the right size, he suggests sending the sample along with the order to:

Stationers, Inc.
601 East Main Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

He is down to his last one, so an early order would be appreciated.

Thanx.

July 25, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Pat Watters

RE: Report on work from January 1 through June 31, 1966

1. Voter Book - Most of my time has been spent in the major part of researching and the writing in collaboration with Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal on current political effects and the long-range implications of the entrance of Negro voters in full into the South's democracy. This is the book which SRC contracted with Harcourt, Brace, and World to produce. It had originally been scheduled for publication in October, 1966. A recent decision has been to postpone this until February or March, 1967, in order to include a final chapter on the outcome of the fall elections this year. While not a history of VEP as such, the book draws heavily on the first VEP research, as well as other research materials of SRC.

2. New South - The revamping of New South in its new quarterly format has been a major concern. The first two issues contained articles of substance by Leslie Dunbar, James Silver, Margeret Long, Robert Coles, August Meier, Finley Campbell, Vincent Harding. A news round-up section contains summaries of developments in each of the eleven states, a compilation not available elsewhere, and a permanent record of value to research. Efforts are made to find for each issue material close to the reality of what is happening in the South. A

proposal for radical innovations in community planning in Mississippi and a report of a day in the life of a southern city ghetto resident are examples. The need for research grounded yet pertinent articles is great; several, including a report on a study of the Negro family in Birmingham, are in the works. The summer issue, in preparation, will include coverage of the Meredity Miswissippi march and discussion of black power.

3. Other publications have included a warning on the pitfalls of co-ops and credit unions by Al Ulmer, addressing himself to grass roots leaders looking for cure-alls; "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," by Moreland Smith, setting out how community organization can save a neighborhood from block-busting and develop racial balance; another study by Mr. Ulmer, a pioneering how-to approach on the all-important subject of community organization in southern Negro slums, based on his experience in Vine City; "The Continuing Crisis," a joint publication with the American Jewish Committee describing the range of racial and poverty problems in the South, and warning of the possibility of disruptions in the South similar to those in the northern ghettos; a handbook on appropriate actions to improve southern justice developed by Mrs. M. E. Tilly for use with church groups and the like.

A press release has been issued urging compliance with new school desegregation guidelines. The Voter Education Project

has issued press releases on the election results in Alabama and South Carolina, and on voting effort violence as a commentary on the shooting of James Meredith.

Bob Anderson processed the above reports editorially. He also contributed to the editing of the first new New South and development of the second, as did Margaret Long.

4. In preparation: Robert Coles will develop a report on conditions in Negro communities where past major civil rights demonstrations have occurred. Wilson Minor is preparing a report on the Citizens Council, past and present, and Robert Sherrill is developing a report on other white hate groups, including the Klan. These are a part of a study, again jointly with AJC, of forces competing for the attention of the South. Also part of this study is a survey by Anthony Whitfield, an SRC summer intern, of intergroup relations organizations regarding their efforts to influence white Southerners. Dean B. R. Brazeal of Morehouse College is developing a series of studies on voter registration in selected Georgia counties, contrasting the situation today with that of 1956 when he did a similar survey. Other projects include a study of the South's portion of the 100 poorest counties in the nation (which is most of them); a study of welfare expenditures in the South; a plan for state government action in the various social problems of the South; a study of the mechanics of housing desegregation in Atlanta by Sam Adams of SRC; a set of instructions for low

income families on how to buy a house by Moreland Smith of the SRC staff; a study of 1966 (including fall) school desegregation developments, and various other projects.

PW:js

Pat Watters

File

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303
[illegible]2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

October 12, 1960

TO: PROFESSIONAL STAFF

FROM: JOHN O. BOONE

Request that you review the attached material which will be mailed to the Advisory Committee of the Project on Penal Reform and Criminal Rehabilitation. The Rapporteurs' Summaries will not be discussed at the Advisory Committee Meeting but hopefully, will provide the broad frame of reference that planners for a reform project need.

I would appreciate it if you would join us in a discussion of the project proposals for a short period this afternoon, before we make bold to present them to the Advisory Committee.

Thank you.

ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Examination of the functional structures of correctional systems in the United States is analogous to a trip through Europe where, in traveling relatively short distances, one may encounter many different languages, types of government, patterns of culture and artifacts. In the Southern Region one finds penal systems which range from the enlightened to the reactionary, from the progressive to the mediaeval, from the humane to the brutal. Even within a single state one may observe, on one level, trends toward a system in accordance with the most progressive correctional philosophy, while, on another level, one finds hangovers from the days of degrading stripes and chains. In the same way, law enforcement agencies and the judicial process will invoke, selectively, both primitive and modern practices, the choice of treatment reflecting, in the main, the social characteristics of the community officals and/or the economic resources of the offender.

Project on Penal Reform & Criminal Rehabilitation

It is particularly fortunate that, in an area which is almost exclusively the domain of public policy and administration, the Ford Foundation has provided an opportunity for a private agency to intervene and, perhaps, make a contribution toward advancing these crucial processes. Law enforcement agencies and correctional systems, as government agencies controlled by relatively rigid public policies, are understandably sensitive to the opinions of community groups. This tendency has often been demonstrated in the wake of exposed corruption and public disorder. As responsible arms of public policy, the systems are able to innovate only within the limits imposed by laws which govern their operations. A private agency that is not bound by official restrictions and the burden of tradition can offer assistance to correctional administrators and interested groups of citizens who desire to implement reforms, conduct pertinent research and institute programs designed to bring about constructive change in governmental systems and new approaches to dealing with crime and delinquency.

Advisory Committee

In order to develop a creditable three year program, reconciling philosophy and feasability as much as possible, we have convened a group of knowledgeable persons broadly representative of society's institutions, who are acutely interested in the social task of coping with the problems presented by violations of societal mores.

The following propositions are submitted primarily to stimulate your thinking and give some direction to our meeting. They are not meant to imply that we are committed to carrying out any particular proposal, except for the initial survey that is already underway.

A. Southern Regional Council Special Report: The Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders in the Southern Region (to be published this year.)

This will be a state-by-state survey report describing the current situation of crime prevention and corrections in the South. Dr. Vernon Fox and associates at Florida State University's Department of Criminology and Corrections and SRC staff members are assisting us in this publication. The report will describe: racial integration; philosophy of corrections; manpower utilization and needs; comparative financial resources and expenditures; physical plants and facilities, including farms and industrial operations; treatment programs, both community and institutional; classification systems; parole policies and practices; facilities for post-release assistance and community treatment centers; institutional populations and patterns of recidivism; nature of professional staffs. Similar analyses will be made of law enforcement agencies and courts, to a limited extent, to determine any new developments stemming from recent legislation and court decisions. The survey will be based on official reports and inquiries, other publications, and observations of authorities in the field.

The survey will provide both a vehicle for public education and a basis for the project's programs.

B. Research Conference: While no one can be certain that any particular research project will produce practically useful results, we would like to be sure, at least, that our projects will be pertinent to the problems of the Southern Region. One means of providing this assurance would be to bring together a small group of academicians of the region, under the leadership of a nationally known social scientist, for the purpose of presenting papers and designing research that we could practically pursue. Such a conference would have the added advantage of providing a needed forum for ideas of regional rather than national interest. Such ideas are often neglected at more broadly based meetings. Another approach would be to select research without formally weighing its value relative to regional concerns, and some suggestions are proposed in this outline.

C. Other Research:

1. A study to determine whether underdeveloped correctional systems consistently make for a higher rate of recidivism than systems considered more progressive.

2. Up-date comparative sentencing study done by SRC in 1954 - referring to both the Garfinkle and Foley studies. Each of these studies pointed to significant disparities between the nature of sentences for Negroes and white persons. Have these practices changed during the period since 1954 - the year of the Supreme Court decision relative to school desegregation?

3. A candid review of industry's attitudes toward the employment of persons with records of crime and delinquency. Is there a need for a more concerted public or private project to encourage industry to use this manpower more appropriately, somewhat in the manner of the "Hire the Handicapped" program.

4. Study how Negroes use correctional services. (Could be part of study of underdeveloped systems.)

5. Study effectiveness of the North Carolina Plan (such a study may already be underway.)

6. Demonstration Project in an urban area, focused on crime and delinquency, and utilizing multi-method techniques involving public and private agencies and graduate schools. Such a project would be accompanied by a research and evaluation instrument.

7. Report on institutional visiting (prisons, jails, training schools, etc.) by small teams of women - utilizing a modified John Howard approach.

D. Public Education:

1. Supportive work with human relations groups and The Fellowship of the Concerned, throughout the southern region, as they demonstrate interest in the administration of criminal justice.

2. Prepare legislative handbook, summarizing the codes under which corrections operates, state by state, pointing out apparent weaknesses, making use of accepted standards by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency or the American Correctional Association. The book will be distributed to public and private agencies, legislators, and interested groups.

3. Prepare booklet on the administration of criminal justice for use in public schools, in order to encourage wider acceptance of this process as a normal function of social welfare. It has been proposed that this be done in cooperation with the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower. (The approach would be to influence attitudes toward corrections as a career and as a helping agency, mainly through the creative presentation of case materials.)

E. Direct Action:

1. Consultation Service. Secure a panel of knowledgeable professional correctional workers and facilitate its use by systems in the region. Organizations and groups could secure our support through regional conferences and their own action groups. This program would provide for fees and expenses for consultants and technical advisors.

2. Technical Advice. As far as possible, the project staff would provide technical advice concerning correctional procedures, training, and new programs and policies.

3. Would a Regional Conference on Racial Integration in Prisons provide significant support for state efforts in this area? While a policy of racial integration would require the repeal of restrictive statutes in many states, a conference on the problems and processes of integration which are peculiar to correctional systems might serve to alleviate the anxiety of administrators concerning the effects of desegregation in their prisons. Would a sharing of experiences by those who have already effectuated integration be helpful? Another idea would involve an even larger conference, co-sponsored, perhaps, by such organizations as NCCD and ACA, for all interested managers without considering regional limitations.

4. Provision of resource material to public and private agencies, groups and individuals. For example, some Human Relations Councils will receive copies of Ferguson vs. Buchanan (which resulted in desegregation of the Dade County Jail). This will be used as the Councils urge officials to begin to desegregate. Also, films and other learning aids would be used in this program.

5. Cross-fertilization of ideas and programs. This program would facilitate an exchange of top-level and middle-management administrators of criminal justice in the region. Pro-

perly implemented, such a program could encourage the spread of progressive correctional principles in day-to-day operations.

6. Recruitment of Negroes for Correctional work. Studies reveal that very few Negroes are employed in correctional administration. (This could be an area for significant research). Would schools and agencies be benefited by a private recruitment service?

7. Training for correctional work. How could a private agency assist in this endeavor?

8. The procedures by which society deals with delinquent or criminal behavior are often themselves causative factors in later offenses. A study of the background and characteristics of men who have histories of Dyer Act violation (Interstate Transportation of a Stolen Motor Vehicle) should throw some light on this hypothesis.

General Observations

Preliminary observations through travel and correspondence would seem to indicate that, while there are many serious problems - including the continued commission of atrocities in some penal systems - the situation is somewhat more encouraging than anticipated.

Florida has integrated all of its institutions and has invited us to visit the system. Whether this alleged integration, however, is token or real, remains to be seen.

There has been some integration in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia (the Girls" Training School in Atlanta), and some degree of integration must be assumed in all institutions which have accepted Federal grants (including Draper Prison in Alabama.)

Personnel changes in the Arkansas Correctional System in the wake of the recent lashing publicity, while sadly belated and totally inadequate, nevertheless represents some small improvement.

Many top-level correctional administrators in the region privately reveal an unexpectedly progressive orientation. This leaves room for hope that state correctional systems will be willing to accept help and at least entertain suggestions for specific changes.

In sum, there is considerable reason to believe that this project, through the judicious extension of grants and technical assistance for specific projects; initiation and support of basic research in neglected areas; organization and encouragement of groups working for the passage of sound reform bills in state legislatures, and the wide dissemination of information about corrections and the processes of criminal law at meetings and through the mass communications media, can make a substantial contribution to the upgrading and increased humanization of all of the processes in which the criminal offender is involved, before, during and after imprisonment.

Question: Do we accept the idea of prisons?

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

JANET SHORTT

DATE 10/20/66

Glenda:

I find that somehow, some orders have been made without a copy being given to me. I must keep up with everything that is ordered, received, and most importantly, paid for.

For this reason, please, let's turn back to the old practice of all orders being made by me. If there is a particular rush for something, indicate this and a special effort will be made to let these have top priority. Otherwise, my records will be hopelessly incomplete.

OK?

And, while you are at it, please check the attached to see if they have come in.

Thanx.

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

File: Interoffice Memos

BA

October 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: Janet Smith

Category plates for mailings other than NEW SOUTH have been combined in some instances and renumbered. Category numbers for use in future distribution memos are as follows:

1. Board (all mailings)
2. FCR (Foundations, Contributors & Related) all mailings
3. Media
4. Intergroup
5. Labor
6. Research (includes old All Purpose)
7. Libraries
8. Blue Ribbon
9. School Superintendents and Education Associations
10. Chambers of Commerce and Bank Presidents
11. Student Newspapers and Student Council Presidents
12. Government
13. Internationals
19. Paid Subscribers (all mailings)

MEMO to Janet Smith. Relating correspondence in NS Publications: General
8/24/66

Janet:

Sorry this took so long. I've attached copies of all the correspondence pertaining to your inquiry; hope this helps to straighten things out.

JS

November 7, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: AL ULMER

FROM: PAT WATTERS

RE: A PROPOSAL FOR A COOPERATIVE ACTION PROGRAM FOR SOUTHERN LOW-INCOME GROUPS DRAFT

Al, I've nitpicked . . . overall, I think you've done a masterful job in bringing the reader along to some notions he probably never meant to get involved in. It is kind of inductive reasoning.

PW:js

File

Memo to the Staff November 9, 1966
From: Moreland G. Smith

Our pamphlets available for distribution, those we publish and reprints from other sources, seem to fall into the categories as shown below. Once the working area for distribution is organized, make-up of a publications catalog should mean a mere listing of stock on our shelves.

Please look carefully at this category list (many single publications could be placed as logically under another category) and let me know your thinking primarily about category headings. For instance, is a great need apparent for subject material not listed?

NEW SOUTH - Chronological

L. REPORTS - Numerical

BOOKS

ALL OTHER PUBLICATIONS

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION
- A City Slum ...
- Transition without Tragedy
- The City Government and Minority Groups

DIRECT ACTION
- Encounter with the Future
- The Civil Rights Crisis
- Albany

ECONOMICS

<u>Agriculture</u>
- Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs
- Federal Programs to Promote Employment ...
- A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina

<u>Employment</u>
- Plans for Progress
- The Negro and Employment Opportunities (3 cities)

<u>General</u>
- Cooperatives, Credit Unions ...
- Federal Anti-Poverty Programs
- The Price We Pay
- Business - Next Target ...

EDUCATION
- September 1965 School Desegregation ...
- Black Belt Schools
- Southern Schools: Token Desegregation
- The Desegregation of Southern Schools (Coles)
- If the Schools are Closed
- The Truth About Desegregation in Washington Schools
- What the Supreme Court Said
- Organizing to Save Public Schools
- The Economic Effect of School Closing
- When a City Closes Its Schools
- Georgia's Divided Education
- The Louisville Story

JUSTICE

<u>Courts</u>
- Southern Justice: An Indictment
- Racial Discrimination in Southern Rederal Courts
- Dual Justice

<u>Law Enforcement</u>
- The Unequal Badge
- The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed

POLITICS
- The Federal Executive and Civil Rights
- What Happened in the South?
- The Negro and the Ballot
- VEP reports

PRESS
- Southern Student Newspaper Opinion
- The SRC Reports the Changing South
- Racial Crisis and the Press

RACE RELATIONS
- The Continuing Crisis
- Four Special Reports - Louisville, Brunswick, Memphis, Charlotte
- The Annealing of the South
- A Virginia View of "Race and Reason"
- Segregation and the Space Age
- The Easy Chair
- Americans are Law-Abiding Citizens
- South Carolinians Speak

RELIGION
- This I Believe
- The Agony of the Southern Minister

SOCIOLOGY
- The Migrant Farmer
- Mississippi - The Closed Society
- A Hundred Years Later
- A Southern View of the South
- Wanted - A Healthy South

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
- 1-64 NS
- Brown Folder
- Journal & Guide reprint 1958

URBAN PLANNING
- Neighborhood Stabilization

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URBAN PLANNING
- Neighborhood Stabilization

11/14/66

MEMORANDUM

TO: BCC

FROM: JSHORTT

PLEASE SEND 200 COPIES OF "THE CONTINUING CRISIS"
TO:

MISS SONYA KAUFER
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

LABLES ATTACHED.

THANK YOU.

December 20, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mailroom

FROM: J SHORTT

Please send two (2) copies of School Desegregation: The Slow Undoing and the press release to:

Miss Jean Fairfax
4624 South 21st Place
Phoenix, Arizona.

Label attached.

Thank you.

12/19/66

TO: THE MAILROOM

FROM: JSHORTT

Please send two issues of NS (fall) to the following persons:

Mr. Ray Jenkins
Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Jack Nease
St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

Labels are attached.

Interoffice Memo

Memo

Edward Swenson of the Miami Human Relations Council called concerning Fred Routh. He said in effect they were ready to hire him, but that something about his connection with Highlander Folk School had come up, and that he wanted full information on it in advance should anyone try to use it against him in Miami. He needed to know something before a luncheon scheduled tomorrow (Friday,), ~~xx~~ Mildred gave me the files on this thing, and I read to Mr. ~~Swenson~~ Swenson the memo Routh wrote on it, and this seemed to satisfy Mr. ~~Swenson~~ Swenson. I ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ dictated the memo to his secretary, and told him that if he needed anything more to be sure and let us know. Also told him how to get hold of you in New York, ~~if~~ but he seemed to think what I had given him was adequate. He was apologetic about having to ask....

Memo from PAT WATTERS

FF - for OK

File

Paul:

3 things to consider on printing and maybe talking about when dust begins to settle:

1. before writing off ~~ku~~ higgins-mcarthur, we ought to talk to mckenzie about our needs and problems, and maybe give them a chance to bid-- if not on all projected work, then maybe that part of it we think ~~kkx~~ ought to look the best. I ~~sxxxy~~ say this because belatedly it dawns on me that in h-m, we have a really quality ~~fx~~ printing firm, quality in the sense that SRC is-- without flashiness, etc. if we can get their quality at equitable price, we ought to on stuff that we want as showcase.

2. if we do get them for quality stuff, we ought to work with John to take advantage of what they offer. this is mainly the subtle stuff of typography, hidden persuader use of type to achieve your purpose without anybody being aware of it. best example in our stuff, i think, is the cover on jim silver's closed society pamphlet. i don't think we've taken advantage of what we've had,generally-- as i did on encounter with the future, throwing out what they suggested and insisting on something ~~g~~ flashier. I've been mulling ever since over this-- hence, this note.

3. a neighbor of mine sells printing machinery and he keeps telling me we could pay for something to take care of our needs for less than what we spend in a year with printing companies. i set him on Les with this message~~g~~ last year; i don't know how far along they got in discussions.

Pat.

CROSS REFERENCE

For memorandum from Ed Stanfield to Paul Anthony (confidential) re field trip to Alabama, and special notation from PA to PW re special report on aftermath in cities which have been scenes of direct action campaigns,

SEE:

Publications - Correspondence and Vouchers RE Studies for memorandum from PW to PA about Bob Coles and book review.on this subject.

SRC Reports 1966

SRC

Report No. L-1
April 27, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

This is introductory to a series of occasional reports, issued by the Southern Regional Council as contributions to the intelligent discussion of the present school crisis.

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of co-operative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an un-segregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. These occasional reports are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: The William C. Whitney Foundation; the Fund for the Republic; The Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church; the National Council of Protestant Episcopal Church; the Field Foundation; the New World Foundation; the Board of Church Extension of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.; the Board of National Missions of the Prebyterian Church in the U. S. A.; the New York Foundation; the Christopher Reynolds Foundation; the Phelps-Stokes Fund; the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method - that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

President: James M. Dabbs,
Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Vice-presidents: Dr. Albert W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Businessman and Past President, SRC
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Attorney and Past President, SRC
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Chairman, Executive Committee: Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President, Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Executive Director: Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File SRC

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 1966

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John H. Wheeler

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Josephine Wilkins

Rufus E. Clement

Paul R. Christopher

~~Stephen J. Wright~~ Tom Young

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James McBride Dabbs

McNeill Smith

Albert W. Dent

H. Franklin Williams

C. G. Gomillion

Marion A. Wright

Mrs. Martin Harvey

~~Thomas W. Young~~ Lucius Pitts

LEGAL COUNSEL

Joseph F. Haas

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Paul Anthony

*Addresses of officers are given in the attached list of Members of the Council. All organizations and positions are shown for identification purposes only.

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Charlotte 8, North Carolina

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
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Tryon, North Carolina

J. William Becker (69)
State Director
Arkansas AFL-CIO
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Little Rock, Arkansas

The Rev. Hubert Beckwith (68)
Congregational Christian
Church of Fairfax County
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Annandale, Virginia

A. D. Beittel (68)
American Friends Service
Committee
P. O. Box 4325, Fondren Sta.
Jackson, Mississippi

B. R. Brazeal (68)
Academic Dean
Morehouse College
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Mrs. Joe R. Brewer (69)
Box 314, Route 1
Scott, Arkansas

The Rev. W. C. Brooke (68)
St. Elizabeth's Episcopal
Church
P. O. Box 4211
Roanoke, Virginia

H. A. Hank Brown, Pres. (68)
AFL-CIO, Texas
Box MM - Capitol Station
Austin, Texas

I. H. Burney (68)
Insurance Executive
101 E. Union Street
Jacksonville, Florida

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Attorney
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Hodding Carter, Jr.
LIFE FELLOW
Editor & Publisher
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

Paul R. Christopher (68) Exec. Com.
Regional Director, AFL-CIO
216 Flatiron Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Rufus E. Clement (68)
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Mrs. Lawrence Coe (67) Frances
Member, School Board
3580 Watauga Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

~~James A. Colston (68)~~
~~President~~
~~Knoxville College~~
~~Knoxville, Tennessee~~

James McBride Dabbs (68)
Planter, Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Herbert M. Davidson (68)
Editor and Publisher
Daytona Beach News-Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

Albert W. Dent, President (68)
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

The Rev. Caxton Doggett (69)
First Methodist Church
504 South Lake Avenue
Lakeland, Florida

Ralph Mason Dregor (67)
Professor of Psychology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

S. E. Duncan (67)
President
Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Luther H. Foster (69)
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson (66)
Christ Episcopal Church
3841 Hibiscus Street
Miami 33, Florida

Life Fellow

C. G. Gomillion (69)
Chairman
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Frank P. Graham (68)
(United Nations, New York)
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

The Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr. (68)
St. Peter's Episcopal Church
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Oxford, Mississippi

John A. Griffin (69)
Executive Director
Southern Education Foundation, Inc.
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Joseph F. Haas (69)
Attorney
1116 First National Bank Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Leonard Haas LIFE FELLOW
Attorney
601 Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Edward E. Haddock (66)
Physician and State Legislator
1133 West Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Virginia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton (69)
582 University Place
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Gordon B. Hancock
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SRC

REPORT TO THE SRC DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE
From Josephine Wilkins, Chairman
April 29, 1966

Since this is the first meeting of the Committee under the new appointments, let me begin with a brief review of it to date.

You will recall that the Development Committee was created by the Executive Committee and held its organizational meeting shortly before the 1964 Annual Meeting of SRC. Its assignment was three-fold: to plan for the long-range funding of SRC, to advise with the staff on it, and to assist as it could with the funding.

You will further recall that the Committee grew out of pressure from two sources, pressure from some of SRC's major foundation support, and pressure from the state Councils on Human Relations. The foundations felt that the time had come when SRC should begin looking to the South itself for support to meet the cost of its general operation, and to foundations for special-project support only. The state Councils were vocal in their feeling that they were not participating proportionately in the financial growth of SRC, pointing out that SRC grants to them had remained approximately the same since 1957 when they were made independent bodies.

Meanwhile, as a result of the large special-project grant from the Ford Foundation and the agreement as to the per cent that will go to general operation for administration, SRC's financial situation has eased markedly for the next three years. And the $300,000 three-year grant to SRC from Ford for support of the state Councils has eased their situation for that time as well. Still, we nonetheless have before us the long-range planning for the funding of SRC.

I would like to summarize what seems to me to be the results thus far from the establishment of the Committee.

One, SRC has always been a staff operation, and an excellent one. It has had ad hoc committees appointed from policy for specific tasks, such as selecting a speaker, a new director, making nominations; and had standing committees from policy that serve actually as review boards for staff recommendations. But in creating the Development Committee, SRC has for the first time in its history set up a standing committee composed of policy members for involvement in the funding of the organization.

Two, for the first time an attempt has been made to involve the entire membership in the problems of SRC's funding, done through the letter you each sent last fall with the approval of the Executive Committee, to those Council members in your state.

Three, in structuring the Committee with one member from each state, SRC seems to have hit upon a vehicle that can be used at times to bring the entire Council membership closer to SRC, i.e., by each committee member assuming responsibility for contacting the other SRC members in his state, as illustrated by your letters last fall.

Four, reports from the Committee members indicate that dialogue has been started in each of the states that should in time result in some financial support, for either the state Councils or SRC.

Five, there has been an increase in the number of SRC members giving financial support to the Council, a sort of symbolic evidence of involvement. The letters sent by you last fall resulted in an increase from four member contributors in '64, to eighteen last year, for

the amount of $3,545. This included two $1,000 contributions which unlocked an equal amount of Stern's matching grant, making the yet modest total of $5,545.

Six, lastly, and the most important, the Committee has worked its way through numerous funding ideas, and in the process a far clearer picture of SRC's funding situation and its potentials comes into focus.

The costs of the Committee have thus far been slight, $547 up to the end of the year. To this should now be added $190, expense of a recent trip made by the Executive Assistant to talk with certain of those with whom he was associated when he was executive director of the Florida Council on Human Relations. This brings the total cost to date to $746.

Obviously, to fill in any sense the assignment given us has required thought in depth on SRC. And one naturally has begun with a fresh look at what we have here.

We have an organization operating in an area caught up in social revolution, and itself a significant part of that revolution.

An organization dependent upon the public for financial support. And one now grown to a million-dollar operation -- nothing comparable has ever before been made available for such work in the South!

We have an operation carried on in the name of one hundred people over the South, who meet once a year and who place their confidence in fifteen people, the Executive Committee, who in turn meet quarterly and place their confidence, in the final analysis, in one person, the Executive Director.

We have an operation grown at such a pace these past years that it has raced, so to speak, to keep up with itself. I am close enough to the office to

know what this has meant for the staff. For Les, and particularly for Paul, confronted as he was with administration of the large special-projects grant from Ford almost immediately on taking office last October.

We have an organization that has always been foundation oriented, supported mainly by national foundations. Because of this we have been able to build a major organization in the South and carry on work counter to the prevailing mores of the South.

We are now in the process of long-range planning to broaden the base of SRC's support to the South itself. And make no mistake about it, the decisions made and the pattern set will affect markedly the future of SRC.

Let me point up some of our groping for a right pattern for this broader funding.

It seems already clear that promotion of bequests, a source of unrestricted funds, should be included in any plan for future support. And as a general policy, that as potential contributors, individuals over the South should be left to the state Councils.

We have found southern foundations to be numerous, but with few exceptions small, their purposes not only quite limited but restricted mostly to paliatives, and all committed even more so than the national foundations to the general policy of making grants to projects only. Hardly without exception their trustees are from that sector frequently termed "the establishment."

I have had several conferences with two of the larger Atlanta foundations, their executive friends of longstanding. On my last visit to one of them, undoubtedly in a gesture of cooperation, he talked frankly about the making of grants. "Foundation trustees are on the whole conservative," he said, "and they are disturbed by changes taking place. Consciously or

unconsciously, this influences their decisions. In considering an application they invariably look down the roster of board members for those in whom they have confidence. SRC needs," he said, "to bring onto its board some people like....," naming several of Atlanta's most conservative financial leaders.

Over the years, SRC has worked on quietly in the South. By and large, the southern status quo, so to speak, does not know that the Council exists. But foundation officials call for records, as they should, and make a thorough study of an organization applying for a grant. One is left with the question as to whether SRC could have become the organization it now is, or year after year could have continued as the constructive force it has been in the South, had some of those so influential as the usual southern foundation official quietly expressed concern over the work. We will doubtless need careful selectivity here in the future funding of SRC.

Still, the enlightened self-interest of the great national business corporations may yet prove to be the most potential source of unrestricted future support for the Council. Certainly we should be able to make a telling case of SRC's role thus far in the growth of the South and the organization's potential in that future growth. Numerous advisory conferences along this line have taken place, and it is in this field that my own interest and committee work has been mainly centered. But here we need to think large, and not proceed without well thought-out plans and supportive data.

The Executive Director feels that SRC might possibly be able to provide for its general operation costs in still another way. Continue to seek and rely on the national foundations for special-project funds, but

with their approval increase to 20% the amount regularly assigned to general operation for administration. Then try to build up our sale of materials to where the amount from that source, together with the 20%, the interest from funds held and invested, and such other foundation funds as we might receive, would collectively meet the cost of general operation.

I lay these thoughts before you for whatever help they may be as we continue our effort to meet the Committee's assignment.

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SRC — Field Program

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A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

May 26, 1966

Here Goes Nothing?

Is a "Field Activities Newsletter" a good idea? We've been toying with the notion for some time and decided to try one or two. We don't know for sure what all we want to put in it, who we want to send it to, how often it should be written, or whether it is worth the effort. But from time to time there are bits of news or good ideas or useful information that we would like to pass on,--mostly to the staffs of the state councils on human council presidents, and perhaps to the SRC Board members and maybe state council staffers can let us know if you would like to select a few others to get it--like members of your Board and/or local council presidents.

New Names and Faces in Tennessee

Among the first new staffers to be employed under the expanded grant-in-aid program are Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Wiersema, who have joined the staff of the Tennessee Council. Actually, they were not "Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema" until after they started working for the TCHR. Baxton Bryant writes, "The Council has already had a wonderful effect on this fine young couple. Their marriage was performed by me in my home last Saturday." That's a wonderful effect, all right!

Mrs. Wiersema was Jerry Jolene Williams, a twenty-seven year old native Tennesseean. She has a B.S. from Middle Tennessee State, where she was in Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges, and lacks her thesis for a Master's in sociology from the University of Tennessee. For the past couple of years she has been working for the Metropolitan Action Commission (Nashville's community action agency) and the State Planning Commission. Her duties included research on poverty in Tennessee, community organization, and preparation of proposals for the poverty program.

Harry was born in Knoxville and is likewise twenty-seven. He holds a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering and also has done work toward a Master's degree in sociology at the university. Before joining the TCHR staff he was Assistant Coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Nashville. On the side he is a genius with office equipment and photographic equipment.

Both Harry and Jerry have been active in civil rights,--and there is no denying their commitment. Needless to say, the TCHR could not offer them, finance-~~and-security-wise~~, anything like their combined compensation from their former jobs. We don't think they would mind our quoting from a letter they wrote to the TCHR Board in connection with their application:

> ...For some time we have worked in the war on poverty, and we have been disillusioned with the progress made there and in other areas of human relations.
>
> ****
>
> We have come to see how much progress toward these ideals can be made by one man who is independent, with the help and support from concerned members of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Personnel Changes in Arkansas

Beginning June 1, Nat Griswold, Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, will lay down his accustomed duties to write a book about the Little Rock school crisis. After that he will retire to the family farm. He will be succeeded as Executive Director by Ozell Sutton, long-time Associate Director of the Council.

Taking Ozell's place as Associate Director will be the Reverend J. Harold Jackson, presently Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of North Little Rock. Harold was born in New Orleans and holds a B.S. degree from L.S. U. and a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. He has served churches in Jennings, Louisiana, and Helena, Arkansas, besides his present pastorate. He has served for the past year as Moderator of the Synod of Arkansas, Presbyterian Church, U.S. His wife is the former Sarah Wakeman of Baton Rouge. They have three children.

Executive Director for the Louisiana Council

Beginning in June the Louisiana Council will have an Executive Director. The position has been accepted by Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, a resident of Baton Rouge (where the office is to be).

Mrs. Miller grew up in Ohio and did her undergraduate work at West Virginia State College. She took a M.A. degree in Health and Physical Education from the University of Iowa. She has worked for the Urban League in Chicago and as a physical education instructor at Samuel Huston College, West Virginia State, and Southern University. For the past nine years she has operated a real estate and contracting business, building (so we are told) some of the loveliest new homes in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

But Mrs. Miller wanted to help people in a less impersonal way. So she entered the graduate school of Southern University and in June will receive a M.A. degree in Guidance.

Mrs. Miller strikes one as a poised and quietly determined woman. We predict that she will do an outstanding job as Director of the LCHR. And most certainly we wish her well.

Leadership Conferences in Mississippi

Ken Dean of the MCHR has been the prime convener of a couple of meetings which he hopes will get on some sort of regular basis as a Mississippi Leadership Conference. As we get the picture, this is intended to be a Mississippi version of the Southern Interagency Conference.

After discussing the idea with eight or ten of the more active leaders in the areas of race relations and poverty programs, Ken set a date and invited about twenty-five organizations to send representatives. The list included all major civil rights groups, as well as women's organizations and some of the church groups. About 34 people showed up at the first meeting.

The reaction of participants at the initial meeting was good. Besides the obvious sharing of ideas and problems, Ken sees the Leadership Conference as helping to clear up misunderstandings and giving some of the church groups and women's groups contact with the more active civil rights people. (Ken thinks this aspect of the idea might be even more fruitful in other states.)

"The most difficult part of this type of program," Ken writes, "is to get an open date."

We are not astonished.

Board, Local Council Leaders Meet in Florida

On May 6 and 7, August VandenBosche brought together his Board and the principal officers of each local council for a conference which included briefing on the financial structure and requirements of the council and program at both the state and local level. Paul Anthony and I went down for this meeting, which was held in Orlando. We felt that it was very helpful toward getting all concerned to "understand the situation." It was also a good way to get a lot of program information and ideas across.

The Arkansas Council is planning a similar meeting for June 10.

A Local Council Program We Like

The Augusta (Georgia) Council on Human Relations has established a listing service for open housing. The plan is to list houses available to be bought, sold, or rented on a non-discriminatory basis. They want only to bring buyer and seller together, of course, and will not be serving as brokers.

The group has secured a small office and a telephone. Volunteers man the phone. A small ad is carried in the classified section from time to time. Besides answering the phone, the volunteers call people who advertise in the paper to see if the unit is available on a non-discriminatory basis.

ADL Publication Ordered for State Councils

Countering Extremism, which gives how-to-do-it help on organizing a community to counter increasing influence by radical-right organizations, is soon to be published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. As promised at our last meeting of the state councils' staffs, we have ordered a number of copies sent to each state council. They will find these useful from time to time.

Don't Forget...

...the Community Leadership Development Workshop at the Sheraton-

Emory Inn in Atlanta, July 24-31. Send in your application, if you plan to go. Let me know that you are going to attend, so that we can plan our next state councils' staff meeting accordingly.

Late News Flashes!

Mr. William C. Allred, Jr., will become Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations in July. Mr. Allred, a resident of Greensboro, is a graduate of Wake Forest College and next month will receive the M.A. degree from Emory University, Atlanta, in the field of history. His thesis: "The Southern Regional Council, 1943-1961."

For the past four years Mr. Allred has been employed in the actuarial and contract departments of Pilot Life Insurance Company in Greensboro. He is married and has two daughters, ages 6 and 2.

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held on November 16, 17, and 18 this year. Please mark your calendar. Plans are incomplete, of course, but we hope this year to make presentation of state council affairs an integral part of the meeting, --instead of having it before the SRC meeting.

Ed Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

SRC Memo

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

June 27, 1966

State Council Staff Changes

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has accepted the resignation of Ozell Sutton with regret, but with understanding. He has accepted a position with the Community Relations Service. Ozell will continue to live in Little Rock, but will travel in Arkansas and surrounding states. His resignation comes less than a month after he was named Executive Director upon Nat Griswold's pre-retirement leave-of-absence and after many years of service as Associate Director. As we understand it, Ozell could not love the Arkansas Council half so much, loved he not the prospect of college-educated children more. (Apologies to Will Shakespeare.) His resignation is effective July 31.

The Alabama Council Board of Directors has named Mr. Jerry Roden, of Auburn, Executive Director. At the same time they acted to retain as Associate Director Robert S. Valder, who has been doing a great job for the Alabama Council under the NAIRO Intern program for the past year. They also voted to move the state council office from Huntsville to Auburn. (New address: P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.)

Jerry Roden was President of the East Alabama Chapter of the Alabama Council during 1965. Under his leadership that group grew from about 100 members to more than 300. (It has since increased to nearly 400.) It also developed vigorous programs, including cultural enrichment programs in several rural schools, work on voter education, an adult education class, a six-week lecture series, and sponsorship of four Head Start Centers.

Jerry, who is a Ph.D. candidate in the English Department at Auburn University, resigned as Editor of the Auburn alumni magazine in order to take up his doctoral studies last year. He had held that position for four years, and before that was a field representative for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Thus he is very well qualified, and we welcome him into the state council tribe.

The Virginia Council has employed Mr. Bailey Wharton as Assistant to the Director. Mr. Wharton is a graduate of Hampton Institute in Virginia. He has a particular interest in urban problems. In his new position he will be especially concerned with local council organization and program, including efforts at membership enlistment and local fund-raising.

The White House Conference

Most of the state council Executive Directors attended the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" on June 1 and 2. Bob Combs, Alice Spearman, August VandenBosche, Frances Pauley, Bob Valder Baxton Bryant, and Ozell Sutton were there -- as well as Paul Anthony, Vernon Jordan, Pat Watters, Emory Via and yours truly from SRC.

Poverty Conference in Mississippi

The Mississippi Council sponsored a conference on poverty in Jackson on June 4th. With a modest assist from SRC the MCHR brought in "grass roots" folks, gave them a chance to speak to federal and state anti-poverty officials, and provided opportunity for an exchange of views -- to put it mildly. The people who are on intimate terms with Poverty seemed to have no trouble communicating, despite the fact that they were not, as one put it, "highly-falooted speakers." To your reporter their story was put in a nutshell by a lady poet who remarked, "I can tell you it's been hard. Sometimes our hearts pack solid."

South Carolina Council Begins "Project SPEED-UP"

The South Carolina Council began "Project SPEED-UP" with a week of orientation for participating college students June 5 through 12. SPEED-UP means "Student Project for Economic and Educational Development -- Utilizing the Poor." With a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity the SCCHR is employing 200 students from South Carolina Schools and Colleges for ten weeks, 40 hours per week, in educational and community organization projects all around the state. Besides the help to communities, the employment will enable the students to continue in college.

Alabama School Desegregation Conference Ends Series

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has sponsored a series of state-wide conferences on school desegregation this spring. They were held in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama. After each

conference the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the council on human relations in the respective states, and other state groups cooperated in a nuts-and-bolts session designed to guide local leaders in organization to secure student transfers under freedom-of-choice desegregation plans. Attendance at these conferences averaged about 700, with the larger groups in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

At the Alabama Conference in Birmingham on June 11 some 1,200 people heard Commissioner Howe of the Office of Education reaffirm strongly that the new desegregation guidelines were legal and would be enforced. He did so in the face of daily machinations by Governor Wallace aimed at having the new guidelines voided and non-compliance by Alabama school boards. William Taylor of the Civil Rights Commission also spoke.

We should note gratefully the dedicated labor of the Civil Rights Commission field staff, under Mr. Samuel Simmons, and of Jean Fairfax, Constance Curry, and Winifred Falls of the AFSC staff in preparing these conferences on an almost-weekly basis. And they have commented often on the splendid cooperation from state councils on human relations. A pat on the back all around!

State Council Presidents Meet

On June 17 and 18 the Southern Regional Council brought together in Atlanta the presidents of the state councils for a day of discussion of purpose and philosophy of human relations councils, common problems, future emphases, staff needs and benefits, and the like. Presidents Walter Clancy of Arkansas, Duncan Gray of Mississippi, C. G. Gomillion of Alabama, Joe Hendricks of Georgia, H. Franklin Williams of Florida, and David Scull of Virginia attended. Treasurers G. J. Tarleton of Tennessee and Emery Rann of North Carolina represented their presidents, Martha Ragland and John R. Taylor, respectively. Mr. Frederick Fleming represented Mr. Henry Groppe of the Houston Council.

This was the first time that the presidents had had a conference without staff members present. They felt that it was helpful and asked that it become an annual affair. (It might also be helpful to have two or three hours of discussion on philosophy and direction at a meeting of each state council Board about once a year.)

Paperback Books Project

The first shipments of paperback books have gone out to projects in Auburn, Alabama, and Nashville, Tennessee. Within the next few

days a shipment will be sent to the Selma (Alabama) Interreligious Project.

Proposals for these experimental projects in book distribution are beginning to come in, but so far we have had very few from local chapters of state councils on human relations. This is a disappointment, since such a project seems a "natural" for local councils. Perhaps some follow-through is needed by state council staffers -- checking with local groups to which you have recommended the project.

Notes on the SRC Special Projects

A Director for SRC's Special Project in Criminal Rehabilitation and Prison Reform has been found. Mr. John O. Boone will join the SRC staff in that capacity in July. Mr. Boone is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, and has a Master's degree in social work from Atlanta University. For fifteen years he has been employed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Currently he is Chief of the Classification and Parole Department of the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana. Before transferring to Terre Haute he had worked in the same department of the U. S. Penitentiary in Atlanta.

The Voter Education Project now employs Administrative Assistant Thad Olive and Research and Information Director Marvin Wall and two secretaries (Nobbie Morgan and Pat Franklin) in addition to Director Vernon Jordan. The VEP has funded 61 projects throughout the South. They range from a $200 project by the Lee County (Alabama) League of Women Voters, which taught some 2000 new voters how to use the voting machines, to "umbrella" projects covering several counties and sponsored by groups such as the NAACP in Alabama and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The break-down by state and number of projects is as follows: Alabama, 13; Arkansas, 3; Florida, 1; Georgia, 13; Louisiana, 4; Mississippi, 3; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 4; and Virginia, 6.

Of particular interest to human relations council folks is the fact that voter registration projects are being sponsored by the Arkansas Council and the Knoxville Council. The Arkansas Council project will conduct a registration drive in 16 counties over a twelve-week period, employing a director and three field representatives. The Greater Knoxville Council's project will cover only Knox County. It will run for eight weeks and will employ a director and five area coordinators.

VEP funds have been concentrated on voter registration prior to this year's primary elections -- and general elections, where important, as in Arkansas this year. Later it will be possible to fund more citizenship education projects. Many local human relations councils should be able to sponsor or assist with these.

Al Ulmer, Director of the Community Organization Project, convened a planning conference on Cooperative Training at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi, on June 9, 10, and 11. Participants generally felt that while cooperatives are useful tools and more of them should be developed, a great deal of educational work needs to be done. They came up with some ambitious and far-reaching ideas about getting the necessary administrative and technical assistance. A summary of the conference is being sent to state council executive directors and is available to others on request.

Al (who says he prefers to stay at least a week in a place and dislikes one-day meetings) plans to spend a week in Lee County, South Carolina, in the near future, working on a possible buying club and credit union. Also in his future is a week in Amelia and Nottaway Counties, in Virginia, where the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee has done some preliminary work on credit unions and a study club on consumer education.

Moreland Smith of the Housing and Urban Planning Project thinks a revision of his report, "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," which is now in print will be of interest to the human relations councils. He would appreciate any comments and suggestions. He also would like to know about any efforts at neighborhood stabilization.

A Local Council That We Hope Is As Good As It Looks On Paper

We quote from a summary of the April 30 meeting of the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Council:

"Mr. Thomas Donnelly reported that the CHAPEL HILL-CARRBORO Council is involved in many activities, some of which are equal employment -- informing domestic workers of their rights under the Social Security program, fair working hours, summer vacations, etc.; education -- the youth group conducts a small scale "Operation Head Start" which includes games and reading for the children each Saturday; voter education -- informing new registrants on voting and government; housing -- bringing to the attention of the proper authorities infractions of the housing code, encouraging renters to keep records of their rent payments. Also, they are working to obtain sewers for some areas of the city, and they have organized a legal aid to handle civil hardship cases and to act as a clearing house for other groups."

Unquote.

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM
September 13, 1966

TO: Member Agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

SUBJECT: September 20-21 Meeting

This is to remind you that the Southern Interagency Conference will meet in the conference room of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, at 2:00 P. M. on September 20. We will adjourn about noon on September 21.

The program for Tuesday afternoon will be a presentation by Dr. Lewis Killian of Florida State University on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. There will be a reactor panel following Dr. Killian's address. The panel will be made up of Randolph Blackwell of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, Ruby Hurley of the NAACP, Emory Via of Southern Regional Council, Charles Morgan, LCSU, and a representative of the Labor Movement.

We have been invited to dinner at the home of Al Kehrer. Spouses will be welcome at this part of the meeting. Vernon Jordan will brief us on the southern political situation following the meal.

The program on Wednesday morning will be a briefing on hospital and school desegregation by representatives of the Regional Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

JES:mlm

SRC-Memo

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible]2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

September 14, 1966

To: Directors of State Councils on Human Relations

From: Ed Stanfield and Emory Via

Listed below are three suggestions for possible State Council programs which could be run in cooperation with SRC'S Labor Program. Would you look them over and give your reactions or expressions of interest to one of us when you are in Atlanta for the Directors' meeting.

1. A project to assist in the enforcement of the newly amended minimum wage law. The coverage of the law and the benefits it guarantees will be improved. Many workers will not know that they are covered or will not know how to proceed in the enforcement of their rights. Many employers similarly will be slow in realizing the impact of the law on them. This project will have to await the final passage of the law and the preparation of a guideline for action. However, it could be of substantial benefit to low income people. It would be a direct and appreciated service. It could be a program run almost completely by volunteers and might be an excellent project for college youth looking for a beneficial project with tangible results. A briefing conference could be held with SRC arranging for the experts. Basically, such a program sould supplement federal efforts. But it could assume speedy and fair enforcement. It offers advantages in building some meaningful bridges between low income groups and human relations efforts.

2. A project to assist in ending discrimination in apprentice training. We could offer a variety of consultative services. A determination needs to be made of actual local practice and how many Negroes are involved in apprentice training. Similarly, some assessment is needed how the main institutional elements in apprentice training will respond to a project encouraging Negro entry into their programs. Remember, of course, that a good bit of law and administrative regulation is on the side of fairness. Thirdly, Negro youngsters who are qualified by age and education need to be located and motivated to participate in such training. A major part of such a program is to provide realistic, preparatory training so the youngsters (approximately 18 - 25) can score well on entry tests. A good bit of experience on this is available. Again, this is a program that can be carried out, with some expert advice, by volunteers. Not too many. They need to be qualified people. The main element in this proposal is the location-training-motivation component. The other determinations (extent of Negro participation and attitude of the institutions involved) are for background purposes. Assistance can be offered in developing that information, too.

   A specific proposal would be to convene a small working conference of people from one metropolitan area. It should include those knowledgeable in apprentice problems and training as well as persons from your organization and others who would be expected to take the lead in program execution. Emory Via would want to consult with you in detail prior to invitations being extended. SRC would provide the expert consultants for such a meeting and assist or cover the other costs for a one or two day program. We would not envision travel or room costs since the meeting would be restricted to one city.

3. An off-the-record conference between civil rights leaders and labor leaders. In some cases selected other leaders would also be involved. The format and invitees will have to be agreed on in advance between the Labor Program and the State Council. Such a conference would encourage individuals and their organizations to get acquainted on a serious level. It would uncover mutual, practical interests. It would air, constructively, the differences and misunderstandings that may have developed between civil rights advocates and the labor movement. The conference could be area or statewide. SRC would (a) advise on program, (b) work to secure labor participation, (c) provide outside expertise, and (d) underwrite much of the related costs to the meeting.

SRC - Field Program

October 17, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils--Meeting on September 27, 1966

The Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils met in the SRC conference room on September 27, 1966. Those attending were Joe Hendricks, Franklin Williams (Florida), and The Reverend Hubert Beckwith, in addition to John Pecoul and I of the SRC staff.

To place our discussion in context, I read the statement which had been drafted by the state council directors and presented to the Executive Committee of SRC on June 3, 1965, and the action taken by the Executive Committee, including setting up the present special committee. (See attached copies.) Hendricks and Williams mentioned the meeting of state council presidents which was held in June of this year, said that some of the concerns expressed at that meeting were also pertinent to our subject, and expressed agreement that every effort must be made to put the state councils on a self-sustaining basis for their minimal general operations. Someone commented to the effect that the children should not only be weaned, but also should be set up as full partners.

The committee then proceeded to list the following objectives which they felt the relationship, whatever it might be, should be designed to pursue:

(1) A regional identity for the state councils and their memberships.

(2) A sizeable and representative membership body for both the state councils and SRC.

(3) Expanded and refined programs for the state councils; more technical skills on the state council staffs and available to them.

(4) Coordination of programs within SRC and between SRC and the state councils. This would mean better communication, but also consultation on program planning. The comment was made, "Something is being said in the fact that the SRC program money for state and local councils is not being gobbled up."

(5) Representation and participation for membership, including <u>training</u> for members to enable them to participate effectively.

Several ideas about specific steps toward these objectives were discussed. The principal ones were an expanded field department at SRC, a department of development, and a more integral relationship between SRC and the councils on human relations.

The committee felt that the Department of Field Activities needs to be greatly expanded, whether or not the formal relationship of the organizations changes. It should include a staff of specialists in the needs of state and local councils. (I took this to mean, for example, a specialist to help local councils organize and sustain affiliated student organizations; or someone who could stay for an extended period in a city to organize a fair housing effort; etc.) The committee mentioned the need for an advisory group for the field department.

In connection with field activities, the committee was concerned about the problem suggested in point four above, i.e., that there are many programs in the field not coordinated with "field activities." It was observed that the state councils were originally conceived as the agents for SRC's field activities; that the rapid growth and strength presupposed by this conception had not proven possible; and that, consequently, they are now--in effect--one of several SRC projects, all of which are field activities. It was felt that the state councils need more expert attention to enable them to attain strength to handle such needs as SRC must deal with, at present, through the special project apparatuses, although they are properly the concern of the state councils as well as SRC.

On the subject of mutual fund-raising, the committee felt the need for something like a "department of development" within SRC. It was stressed that they were not talking about a professional fund-raiser, but rather the need for one or more individuals, committed to the over-all purpose of SRC, who would develop programs as well as support for them and for the agency's general operations. "A department of development," someone summed up, "which is an integral part of the program--not a fund raiser."

A considerable amount of time was devoted to the need for a more integral relationship between SRC and the state councils, in order to achieve the objectives outlined above. One possibility would be to have each state council elect one SRC Board member each year, which would mean an eventual total of 40 out of the 100 Board members. Someone recalled a phrase Les Dunbar often used, "the SRC-human relations council movement." The committee felt that if there is indeed a movement, it needs to be structured and given leadership. They felt that the times and circumstances call for "a movement that is large, public, and regional." "In some way SRC ought to be connected with a membership--a large constituency."

The committee felt that their discussion tended to point up the interpretation that SRC has gone through constant evolution as re-evaluation and restructuring was required by circumstances. They felt that they were not really suggesting a new departure, but only a return--or partial return--to the original concept. They asked me to describe their deliberations and wanted to have placed in the context of them a set of propositions drafted by H. Franklin Williams and unanimously agreed upon:

SRC and the councils on human relations should share a regional identity.

Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.

Members of the councils on human relations must feel that they participate in SRC.

SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of council on human relations membership as one of its objectives.

To this end its field service should be built up with an eye to offering training and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and to suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.

There should be no interruption in other projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved, where possible.

The committee agreed that these propositions were not to be construed as conclusions to be proposed to the SRC Executive Committee, but rather to be submitted to the Executive Director for his response and comment. They asked that these comments be communicated to the special committee members. If it seems advisable, they will meet before or during the annual meeting to draft definite proposals.

SRC-Field Program

October 24, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The Special Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils

FROM: Paul Anthony

Ed Stanfield has shared with me the report on your meeting of September 27. I regret that I was unable to attend at least a portion of that meeting. We do appreciate the time you have devoted to this matter and hope that we can ask you to continue serving on this important committee. I particularly appreciate your decision to submit your recommendations to me to give us an opportunity for continued discussion and comment. I think this is a very sound approach to these deliberations and that we can hope for the greatest amount of progress at this point by following such a plan.

At the outset, let me assure you (although I hope it isn't necessary) that I have a deep commitment to the existence of the state councils and their growth. This is commitment which is shared without question by the Executive Committee and staff of SRC. I am certain that SRC can perform a valuable and essential service to the state councils through its regional operation. This ranges from services to the state councils and providing programs and specialists to continued regional and national fund raising efforts on behalf of the state councils. In turn, I feel it is essential for the operation of SRC to have this outreach into the whole region, this structure, this identity with and information from the "grass-roots." It would be the most serious mistake, in my opinion, if we did not continue the closest possible partnership, insofar as we at the Southern Regional Council are concerned. We would hope the members of the Special Committee would always consider their worth in the context of not whether or not there should be a continued close relationship but on how the partnership can be most effectively continued. Your recommendations reflect that we are of the same mind on this.

Specific comments on your recommendations follow:

1. SRC and the councils on human relationships should share a regional identity.

I quite agree with this. To a substantial measure this is already the case, but I think it is something we should be positively aware of and work toward increasing. As a part of this recommendation, I think more thought has to be given to an idea which the state council directors have discussed for several years. This is the possibility of the state councils forming at least a more formal confederation which can on occasion speak as one voice or plan special programs for the entire region. The leadership of several of the state councils have expressed considerable enthusiasm

for this idea. The leadership of several other councils have expressed some reservation about the extent to which this removes policy and program planning from the policy leadership to the state councils' staff. Since there is some remaining question about this, I think the committee should give thought to it and request that state council presidents and directors continue to think about it, preferably when they meet together. Incidentally, as a part of this regional identity I believe that the councils on human relations should consider themselves in a position to have a constant and strong voice in the planning of future SRC programs and projects. To a reasonable degree, we here consider this now the case but I think there is room for more emphasis on this. Certainly, we will be very responsive to the requests for needs, services, programs and direction from the state council leadership.

2. Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.

Here again we are in complete agreement. Several years ago the members of SRC at an annual meeting voted that one of the considerations to be taken into account on the election of new members was the involvement of the persons under consideration in the council on human relations from their state. This policy has been followed regularly and each year. A majority of those persons nominated have been actively involved in the state council. This consideration will continue to be a part of the deliberations of future members of future nominating committees. It is unlikely at this point that the Executive Committee of SRC would look with favor on any proposal that would automatically give to the state councils the election of a certain number of SRC members. This procedure was deliberately abandoned in 1957 when the councils became autonomous, and at this time the Executive Committee strongly supports the concept of autonomy.

3. Members of the Councils on Human Relations must feel that they participate in SRC.

4. SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of Council on Human Relations Membership as one of its objectives.

Again we are in complete agreement. For the past several years we have attempted to emphasize this and, for instance, toward that end the George Mitchell Award was instituted. (Incidentally this award with a cash value of $1,000 a year is a pretty heavy burden on SRC, but was deliberately chosen in that amount to be a real inducement.) In the future, I would like to see us give particular emphasis to suggestions, program assistance and financial resources, which will help to maintain membership and the involvement of Council members in the programs of the several state councils.

5. To this end its field services should be built with the idea of offering trained and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and in suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.

Again we are in complete agreement. There is quite frankly a limit to which we can expand the field services but certainly they are inadequate at this time. I feel that Ed Stanfield is doing a remarkable job as Field Director and particularly in assisting the state councils. Quite obviously this is a job which one man, no matter how good, cannot adequately fill.

6. There should be no interruption of the projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved where possible.

All of the statements made heretofore in this memorandum refer to this. They do, of course, reflect complete agreement with you again. We have not done as good a job as possible in keeping the state councils informed about SRC projects and a real effort is underway here to improve that. Beyond that I would place more emphasis perhaps than this Committee has on the matter of involving state and local councils in SRC projects. It would be my hope that with rare exception there would be considerable involvement in SRC projects on the part of state and local councils and as mentioned before, indeed, substantial planning in them before they are initiated.

Beyond the above response to your several recommendations it might be good if you knew more of some of our thinking here as we go through what is in effect a period of significant transition for the Southern Regional Council. In the past year we have grown tremendously. (Incidentally, for the first time the rate of growth of our financial assistance to the state councils has been proportionate to the remainder of our growth.) While that opinion might well change because of the changing conditions, it is my strong opinion at this point that we have reached the "saturation point." I believe for a substantial further growth on the part of the Southern Regional Council in terms of number of staff, number of projects, or of money available would be very questionable. We are not here interested in building an empire and the relatively modest staff and budget in comparison with the results gained over the past fifteen years gives me considerable pause before we undertake any additional substantial expansion. Quite frankly, I would hope the trend is in the other direction. That to a gentle and gradual degree we begin to slowly cut back to a point where we are perhaps twenty percent smaller in staff and budget than we are at this time. You should know that in part I reached this opinion because in oversize fashion we share a particular problem with the state councils. Namely, we have great difficulty in finding adequate support for our general operations and we, like the state councils, must give this first priority and must be concerned that at no time do we over-extend ourselves.

Further, we here at SRC are not anxious to become over-extended in field programs. There are certain functions such as our Voter Education Project which we have no choice but to undertake. These are, however, specific functions for a limited amount of time and they are not seen as a permanent part of the agency. In general, we feel state councils particularly, but other agencies as well,

are in a far better position to undertake program work on the local level. Our unique function is on an entirely different level and I believe it would be a mistake not to recognize that uniqueness and the danger of considerable duplication if we become too involved in programs.

I hope it will be possible for this Committee to meet before or during the Annual Meeting and should you wish there will certainly be an opportunity for the Committee to report to the members of the Council on your thinking and deliberation at this point.

The Council now has a number of special committees at work on future SRC policies and programs. I am certain I speak for the full Council in expressing the opinion that this Committee is one of the most important. This will be dicussed with the Executive Committee of SRC. I personally hope this Committee will continue to function indefinitely and that each of you will continue to be agreeable to serve.

We look forward to seeing you on November 16.

PA/cl

SRC- Mailing List

EV

October 28, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

FROM: Janet Smith

Category plates for mailings other than NEW SOUTH have been combined in some instances and renumbered. Category numbers for use in future distribution memos are as follows:

1. Board (all mailings)
2. FCR (Foundations, Contributors & Related) all mailings
3. Media
4. Intergroup
5. Labor
6. Research (includes old All Purpose)
7. Libraries
8. Blue Ribbon
9. School Superintendents and Education Associations
10. Chambers of Commerce and Bank Presidents
11. Student Newspapers and Student Council Presidents
12. Government
13. Internationals
19. Paid Subscribers (all mailings)

MAILING CATEGORIES

1.	Board	100
2.	Foundations	50
3.	Media	300
4.	Intergroup	200
5.	Labor	250
6.	Research	600
7.	Libraries	800
8.	Blue Ribbon	200
9.	School Superintendents	810
10.	Chambers of Commerce	600
11.	Student Newspapers and Student Governments	350
12.	Government	200
13.	International	26
19.	Paid Subscribers	60
	NEW SOUTH	3000

Marlesy

JRZ

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

PROGRAM ASSISTANCE AVAILABLE TO COUNCILS ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The Southern Regional Council now has available funds in modest amounts and staff consultants in certain program areas to assist projects of local and state councils on human relations. The program concerns with which we are able to assist will be outlined below. But first there are some general requirements which should be kept in mind by councils needing assistance.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Use of Consultants

Much of the assistance we are in position to offer is in the form of consultant services. The directors of our "special projects" and their associates are available to help with specific problems at the request of human relations councils or other groups. In addition, the SRC can pay consultant fees and expenses for an expert in matters specified below which are not covered by one of our special projects or where the need is for knowledge or skills which our staff persons do not have.

It should be kept in mind that the special project directors are trying to accomplish a great deal with limited budget and staff. The time that they can devote to education about their purposes and programs is necessarily restricted. Requests for help with specific problems or projects can be answered more readily than requests for participation in conferences, speeches, etc.

Scope and Cost

For some program areas we can supply small cash grants. The SRC is not a foundation, however, and does not have large sums of money available. Imaginative proposals which are apt to bring significant results with minimum expenditure have the best chance of approval. In general we want to enable volunteers to work effectively; our resources are insufficient to provide salaries, office space, and other needs for staffed operations.

Lead Time

Groups should submit requests and proposals to the SRC and secure our commitment of funds before committing themselves to projects. Occasionally groups obligate themselves, assuming that SRC funds are available, only to find that their project, as planned, does not fit our policy requirements or the donor's stipulations. In such cases we can only reject the proposal. Frequently, however, had we been informed far enough in advance, we could have offered suggestions which would have made the project acceptable to both the SRC and the sponsoring group.

Imagination and Innovation

The SRC ordinarily cannot support "group maintenance" functions -- the things that are done to keep an organization going. We are interested in specific projects. For example, there is little interest in helping a student organization publish a newsletter, but transportation money for a tutorial program or a voter-registration project might very well be provided. We probably would not pay the cost of printing a descriptive brochure about a fair-housing group, but could provide a consultant on a neighborhood stabilization problem and buy literature for distribution in a neighborhood stabilization effort.

SRC'S SPECIAL PROJECTS

The Southern Regional Council has five "special projects." These are programs for which funds have been secured for a limited period -- two or three years -- to work at a problem which the Council thinks is urgent at this time. Each special project has a director and most have additional staff persons.

Voter Education Project

The Voter Education Project (which is our second VEP) is directed by Mr. Vernon Jordan. As was the case with the first VEP, there is a major emphasis on voter registration. For this purpose local affiliates of the five major civil rights organization have been found to be most effective ordinarily, Although both a state and a local council have been funded to do voter registration.

In this second, however, there will be two other concerns: citizenship education and leadership development. Both are designed to assist long-disenfranchised Negroes toward effective participation in the whole political process. We feel that human relations councils, as well as other groups, can do much in the way of citizenship education.

One group -- it was not a human relations council, but might well have been -- secured a grant of only $200.00 to pay the cost of transporting a borrowed voting machine to various locations in their county and sending out postal card invitations to newly registered voters. They taught more than 1500 people how to operate a voting machine. In fact, not everyone who felt the need to practice and came to do so was a newly registered voter!

Housing and Urban Planning Project

Mr. Moreland Smith, an architect formerly of Montgomery, Alabama, is director of our special project in housing and urban planning. Recognizing that human relations and intergroup relations are profoundly affected by the physical characteristics of a city and by its pattern of space utilization, this project seeks to make more habitable for everyone the great cities now growing in the South. Much that Mr. Smith and his associates do, of course, does not lend itself to cooperation with state or local human relations councils. But much of it does. It is hoped that the Urban Planning Project may be a resource for any housing or urban planning questions you may have. Moreover, there are funds which could provide consultants to help meet the program needs of councils.

For example, the project suggested and paid transportation and other expenses for a consultant who helped form a fair housing committee in one city. Another possibility would be a campaign of neighborhood stabilization in a transitional area (see our pamphlet, "Neighborhood Stabilization") with advice from the project staff or outside consultants as the case warrants. Your group may need assistance to determine factually whether or not there are irregularities in your city's Urban Renewal program -- and to document them if there are. Or, by prearrangement with the Urban Planning Project, you might be able to offer the assistance of human relations oriented city planner to your municipal officials.

Community Organization Project

Directed by Mr. Al Ulmer, this project seeks to help minority-group communities organize to exercise effectively their due influence on civic processes, particularly as these affect them, and to take advantage of available federal programs. Mr. Ulmer has worked extensively with several human relations councils and other groups. His many concerns include consumer education, self-help housing (for which government financing can be secured), organization of credit unions, buying cooperatives, block organizing, and many others.

To cite an example, one local human relations council discovered that a predominantly Negro public housing project was being allowed to deteriorate, while a traditionally all-white project in the same city was kept in excellent repair. They called on the Community Organization Project to help residents of the neglected project secure equal treatment.

Labor Project

Mr. Emory Via, on a leave of absence from the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, is Director of SRC's Labor Project. This project has three main areas of work:

1. Labor education for local and state union leaders emphasizing understanding the changing South and labor's responsibilities in the area of civil rights.

2. Consultation and liasion work with unions, race relations organizations, and others interested in labor and employment problems.

3. Employment discrimination in terms of public policy formation and in specific remedial programs.

EEOC & changes & use of Ex. Order & State legis

Full employm. / Unemployd. Seers / Min wage

Programs vary from an educational conference exclusively for union leaders, to involving union members in activities related to race relations concerns, to assisting in ironing out problems that arise between a union and an agency working in the area of civil rights. The project is interested in knowing of local programs to ~~improve~~ achieve equality in employment and can offer consultative assistance where needed. It sees as one of its important functions bringing thoughtful labor leaders into contact with receptive persons working in human relations.

Prison Administration -- Criminal Rehabilitation Project

Mr. John Boone has recently joined our staff as director of a special project in prison administration and criminal rehabilitation. It is generally assumed but sadly ignored fact that penal policy and conditions in penal institutions in the South are inhumane. Mr. Boone's concern will be to conduct research, including publication of the results, on this problem, and to cultivate the interest of many groups and of the public in this issue.

Since Mr. Boone has begun so recently his program is not yet fully developed. He has already called upon the state council staffs for assistance, however, and it is hoped that both state and local councils will be in touch with him about local penal institutions and rehabilitation problems. The budget for this project includes a sum for consultants.

OTHER INTEREST AREAS

In addition to the program areas in which we have special projects, there are a number of our research projects which can provide consultant services to state and local councils incidentally. We also have a couple of special-purpose funds and an experimental project for which we are actively seeking the help and cooperation of local groups.

Fair Employment and Anti-Poverty Programs

Sometimes a local council will be pretty sure that something is wrong in the employment pattern of, let us say, the retail stores of their city, but will not know how to go about correcting the situation. Or there may be a problem in connection with the "War on Poverty" in your area: No community action agency has been formed; or it has a non-representative composition; or you see a need for an employment training program but do not know how to get a proposal planned and submitted.

In all such situations the Southern Regional Council can provide consultants who will have had some experience in these matters and the technical competence, knowledge of government agencies and personnel, etc., that you need.

School Integration

SRC has a continuing interest in education and the integration of Southern school systems. In connection with our research on this problems we are able to provide consultant services and some expense money for desegregation problems and efforts. There are the well-known problems of recruiting students to transfer to integrated schools under "freedom of choice" plans and of securing integrated faculties. But more attention needs to be given the less celebrated school integration problems, such as the placement of schools (Is your community's new school bond issue being used to perpetuate segregation?) and almost-exclusive use of all-white-and-middle-class textbooks in the school systems. The SRC will welcome information about and requests for assistance with all such problems.

Welfare Programs

This is another of our research projects. In the budget for it we have anticipated the need for a considerable amount of work at local level on inequities and ill effects of standard welfare procedures. For example, many of the most impoverished counties in the South do not participate in the surplus food program of the federal government because local authorities refuse the modest expense of providing storage. Some local groups have successfully waged campaigns to secure this service, and the SRC could pay to have someone experienced in this problem help with similar cases. Or perhaps your groups needs a consultant to help document the results of such unfair (and frequent) policies as those disqualifying a family for assistance unless the father is absent (even though he can find no work).

Student Group Projects

In order to encourage student human relations groups a foundation has provided us funds to assist campus groups with human relations projects. These could be anything: Tutorials, projects of recruiting minority groups students for the university, assisting students from low-income families to find scholarships a lecture series on campus or nearby, etc. It should be remembered, however, that these funds are available to existing student groups for their projects. Under the donor's conditions we cannot ordinarily use them to begin student groups or to maintain their administrative functions.

Paperback Books Project

This year (1966) the SRC is conducting an experiment in distribution of paperback books among low-income people. With more than 40,000 volumes available, we are seeking imaginative ways of making books accessible to people who may not have had access to them before, motivating such people to use books for both information and recreation, and encouraging book ownership. We feel that this experiment can easily be utilized by human relations councils in worthwhile projects.

Your group might, for example, supply books on child-rearing and home economics to parents of a day-nursery in your town. Or the day-nursery itself might need books for the children. If you have or wish to start a study-hall in a slum neighborhood, you could secure dictionaries and other reference books -- and perhaps a shelf of just-for-pleasure books for teenagers and another shelf of books dealing with Negro history and culture. In almost every town and county in the South there are schools with inadequate libraries. Probably the majority of classrooms in grade schools and junior high schools of the region have no class library. Your group might wish to provide books on the history of Negroes in America to all school libraries in your community, or it might wish to provide a basic classroom library to every fifth grade and every eighth grade. Or it might undertake to set up and service a lending shelf in general stores in a rural county.

The possibilities are as endless as your imagination -- and what we want is imaginative proposals for getting books used by people. Guidelines for requesting books will be sent on request. (Incidentally, the books are provided free of charge, including the cost of shipping.)

NOTE: REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE OR FURTHER INFORMATION MAY BE ADDRESSED TO THE APPROPRIATE SPECIAL PROJECT DIRECTOR OR TO THE DIRECTOR OF FIELD ACTIVITIES, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 5 FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, 30303.

PW
LWD
NM

Fyi

MINUTES OF STAFF MEETING - - RESEARCH

June 29, 1965

Those present were: Barbara Patterson, Bernice Morrison Nobbie Morgan, Montez Albright, Bill Beardslee, Sam Adams, director (new). Pat Watters sat in.

Purpose of this meeting was to acquaint the staff with its new director, mainly, and also to have the staff give ideas and information concerning the work of the research department.

The director emphasized that he would like to have such staff assemblies periodically, in order for each staff member to be abreast on the department's happenings and to share ideas and information.

Sam asked that each staff member write out a job description of his or her own duties -- these he would like to have on his desk within the next two weeks.

There was a brief discussion concerning training different persons for certain jobs, etc., all of this was presented in the way of organizational setup.

Sam solicited any/and all information concerning housing -- inasmuch as he is to be doing or rather co-working with Lloyd Elliott on the study of "Housing."

Sam also solicited any/and all information concerning housing for his family -- house, apartment if sized adequately.

Montez has a reference book of different publications by the Council, Sam requested that this be reproduced so a "pool" copy would be available in the research department for all staffers and/or ready reference.

Pat Watters suggested that we get up a bibliography, for the New South each month, of books and periodicals. Everyone seemed to think this was a very good idea.

Staff meeting adjourned.

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
1/28/64

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS
April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

2,137801 1899433 9.9

STATE	1st Fiscal Year 4/1/62-3/31/63	1st 9 months 2nd Fiscal Year 4/1/63-12/31/63	Total As of 12/31/63	Total Voting Age Population	White Voting Age Population	Nonwhite Voting Age Population	Total Registration	W. Reg.	NW Reg.	% NW of Total Reg.	% NW Reg. of NWVAP
ALABAMA	5,598	7,889	13,487	1,834,378	1,353,058	481,320	1,015,000	925,000	90,000	8.8	18.7
ARKANSAS	4,952	3,804	8,756	1,043,269	850,643	192,626	633,665	553,655	80,000	12.6	41.5
FLORIDA	22,790	14,321	37,111	3,087,699	2,617,438	470,261	~~1,899,433~~	~~1,686,215~~	213,128	~~11.2~~	45.3
GEORGIA*	27,156	19,191	46,347	2,409,972	1,797,062	612,910	1,405,000	1,183,181	221,919	15.7	36.2
LOUISIANA	2,765	3,134	5,899	1,803,805	1,289,216	514,589	1,193,775	1,031,691	162,084	13.5	31.4
MISSISSIPPI	1,592	1,636	3,228	1,170,522	748,266	422,256	553,000	525,000	28,000	5.0	6.6
N. CAROLINA	9,838	13,485	23,323	2,556,884	2,005,955	550,929	2,090,270	1,856,497	233,773	11.1	42.4
S. CAROLINA	7,357	13,370	20,727	1,266,251	895,147	371,104	814,628	703,000	111,628	13.7	30.0
TENNESSEE	16,269	17,974	34,243	2,092,891	1,779,018	313,873	1,500,000	1,297,026	202,974	13.5	64.6
TEXAS	20,590	100,000**	120,590	5,534,277	4,884,765	649,512	2,020,183	1,720,183	300,000	14.8	46.1
VIRGINIA	6,100	7,777	13,877	2,312,887	1,876,167	436,720	1,032,104	923,792	108,312	10.4	24.8
TOTAL	125,007	202,581	327,588	25,112,835	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,~~157,058~~ 295 426	12,~~405,240~~ 618 968	1,751,813	~~11.8~~ 12.2	35.2

*Voting age is 18

**Represents an estimate of the new voters paying poll tax for the first time under a VEP-sponsored statewide program through Voters of Texas Enlist (V.O.T.E.). Includes Latin Americans, white and colored. 60,000 are estimated to be Negroes.

NOTE: The 300,000 NW Reg. for Texas is a 1963 estimate. 1964 results will not be known until about 3/15/64. Poll tax is only registration.
The first three columns to the right of the double vertical bar reflect 1960 census figures.

~~$14628 703000.00~~

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213128
2,112,561

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1964 VEP ELECTION INFORMATION

STATE	U.S. CONGRESS: Elect Senator	U.S. CONGRESS: No. of Representatives	GOVERNOR: Elect Governor	GOVERNOR: Term	STATE LEGISLATURE: UPPER HOUSE: Elect	UPPER HOUSE: Term	LOWER HOUSE: Elect	LOWER HOUSE: Term	Filing Deadline For Candidate	DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION: Primary	DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION: General Election	Primary Date	Runoff Primary Date	SPECIAL REMARKS
ALABAMA	No	8	No	4	No	4	No	4	March 1	April 24	Oct. 23	May 5	June 2	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
ARKANSAS	No	4	Yes	2	17	4	100	2	April 29	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Oct.1,'63	Oct.1,'64	July 28	Aug. 11	
FLORIDA	Yes	12	Yes	4	22	4	112	2	March 3	April 4	Oct. 3	May 5	May 26	
GEORGIA	No	10	No	4	54	2	205	2	July 24	May 2*	May 2*	Sept. 9		
LOUISIANA	No	8	Yes	4	39	4	105	4	May 29	June 26	Oct. 5**	July 25	Aug. 29	
MISSISSIPPI	Yes	5	No	4	No	4	No	4	April 3	May 2	July 3	June 2	June 23	Pay Poll Tax by February 1
NORTH CAROLINA	No	11	Yes	4	50	2	120	2	March 20	May 16	Oct. 24	May 30	June 27	
SOUTH CAROLINA	No	6	No	4	23	4	124	2	To be set***	May 11	Oct. 5	June 9	June 23	
TENNESSEE	Yes (2)	9	No	4	33	2	99	2	June 8	July 6	Oct. 3	Aug. 6		
TEXAS	Yes	23	Yes	2	16	4	150	2	Feb. 3	POLL TAX IS ONLY REGISTRATION Jan. 31	Jan. 31	May 2	June 6	Pay Poll Tax by Jan. 31
VIRGINIA	Yes	10	No	4	No	4	No	2	Apr. 15	June 13	Oct. 3	July 14	Aug. 18	Pay Poll Tax by May 2

*Election Law Study Committee has recommended that registration deadline be changed to July 3.
**General Election for State Officers, March 3, 1964.
***Third Thursday after State Convention.

AS OF JANUARY 1, 1964, 36 STATES HAVE ADOPTED THE ANTI-POLL TAX AMENDMENT AND ONLY TWO (2) MORE ARE NEEDED FOR PASSAGE. UPON PASSAGE, ADDITIONAL TIME MAY BE ALLOWED FOR REGISTRATION IN ARKANSAS, TEXAS, MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, AND VIRGINIA.

opp for incr rev in electorate @ minority opps in So –
Harvard & intern Miss, parts of Ala., La – SW Ga – Purges also in Ga. (PhD polsci flunk)

DIXIE SET TO DEFY U.S. POLL TAX BAN

PITTSBURGH, PA.
COURIER
W. 4,136 (N)
PAGE ONE CERTIFIED
FEB 1 1964

Vote Drive Head Vows Open Clash

ATLANTA, Ga. — As a national measure outlawing the poll tax quietly became the 24th Amendment to the Constitution, with ratification by the 38th state last week, bitter clashes loomed in several Southern areas where authorities are determined to use the device to prevent Negroes from voting in forthcoming Federal elections.

Formally approved by South Dakota on Jan. 23, the anti-poll tax amendment applies to primaries and elections for President, Vice President and, most importantly, members of Congress. Ratifications of the required three-fourths of the 50 states came in time to apply the new amendment to the 1964 Presidential elections.

Indications that the law will be defied are present in Virginia, Arkansas, Alabama, and Mississippi, all of which still require payment of poll tax in order for a citizen to vote. Texas also uses the device, but it is expected that less resistance will be met there.

Of the 11 states of the old Confederacy, only Tennessee and Florida approved the amendment by the time it was made a part of the Constitution. Mississippi formally rejected it.

The South Dakota Senate hurriedly suspended its rules and rushed the proposal to a vote after the Georgia legislature threatened to beat the Northern state to a vote. Approval by the Georgia body was 43 to 0, and came almost immediately afterwards.

Commented Wiley A. Branton, director of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Registration project, on hearing the news, "This week will mark a major milestone in the South in attaining something

(Continued on page 4)

Dixie Set to Defy U. S. Poll Tax Ban

(Continued from page 1)

that the NAACP has been working for for years — the abolition of the poll tax," which he called "a vicious system."

Branton also asserted that he and his organization are prepared to meet head-on any resistance to the order. "If such is done," he stated, "I am ready to go to court to enforce the new amendment."

It might be recalled that Branton filed the lawsuit leading to the desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School in 1957.

"If there is any attempt at all to keep people from voting in the primaries unless they have a poll tax," he said, "I'm serving notice here and now that there is going to be a lawsuit to restrain them."

Branton also called for a "meaningful, liberal voter registration law so that people can register permanently and participate in the affairs of their government."

As for what form of resistance to the new amendment will take, one might look to Virginia where, in anticipation of the coming ratification, the legislature acted ahead of time to ensure that its poll tax would be retained in state elections.

A new Virginia law would permit residents to vote for Federal candidates by filing certificates of residence, but would require annual payments of $1.50 per person for voting in state elections which are exempted from the amendment.

Conjecture has arisen that Arkansas may try to retain the poll tax in primaries on the ground that, technically, a primary isn't an election, since only nominees for the election are chosen in the primary.

This would immediately give segregationists a chance to eliminate liberal congressional candidates before they have a chance to be voted upon in the general election.

It is expected that Gov. Orval Faubus will call a special legislative session sometime soon to set up a tricky voter registration system replacing the poll tax.

Like the Supreme Court decision which banned school segregation but has had limited effectiveness in being enforced, it is anticipated that blanket obedience to the anti-poll tax amendment will come only after lengthy and repeated court battles.

Nevertheless, it will give Negroes a legal leg to stand on, allowing more of them to vote. When this measure is forced into acceptance in all the backward corners of the South,, this newly expanded black force will have the key to expelling long-standing enemies from the halls of Congress.

NEWS RELEASE FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS
Wednesday, February 12, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

A total of 327,588 new voters were added to rolls through registration efforts of organizations cooperating with the Voter Education Project during the first 21 months of its operation.

The new voters were added in eleven southern states between April 1, 1962 and December 31, 1963.

These figures were announced by Wiley A. Branton, director of VEP. They do not represent total voter gains in the eleven states, but only those attributable to VEP sponsored activity.

The VEP seeks to encourage voter registration in the South and to study thereby patterns of Negro voting, and the most effective methods of overcoming the traditional barriers of discrimination and voter indifference. The program is nonpartisan and has the endorsement of both the Republican and Democratic National Committees. The South is the area of lowest registration in the nation.

Under the program, participating agencies carry on the work, under grants from VEP. The participating agencies include the principal civil rights agencies, such as the NAACP, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the National Urban League, plus many local groups across the South.

The largest number of new voters reported was in Texas--a total of 120,590 as of December 31. The figure is an estimate of new voters paying poll tax for the first time under a state-wide program. It includes Latin Americans, white persons, and Negroes. Approximately 60,000 are Negroes. The Texas program will continue up to the 1964 registration cut off date in that state, as will the program in all other states.

The lowest figure was for Mississippi--3,228.

Figures for other states are Alabama, 13,487; Arkansas, 8,756; Florida, 37,111; Georgia, 46,347; Louisiana, 5,899; North Carolina, 23,323; South Carolina, 20,727; Tennessee, 34,243; Virginia, 13,877.

VEP also released its estimates of total voter registration in the area. For the eleven states, all voters numbered 14,157,058. Of these, 12,405,240 are white, and 1,751,818 are non-white.

This means that 11.8 per cent of the total registration in the eleven southern states is now non-white. Of the non-white voting age population, 35.2 per cent are registered.

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

Negro Queue in Mississippi Is Symbol of Frustration in Voter Registration Drive

SPEED-UP DOUBTED UNDER RIGHTS BILL

Local Officials in Madison County, by Intimidation, Are Able to Hinder Applicants

By CLAUDE SITTON
Special to The New York Times

CANTON, Miss., Feb. 29 — A drama symbolic of the Negro's fight for voting rights in the Deep South is unfolding here beneath the magnolias on the lawn of the Madison County Courthouse.

Yesterday and again today long lines of Negroes, some wrinkled and beat with age, waited patiently before the white-columned entrance of the century-old brick building for their turn to apply for registration.

Some were afraid that this challenge to white political supremacy might cost them their jobs or worse. All knew it would likely prove futile.

Only one Negro applicant at a time is permitted in the registrar's office. Of the more than 260 who waited outside Friday and the more than 50 there Saturday, only seven finally got inside to take the test.

Those seven must have sensed the futility anew as they passed through the office door of L. F. Campbell, the circuit clerk and voter registrar. On its glass window is a red, blue and gray sticker bearing a Confederate battle flag and the message, "Support Your Citizens' Council," a militantly segregationist organization.

A Complex Test

The futility must have been reinforced as they read the complex constitutional interpretation test that Mississippi has imposed on prospective voters since Negroes joined their ranks.

Outside in a chill wind, the waiting Negroes stood stiffly on the concrete walkways or along the black, wrought-iron fence that was set in place 106 years ago when the courthouse was built.

A sheriff's deputy in a black leather jacket, black slacks and black Western boots paced up and down the lines, an automatic carbine swinging in his left hand and a wooden club dangling from his belt. A bone-handled revolver rode loosely in a holster on his left hip.

Now and then, the Negroes were joined by others who had walked there by two's seven and a half blocks from pleasant green Holiness Church, staging area for this "Freedom Day" sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality in cooperation with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Police Auxiliaries

Police auxiliaries in blue helmets and makeshift uniforms mounted a shotgun guard along the route. Sheriffs and deputies from Madison and surrounding counties wearing 10-gallon hats and driving white cars with as many as three radio antennae patrolled the streets.

City policemen armed with nightsticks, revolvers and a variety of shotguns and rifles [illegible] orders at the Negroes

The New York Times March 2, 1964
REGISTRATION DRIVE: Negroes, 72 per cent of population in Madison County (shading), seek the vote.

"It's a matter of years and years."

Mr. Dunbar and other students of the voting problem argue that it is so entwined with the over-all system of segregation that a narrow-gauge campaign through court action alone would lose much of its force at the local level.

"The reality is that, to the Negro in Mississippi, the law is still the law as enforced by the sheriff, not the law that comes out of Washington," he said.

Strong supporting evidence for this argument is seen in the situation in Madison County, which is typical in many important respects of the Deep South area at which the voting section of the proposed Federal civil rights bill is aimed.

Madison County stretches northward from the outskirts of Jaskson, the state capital, for 40 miles between the Pearl and Big Black Rivers. It is a succession of wooded swamps, rolling pasture land and highly productive cotton and soybean fields of brown loam, bounded on the west by the Delta and on the east by the hills.

The Western dress of many residents underscores the fact that Madison is the second largest cattle count yin Mississippi. Canton, a city of 10,000 persons, has experienced some industrial growth in recent years and produces wood products, coarse yarn, ski belts, tents, chemicals, automobile springs, electrical appliances and furniture.

The Natchez Trace, the road through the wilderness from Nashville, Tenn., to the Mississippi River, ran along the county's eastern edge. But its chief commercial artery now is the Illinois Central Railraod, whose famed engineer Casey Jones ended his final run in a wreck just across the Big Black in Yazoo County.

Once a Prized Asset

At one time, Madison's Negro residents—now 72 per cent of its population of 32,904 persons—were among its most prized assets. But industrialization and agricultural mechanization have all but eliminated the need for their labor. Most whites say they would like to see the Negroes leave.

In keeping with the custom of most rural deep south counties in which Negroes outnumber whites, politics here is viewed as "white folks' business" by most. A leading white citizen of Canton said that despite the proposed voting legislation there would be no marked increase in Negro participation Robert F.] Kennedy comes down here with some Federal marshals."

As many as 475 Negroes were once on the voting rolls. But this high point was followed [illegible]

the white merchants on county officials to accept Negro voter applicants.

Instead, the boycott has divided the city into warring camps and brought a campaign of harassment, intimidation and violence. Each side accuses the other of various criminal acts but the Negroes appear to be suffering the most by far.

A Citizen's Council chapter has been revived. Virtually every business establishment in the city has a council sticker on its door or in its front windows. Some were placed there despite the objections of the proprietors.

State Considering Bills

Even the State Legislature has taken a hand in the crisis. Several measures passed by one or both houses appear to conflict, at least in their intent, with constitutional rights.

One bill would impose a penalty of six months' imprisonment and a $500 fine for printing or circulating boycott literature. Before it was adopted by the House, a representative objected that "some of our friends might be arrested" under its provisions.

Although he did not say so, the boycott has been a traditional weapon of the Citizens Councils against Negroes or whites who challenge the white supremacist dogma.

The reply to this criticism came from Representative Thompson McClellan of West Point.

"If one of our friends is arrested, if he is tried in Mississippi before a Mississippi jury, I don't have any doubt about how he would come out," he said.

Sees No Cause For Concern

In the opinion of Mr. Campbell, the county voter registrar, the wide-ranging dispute here is much fuss about nothing. Any Negro who can pass the complex interpretation test will be placed on the rolls, he said.

Mr. Campbell agreed to the interview with reluctance.

"I don't give out any information—that's just my policy," he replied when asked how many Negroes were registered.

He then said with a smile of recollection that he did not know the answer because records were not kept by race.

In its efforts to investigate Negro complaints of discrimination by Mr. Campbell, the Justice Department was forced to appeal to the Supreme Court for an order opening his records. The documents were finally photographed last June but gation have not been announced.

Opposition Typical

The opposition to Negro registration that is apparent here is common throughout most of Mississippi, large areas of Alabama and Louisiana and in southwestern Georgia.

Sometimes this opposition takes the form of discriminatory practices by registrars. Individual accounts of such acts fill page after page of the documents filed by the Justice Department in a suit against the registrars of six Mississippi counties, not including Madison, and the State Board of Election Commissioners.

Other local officials are involved. This week, for example, a Federal District Court in Jackson held that Sheriff A. P. Smith of adjoining Holmes County had prevented Negroes from voting simply by refusing to accept their poll-tax payments.

Negroes who seek to register or encourage others to do so may run the risk of violence against their persons or proper

ingful [court] decrees, enjoining both discrimination and intimidation, followed by vigorous enforcement of those decrees," Mr. Branton declared. "I'm disillusioned by the fact that they've had several decrees that have not been vigorously enforced."

The Justice Department has filed in 58 cases, under the acts of 1957 and 1960, 13 involving intimidation and 45 discrimination. Its officials are far from satisfied with the results.

They say that their experience in implementing the acts has disclosed serious inadequacies. Lengthy and often unwarranted delays have taken place in court proceedings.

In one case cited by department officials only 725 of 16,000 Negroes of voting age in a county are registered, while the suit to enforce their right to vote has been pending for more than two years.

The case against the six Mississippi registrars and the State Election Commissioners, at present the department's chief hope for a significant breakthrough in this state, was filed two years ago. It has yet to receive a full hearing.

The misuse of literacy and other tests is another problem, according to department officials. All too frequently, they say, the tests given Negroes are far more diffiult than those given whites.

Standards Not Uniform

Even when the tests are uniform, discriminatory standards are used in judging the answer

"Thus, barely literate white people have been registered while well-educated Negroes have been rejected for the most trivial of errors," the Justice Department has said.

The problem of court delays is attributed in part to the segregationist viewpoint of some Federal District judges. In the November issue of The Yale Law Journal, Stephen R. Field pointed out that of eight judges appointed by President Kennedy in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, "four have indicated a considerable reluctance to follow the letter and spirit of the prevailing law in the civil rights area."

To eliminate this barrier, the Federal civil rights bill proposes that, upon the application of the Attorney General, the chief judge of the Circuit Court of Appeals would appoint a three-judge District Court to hear the case. Any appeal would go directly to the Supreme Court.

Courts Now Overloaded

Observers note that the Federal courts in the Deep South are already overloaded. A further delay, not covered by the bill's provision, stems from the fact that massive resistance is forcing the Justice Department to attack voting discrimination on virtually a county-by-county basis.

Discriminatory testing procedures would be covered under the proposed legislation by a requirement that registrars apply uniform standards in registering voters for Federal elections. Where literacy tests are used, they would have to be in writing, except where state law permits and the applicant requests an oral test.

Further, if an applicant with a sixth-grade education were disqualified on literacy grounds and subsequently brought suit, the registrar would be required to prove that the applicant was illiterate.

The proposed bills testing limitations, however, would fail to eliminate the discrimination that observers contend is frozen into the system even where tests are administered honestly. This is borne out by the situation here.

Mr. Campbell contended that all whites who registered during his eight years in office were literate. He conceded this was not true of all of those accepted before that period.

Virtually all whites of voting age, including illiterates, are already on the rolls in Madison County. Only those now coming of age are required to take the constitutional interpretation test, which is considered difficult even by college graduates.

On the other hand, educated Negroes, who might have registered in the past had they not been prevented from doing so, must now submit to the test.

Protection Sought

One of the civil rights bill's greatest shortcomings in the opinion of full-time workers in registration campaigns and their supporters, is its failure to provide protection for them.

A suit, which was filed against Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and J. Edgar Hoover, F. B. I. director, by eight registration workers in Mississippi, seeks a court order compelling the Federal Government to provide protection for demonstrations in support of registration drives and to prosecute state officials and others who interfere with these drives.

Lack of Staff Noted

Another difficulty encountered in the effort to eliminate voting discrimination is the lack of an adequate legal and clerical staff in the Justice Department.

The department's civil rights division, headed by Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, has only 12 lawyers.

David Norman, an assistant who oversees the preparation of voting cases, said a suit involving, for example, a county of 6,000 persons required six weeks of work by an experienced lawyer. He said there were eight lawyers in the division capable of handling one.

Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Marshall have requested that Congress increase the number of lawyers in the civil rights division to 116 if the new civil rights bill is passed. But most would be assigned to work on enforcement of the proposed ban on discrimination in public accommodations and on school desegregation matters.

Most persons here, in Atlanta and in Washington with whom the voting problem was discussed expressed doubt that the Federal civil rights bill could bring its solution in the near future. Some said this might take five to 10 years.

Despite this prospect, Negroes voice optimism over the largely symbolic advancements that they have made in the Deep South.

The Rev. B. Elton Cox, a CORE field secretary from High Point, N. C., who is taking part temporarily in the registration drive here, contended it was highly significant that Negroes had been permitted to line up in front of the courthouse.

"This is a milestone, not just a stepping stone, in Mississippi," he declared.

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ADVERTISEMENT

A sheriff's deputy in a black leather jacket, black slacks and black Western boots paced up and down the lines, an automatic carbine swinging in his left hand and a wooden club dangling from his belt. A bone-handled revolver rode loosely in a holster on his left hip.

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Police Auxiliaries

Police auxiliaries in blue helmets and makeshift uniforms mounted a shotgun guard along the route. Sheriffs and deputies from Madison and surrounding counties wearing 10-gallon hats and driving white cars with as many as three radio antennae patrolled the streets.

City policemen armed with nightsticks, revolvers and a variety of shotguns and rifles snapped orders at the Negroes as they shepherded them through a crosswalk to the courthouse grounds. Occasionally, law enforcement officers clustered in the entrance spoke derisively to prospective applicants who they knew.

State and local officials in plainclothes photographed Negroes, newsmen, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, observers from the National Council of Churches and, sometimes, other plainclothesmen. Spotters with field glasses watched over the activity from second-floor windows. The State Highway Patrol manned a police radio network set up in a command post in the courthouse.

No Violence Occurs

White spectators muttered sullenly along the sidewalks and in the stores around the square. But there was no violence, a tribute, perhaps, to the efforts of the city's few moderates and responsible segregationists and to the policy of the new Governor, Paul B. Johnson, of avoiding racial violence.

This does not mean, however, that Negroes will now have equal access to the ballot box in most of Mississippi any more than it foretells voting equality for them in much of Alabama and Louisiana or a large area in Georgia.

The long lines outside the Madison County Courthouse are, in fact, suggestive of the failure of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

Further, there is little evidence that the situation will improve substantially in the near future even if the United States Senate passes the voting section of the civil rights bill already approved by the House. This conclusion is based on interviews with whites and Negroes here, the heads of the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project in Atlanta and Justice Department officials in Washington.

Federal Role Cited

The basic objection raised to the new legislation is that the task of eliminating discriminatory practices would still be left to the Federal courts. Thus, it represents no departure from the underlying principle of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960.

"This judicial approach is strictly a long-range proposition," asserted Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of the Southern Regional Council. through the wilderness from Nashville, Tenn., to the Mississippi River, ran along the county's eastern edge. But its chief commercial artery now is the Illinois Central Railraod, whose famed engineer Casey Jones ended his final run in a wreck just across the Big Black in Yazoo County.

Once a Prized Asset

At one time, Madison's Negro residents—now 72 per cent of its population of 32,904 persons—were among its most prized assets. But industrialization and agricultural mechanization have all but eliminated the need for their labor. Most whites say they would like to see the Negroes leave.

In keeping with the custom of most rural deep south counties in which Negroes outnumber whites, politics here is viewed as "white folks' business" by most. A leading white citizen of Canton said that despite the proposed voting legislation there would be no marked increase in Negro participation Robert F.] Kennedy comes down here with some Federal marshals."

As many as 475 Negroes were once on the voting rolls. But this high point was followed quickly by the defeat of the registrar who put them there.

1.1 Per Cent Registered in '62

Because of the refusal of county officials to release information, the latest statistics available are those filed by the Justice Department in a voting suit against the state and six other counties. These show that 121 Negroes, or 1.1 per cent of those in Madison County of voting age, were registered in 1962. The corresponding figure and percentage for whites that year was 5,458 and 97 per cent.

This first serious challenge to white political supremacy in the county began last June. A Negro voter registration drive was started then under the banner of the Council of Federated Organizations. Known as C.O.F.O., the group is a Mississippi alliance comprised of the N.A.A.C.P., CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

David Dennis, a soft-spoken 23-year-old Negro from Jackson, who is C.O.F.O.'s assistant program director and a CORE field secretary, heads the drive. Eight other CORE workers and four student committee members are on the staff.

Only 30 Successes

The registration campaign has met with little success, according to Edward S. Hollander, a 23-year-old white CORE field secretary from Baltimore. He said 1,000 attempts to register had been made, only 30 of them successful.

The Negroes opened a boycott against 19 white merchants last January that now threatens some of them with financial ruin. The objectives are "more courteous treatment" for Negro customers, and, Mr. Hollander conceded, pressure by appeal to the Supreme Court for an order opening his records. The documents were finally photographed last June but gation have not been announced.

Opposition Typical

The opposition to Negro registration that is apparent here is common throughout most of Mississippi, large areas of Alabama and Louisiana and in southwestern Georgia.

Sometimes this opposition takes the form of discriminatory practices by registrars. Individual accounts of such acts fill page after page of the documents filed by the Justice Department in a suit against the registrars of six Mississippi counties, not including Madison, and the State Board of Election Commissioners.

Other local officials are involved. This week, for example, a Federal District Court in Jackson held that Sheriff A. P. Smith of adjoining Holmes County had prevented Negroes from voting simply by refusing to accept their poll-tax payments.

Negroes who seek to register or encourage others to do so may run the risk of violence against their persons or property. They may be threatened with the loss of their jobs.

Financial Aid Stopped

Voter registration drives, understandably, have made little headway under these circumstances. Wiley A. Branton, project director of the Southern Regional Council Voter Education Project, said he and other project officials had become so discouraged over the situation in Mississippi that they had withdrawn financial support from the registration campaign in the state.

In the period from April 1, 1962 through last Dec. 31, according to Mr. Branton, the project spent $51,345 in backing the drive being conducted by the Council of Federated Organizations. Some money went for voter education purposes.

He said the most optimistic estimate of the results showed that only 3,228 new voters had been added to the rolls in the state as a whole. Estimates of the total number of Negro voters registered in Mississippi range from 20,000 to 28,000.

In the same 21-month period, the voter project spent $52,958 in Georgia, Mr. Branton said. This financed efforts credited with adding 46,347 new registrants and saving 5,000 more Negroes from being purged from the voting lists.

'I'm Disillusioned'

"We don't think you are going to get any significant results in Mississippi until the Justice Department gets mean-

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

Gilbert A. Harrison, Editor-in-Chief

March 4, 1964

Ft Worth, Tex. last yr. Pollard elec. 1963

Barbara Jordan analysis Hoosten elec. 1962... Hoost-Cn N12

Mr. Pat Watters
76 Park Lane N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

This is a fascinating subject, and I hope you don't mind my sending it back with the thought that you might consider some questions in our minds.

The basic question we have, after reading your account, is what these figures signify or may signify politically? For example, Dick Scammon at the Bureau of the Census tells me that it is his hunch (he has no reliable figures) that although there has been an undoubted increase in Negro registration in these 11 states, there has also been a decided increase in white registration. Obviously, the political impact of an increased Negro vote could only be judged in terms of what has happened to the white vote as well. It would be interesting to know, say in Georgia, what the total registration was in 1960, what it is in 1964, what the Negro registration was in 1960, what the Negro registration is likely to be in 1964. In other words, what do the figures to date tell us about the proportionate increase in the political power of the Negro in these 11 states?

Also, is there any evidence, or are there even any good guesses, about what proportion of registered Negro voters vote, and what proportion of registered white voters vote?

I ask these questions because they seem to me to get at the heart of what people want to know, and this, I suspect, includes the people who have put up the money for the registration drive: namely, is this investment going to produce a significant change in Southern politics as a result of the influence, presumably the more liberal influence, of the Southern Negro voter?

Wiley: apinh gates % newly-reg N's ... newly reg. whites... why?... Bece have keener interest... somewhat as people in Bapt & Meth Ch. get rellig 1st x. Want to get active in the church.

1244 Nineteenth Street, NW • Washington 6, D. C. • Federal 8-2494

This is an important piece, and I hope you don't mind our tossing it back to you with these questions.

Cordially,

Gil

GAH:gs

THE ONLY SUCH PUBLICATION OF ITS KIND

CORE EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

Volume 1 March, 1964 Number 2

A TALE OF TWO CITIES

Two counties, each boasting a metropolis as its county seat, conducted voter registration drives during 1963. One, in Miami (Dade County), Florida, was a coordinated effort of a number of community organizations. The other in Charlotte (Mecklenburg County), North Carolina, was conducted by an arm of the Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs. These stories are presented as illustrations of successful activity in voter registration.

Miami (Dade County), Florida

The month of September was a productive one for voter registration in Miami (Dade County), Florida. Through a community effort, CORE Field Secretary Weldon Rougeau aided in the addition of 5,593 persons to the registration polls.

The period of most intensive registration activity ran from September 16 to September 28. During that time, 5,567 persons were registered. Of that total, about 100 were whites.

Registration was conducted in eleven predominantly Negro areas. Registration sub-stations were placed in these areas by the county authorities. The locations of the sub-stations were: Homestead, Goulds, Perrine, Richmond Heights, Coconut Grove, downtown Miami, Opa-Locka, Brown's Sub, Liberty Square, James E. Scott and Liberty City (Hutcheson Realty).

The locations were open Monday through Saturday from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., with the exception of Tuesdays and Thursdays when they remained open until 9 p.m. The turnout on Tuesdays and Thursdays was very heavy despite rain in some areas.

The personnel for these sub-stations came from the eleven areas and were hired by the county. They were all Negroes who were registered voters. In most instances, there was representation of the two major political parties.

The task of getting the sub-stations set up was not an easy one. Initially, the county politicians were opposed to the idea because the proposed registration drive was primarily oriented toward the Negro community. The Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of South Florida helped the county authorities to see that providing this service was a part of their responsibility.

Several members of the Community Relations Board (Bi-Racial Committee) took the matter before the County Manager. He was very receptive to the idea and asked that preferential locations for registration sub-stations be submitted to him by the board. The board, in turn, asked Mr. Rougeau to suggest the sub-station locations. After consulting with residents and leaders, a list of locations was submitted.

The office of the Supervisor of Registration gave its full cooperation throughout the drive.

There was the omnipresent problem of getting the organizations in the Negro community to take an active part in the drive. A few organizations did get members to work in the drive, but the number from these organizations was not representative of the active membership in them. The organizations

(Continued on Page 4)

Charlotte, North Carolina

The Mecklenburg Organization on Political Affairs, a non-partisan organization, was formed in 1958 in order to increase Negro registration and participation in elections. Since its inception, MOPA has been the stimulant for political activity among Negroes in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. Realizing the need for a massive registration drive in the county, the members of MOPA supported the organization of the Non-Partisan Voters Registration Coordinating Committee. This committee has broad community representation. Dr. R. A. Hawkins is chairman, Mr. Calvene Ross, secretary, T. H. Wyche, attorney, and Mr. James Polk are members-at-large of the Executive Committee. Dr. R. P. Perry, President of Johnson C. Smith University is a member of the Steering Committee, along with all precinct chairmen, representatives from labor, civic and social organizations, and the communications media.

The committee has completed the first phase of a drive which they hope will yield 20,000 new registrants in Mecklenburg County by November, 1964. The organization engaged in an intensive two-month program beginning September 16 and ending November 18. In one day's activity alone, on November 9, 1,051 new voters were added to the rolls. When the books closed on November 18, 5,236 new voters had been successfully registered.

Personnel for this effective campaign included twenty adult workers and the student body of Johnson C. Smith University. For the first week, a "fan out" technique was utilized. Workers were concentrated in the downtown area near the Board of Elections office Monday through Friday during the hours when the books were available. Through personal contact in the streets, the workers urged persons to register. On three Saturdays in November, when the books were available in the precincts, greater attention was given to community activity. Contact was established with the total community through churches, civic and social organizations, radio and televising advertising, and door-to-door canvassing in an effort to reach all individuals of voting age.

The drive is now in its second phase which will run through the primary registration period through April. The final phase will resume in September and run through the general election registration period in October. With the practical experiences gained in the initial phase, the committee is moving ahead with renewed enthusiasm.

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT NEWSLETTER

5 Forsyth St., Rm. 502

Atlanta, Ga.

Ph. 525-0595

Staff

Wiley Branton

R. T. Blackwell **B. Whitaker**

J. Levine **J. Shortt**

Poll Tax Is Outlawed By Constitutional Amendment

The 24th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, outlawing the use of a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting in federal elections, was ratified by the required three-quarters (38) of the states, and became a part of the Constitution on January 23.

The Amendment goes into effect immediately and will have the effect of barring requirement of the poll tax as a qualification for voting in the 1964 Presidential and Congressional elections, as well as all subsequent federal elections. Five states had a poll tax as prerequisite for voting: Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

The final state to ratify the amendment was South Dakota. The South Dakota Senate suspended normal rules to pass the ratification resolution when it heard that the Georgia Senate had ratified the amendment and sent it to the Georgia House where early approval seemed likely. In addition to Georgia, the other states whose legislatures were in session but had not taken final action were Arizona, South Carolina, and Virginia.

The Amendment will have no effect on the 45 states which do not impose a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The five states which still have poll tax must make a choice before the 1964 elections. They can either, as Texas and Virginia have already done, provide for "dual elections" in which anyone may vote for federal officers but only persons who have paid their poll taxes may vote for state and local officials, or any otherwise qualified person can vote in all elections. Up to January 30, the legislatures of Alabama and Mississippi have made no move to establish "dual elections." The Arkansas legislature is scheduled to meet in special session to enact a new registration law which probably will not require a poll tax in any election.

Blowin' In The Wind . . . .

Louisiana

Ronnie Moore, CORE Field Secretary, reports that a hole has finally been made in the wall of resistance to Negro registration in West Feliciana and Tensas Parishes (counties). In West Feliciana, Rev. Joseph Carter was registered on October 17, despite massive opposition from whites. Under the eyes of Justice Department and FBI personnel, he had to enter the courthouse by a side door because the front door had been blocked. But he *did* register, thus becoming the first Negro to register in that parish within the living memory of oldsters in the community. Since that time, at least twelve other Negroes have registered.

On January 10, a letter was received from Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director, CORE, indicating that fifteen Negroes had registered to vote in Tensas Parish, assuring Negro registration in every parish in Louisiana. Mr. Rich indicated that registration efforts would begin soon in Bienville, Red River, Webster, East and West Carroll, Rapides, and Washington Parishes.

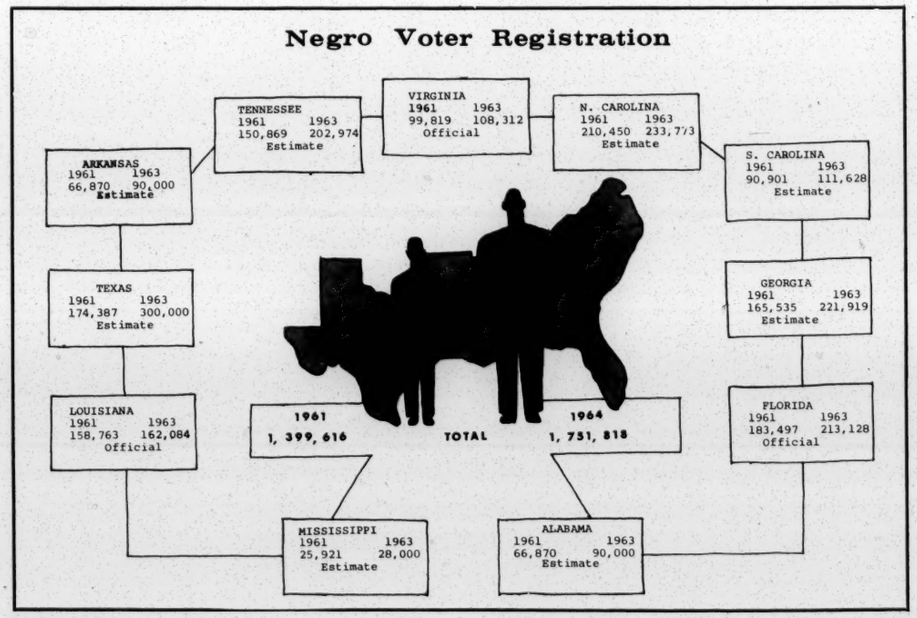
Danville, Virginia

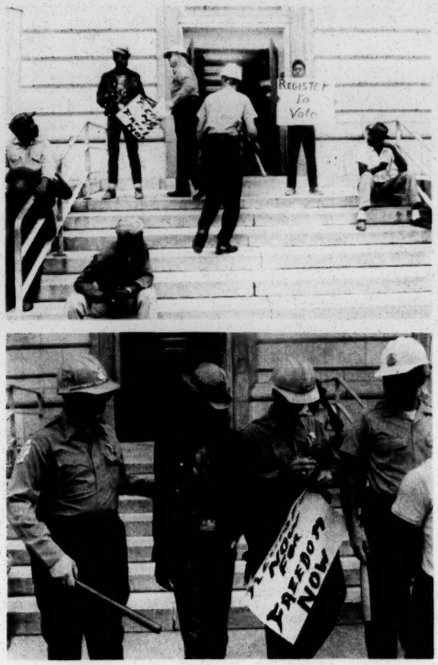
During the latter part of November, a task force headed by Herbert Coulton, Field Secretary, SCLC, moved into Danville to resume voter registration activity following the November elections.

In the first nine days of the month, 310 new registrants were added to the lists. This first nine days was the deadline for payment of poll tax to be eligible for voting in the June primaries. Since many Negroes were out of work, $1,300 was raised by various groups by foregoing the purchase of Christmas gifts and sent to the Danville Christian Progressive Association for the purpose of making loans to individuals who could not afford to pay the poll tax. Those persons borrowing money had to be literate since emphasis was not merely upon payment of the tax, but actual registration. From a list prepared in an earlier phase of the drive, students in the community reached all persons who had registered but were not eligible to vote because their poll taxes were in arrears. These individuals were encouraged to make payment. Many of those able to pay did so, thus making them eligible to vote in the upcoming elections. In December, 369 new voters were registered.

Greensboro, North Carolina

In fifteen working days, August 9-30, 1963, with a budget of $955, the American Friends Service Committee, cooperating with local NAACP and CORE chapters, conducted a voter registration project in Greensboro, North Carolina, which added 803 new voters to the rolls. The project centered its activity in the Negro community, but did not discourage whites from registering. Several Negro neighborhoods in the five predominantly Negro precincts were canvassed by interracial teams of two weekday evenings from 7 to 9, and Saturday afternoons from 2 to 6. During these hours, registrars were available at a neighborhood church or community center to register people brought there by the project workers. House-to-house coverage was supplemented by canvassing on downtown streets and in neighborhood shopping centers. Working in new neighborhoods was found to be very worthwhile because many registered voters had not changed





Local police arresting two SNCC workers on steps of federal building, Selma, Dallas County, Alabama, October 7, 1963.

their addresses with the Board of Elections. Work was also done on the streets where houses were condemned and soon to be vacated in order to obtain new addresses to be given to the board.

The canvassers had to determine which of the interviewees were not registered but qualified, which needed to notify the Board of an address change, and which needed to re-register because their names had been stricken from the rolls because they had not voted in six years as well as to dissuade fears, provide information about registration procedures and convince Negroes that there can be a hard, practical utility in registering and voting. The use of a mimeographed flyer with the slogan, "Your Vote Can Be Your Voice" was found to be very valuable in laying the foundation for talking about registration.

Although the primary emphasis was voter registration, as much time as possible was given to voter education. The workers found that their efforts were more successful if they used specific explanations. The importance of voting in all elections and of reading and thinking and of making up one's own mind how to vote was stressed.

Greenville County, S. C.

A recent report from Greenville County showing some 3,000 persons registered during December, 1963, and January, 1964, reveals that Charleston County has lost the shifting spotlight in the Palmetto state. Rev. Nathaniel Brockman is campaign director for the NAACP sponsored voter registration drive. He indicates that contacts have been initiated all over the county, and interest and enthusiasm are at a high pitch. He has a group of 85 volunteers who are committed to using every available technique in order to stimulate registration activity in Greenville County.

Chattanooga, Tennessee

Mr. William T. Underwood, NAACP campaign director in Hamilton County has reported 3,797 new registrants since campaign began in late October. Using a variety of techniques, including block organization in most wards, the 110 workers have achieved significant results in reaching potential registrants. During the last two weeks in December, the Registrar's books were carried into three wards on three days resulting in 827 new registrants. This was a reversal of an earlier decision of the Election Commission not to allow the books to be taken to the wards. There was a feeling that increased registration among whites had also been influenced by the publicity from the campaign.

Dallas County, Alabama

There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama, according to the 1960 Census reports. However, less than 300 names of eligible Negroes could be found on the registration rolls.

In September, 1963, SNCC initiated an intensive voter registration project in Selma, Alabama. Weekly mass meetings in conjunction with the Dallas County Voters League featured such speakers as John Lewis, James Forman, James Baldwin, Dick Gregory, Rev. Red Shuttlesworth, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. But nothing drew more dramatic response than "Freedom Day," October 7, when more than 350 Negroes waited in line all day to register to vote. From October 7 through November 8, 252 Negroes filed applications on the 23 days on which registration was possible.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals issued a mandate on 9/30/63 requiring the District Court of the Southern District of Alabama to enjoin the Dallas County Board of Registrars from discriminating against Negroes. Law enforcement officers of Selma and Dallas counties actively intimidated prospective registrants during the drive. A motion by the Department of Justice to further enjoin Dallas County officials and the White Citizens Council from intimidating voter registration workers, voter applicants, and Justice Department attorneys has been filed. While the motion is before the court, it seems likely that there will be less overt action by these two groups.

Canton, Mississippi

The city of Canton is located 25 miles north of Jackson in Madison County. According to the 1960 Census, its total population is 9707, the Negro population being 6,220. Only 5.9 per cent of the voting age Negro population in Madison County is registered to vote, according to the 1961 U. S. Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting.

From January 21 through January 27, seventeen voter registration workers were arrested in efforts to mount a voter registration drive in this central Mississippi community. These arrests were on a series of charges ranging from burning leaves on a sidewalk to distributing leaflets without a permit. The Canton City Council has passed a new local ordinance making it illegal to pass out literature in the city unless approved by the Mayor and Chief of Police.

Officials of SNCC and CORE protested the arrests to the U. S. Department of Justice and called for federal protection of civil rights workers. In related developments, the homes of local civil rights leaders were searched; operation of all Negro taxicabs was halted; gas pumps were removed from a station owned by a Negro; owner of a cafe frequented by voter registration workers was arrested.

On February 3, all of the rights workers were found guilty and convicted in Canton city court. The sentences were $500 fines and six months in jail on each charge. The sentences are being appealed.

Negroes waiting to register at Orangeburg County, South Carolina, Courthouse November 4, 1963. J. W. McPherson, Chairman, local voter registration project, with cane.

PLEASE CLIP AND MAIL TO:
THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
5 Forsyth St., N. W., Room 206
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

☐ **I would like to be on your mailing list to receive future copies of the VEP newsletter.**

☐ **I would like to talk with a VEP representative about registration work in my community.**

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ **State**_____

Voter Education Project Makes Staff Changes

We regret to announce that Jack Minnis, former Director of Research for VEP, is no longer with the Project.

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., has been appointed Acting Assistant Director of VEP. Mr. Jordan, a native Atlantan, is a graduate of DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, and the Howard University Law School, Washington, D. C. Mr. Jordan is also Assistant to the Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.

Mrs. Barbara Ingram Whitaker has joined the staff as Research Assistant. Mrs. Whitaker is a graduate of Spelman College and holds the master's degree from the Atlanta University School of Social Work. Prior to joining VEP, Mrs. Whitaker was a member of the faculty at the Atlanta University School of Social Work.

Results of VEP Programs

April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

State	Total as of 12/31/63
ALABAMA	13,487
ARKANSAS	8,756
FLORIDA	37,111
GEORGIA	46,347
LOUISIANA	5,899
MISSISSIPPI	3,228
N. CAROLINA	23,323
S. CAROLINA	20,727
TENNESSEE	34,243
TEXAS	120,590
VIRGINIA	13,877
TOTAL - - -	327,588

Miami (continued from page 1)

that helped were: The National Conference of Christians and Jews, the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization, the Boy Scouts (Goulds), CORE, The League of Women Voters, the Florida Labor Council, several local organizations, both youth and adult, and countless individuals who were not direct representatives of organizations.

The registration drive was given publicity by the two Negro newspapers, a Negro radio station, and several night clubs in the county which constantly announced the locations of the sub-stations, the times they were open, and the qualifications for registration.

Further to publicize the drive, persons went into the churches on Sundays, and made announcements about it and the need for a good showing to insure being able to use the sub-station program in the future. Persons also went into theaters making announcements and appealing for help in the drive.

The principals of all the schools in the sub-station areas sent memoranda to parents, made daily announcements about the location of the sub-stations, and instructed leaders of student organizations in the distribution of leaflets, canvassing, and office work. About one-half of the student body in each school participated in some way in the drive.

Several weeks before the opening of the sub-stations, workers canvassed each sub-station area. The purpose of the canvass was two-fold: 1) To get an idea of the number of voting age persons who were not registered along with their names, addresses and telephone numbers, and 2) To alert the areas to the possibility that sub-stations would soon be set up.

Upon official notification that the sub-stations would be opened in the areas selected, leaflets, posters, and placards were printed with the eleven locations, times for registering, qualifications, and reasons for registering. More than 125,000 leaflets, 1,000 posters, and 1,550 placards were distributed. This proved a satisfactory means of communicating with the persons with whom contact had been made during the canvass.

The only parts of the drive which were noticeably weak were in communications and transportation. There was not a sufficient number of people to man telephones and handle appointments and calls for transportation. These two, in addition to the inclement weather, were actually the reasons why more people were not registered. One communication innovation used which may be of help to others in similar situations involved project personnel boarding buses in the downtown section headed for areas in which sub-stations were located. While they were on the buses, these persons would make announcements to the passengers about the registration drive and inform them that a car pool would take them to the sub-station and then continue them on their journey if they would alight from the bus at a certain stop. This proved very effective.

Voter registration activity is continuing in Miami at the present time.

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, Room 502
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

April 4, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: NEGRO CANDIDATES IN ALABAMA DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY, MAY 3, 1966

FROM: J. GREENBERG, DIRECTOR-COUNSEL, NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
V. JORDAN, DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

Attached you will find (1) a form that is to be filled in in the places left blank and (2) a sample sheet showing how the form is to be filled in.

The purpose of these sheets is to aid you in notifying your County Executive Committee of your intention to have considered persons of your choosing to act as election officials. We hope that there will be no dishonesty in the tabulating of the vote in the Primary on May 3, 1966; but we cannot reasonably expect that there will be none. Accordingly, it will be to your advantage to have persons of your choosing act as election officials or at least attempt to have such persons nominated as election officials.

Election officials are these: Three inspectors, two clerks, and a returning officer. These six election officials will operate each of the polling places in your County. The persons you nominate for these six offices at each of the voting places within the precincts of your county must be qualified electors. The persons you select can serve as voting officials only at the polling places where they vote. (Ala. Code, Tit.17 SS120 and 349).

The County Executive Committee does not have to accept the people you suggest. However, the candidates have a right to suggest who should be voting officials and can be certain they will have no friendly voting officials unless names of individuals are submitted according to procedures set forth in this memorandum to you.

If you do not know the boundaries of the election districts within the precincts in your County, you can obtain a description of the boundaries of those election districts and an alphabetical list of qualified electors within each of those election districts from the office of the Judge of Probate of your County. Code of Ala. Tit. 17-584 requires that a description of the boundaries of a precinct or district, the names of places designated for voting, and an alphabetical list of electors divided according to election place be filed with the Judge of Probate and that these same details be posted on the courthouse door.

Please make a copy of each form you submit to the Executive Committee of your County and return the copy to:

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director
Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

PLEASE REMEMBER THAT THE FORM MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BY APRIL 7, 1966, IF IT IS TO BE CONSIDERED.

SAMPLE FORM

TO THE COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF
Dallas COUNTY,
ALABAMA

I, John Doe, residing at 110 Peach Street Selma, Alabama, and being a candidate for nomination by the Democratic Party for the office of Tax Assessor in Dallas County at the primary election to be held in Dallas County on May 3, 1966, do hereby present to the County Executive Committee for the Democratic Party of Dallas County in accordance with Code of Ala., Tit. 17 §349 the attached list of persons to be considered by the Committee as potential nominees to the positions of election officers for the primary election to be held on May 3, 1966.

Signature John Doe

Date April 6, 1966

ELECTION DISTRICT NO. _____ of PRECINCT NO. _____

of _____ COUNTY

1) Name _____ 2) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

3) Name _____ 4) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

5) Name _____ 6) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

ELECTION DISTRICT NO. _____ of PRECINCT NO. _____

of _____ COUNTY

1) Name _____ 2) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

3) Name _____ 4) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

5) Name _____ 6) Name _____

Address _____ Address _____

_____ _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Gain to Pa 6/20/66

The Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council was established in 1962 as a research project in line with a continuing interest of the Council in Negro enfranchisement. Earlier formal studies in 1957 and 1959 contained the most complete, indeed probably the only southwide, county-by-county figures on Negro voter registration of reasonable accuracy available at the time. Compilation of such figures continued a primary research aim of VEP.

But the main emphasis of VEP research was to determine causes and remedies for the abnormally low voter registration in the eleven states of the South. The research method was unusual. It consisted of the direct and simple act of funding organized efforts to register voters in these eleven states. Although the incidence of low registration among white citizens of the South was not precluded, the problems involved in low Negro registration, including the forms of discrimination, were the major concern. A further aim of the VEP research was educaation of Southerners in the requirements and functions of voting, and informing of public opinion about denials of the basic constitutional right of the ballot in the South.

The most important research finding of the VEP was its demonstration, day by day, for 2½ years of the need for federal legislation to remove barriers to registration for Negro Southerners. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, which removed the main procedural blocks (qualification tests, discriminatory applications, and the like), may be said to have been largely

prompted by the VEP experience. Economic and physical intimidation and harassment as blocks to the ballot, also demonstrated during the 2½ years repeatedly, remain a serious problem toward which currently pending legislation in the Congress is aimed.

Further research findings included insights into racial problems, poverty, community organization, and the weaknesses and strengths of southern Negro society and its institutions at a level deeper than is usually found in studies of the South. Also illuminated was the Negro movement itself during its years of greatest activity and progress in the South.

The source of much of this insight and understanding was the narrative reporting from the many different groups engaged in the voter registration activity. These reports ranged from barely literate messages from indiginous workers to emotional evocations of the experience and reality of the voter drives to highly sophisticated observations by college-trained volunteer workers and indiginous leaders alike. This body of data is unique and forms a rich historical and sociological record, a store of raw material about a crucial time and development in America. It forms much of the basis of research materials for a book on southern political developments which was among the original research intentions and which has been completed by Pat Watters of the Southern Regional Council and Reese Cleghorn of the Atlanta Journal under contract for publication by Harcourt-Brace.

Following is a chapter-by-chapter outline of that book:

File

THE EFFECTS OF FEDERAL EXAMINERS AND ORGANIZED REGISTRATION CAMPAIGNS ON NEGRO VOTER REGISTRATION

- - -

A SPECIAL REPORT

OF

THE VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

OF THE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

JULY, 1966

To what extent do federal examiners influence the level of Negro voter registration in the Southern counties to which they are assigned? What is the effect of organized registration campaigns, particularly those assisted by the Voter Education Project?

A study by the Voter Education Project seeks to answer these questions. Registration figures were compared for counties with federal examiners, with VEP programs, with both and with neither.

The results follow a predictable pattern. Highest Negro registration figures are found in those counties with both federal examiners and VEP-assisted programs. Next comes counties with federal examiners, followed by counties with VEP programs. Lowest registration levels are found in those counties with neither.

As of late June, federal examiners had been assigned in 41 counties in four states. They had registered a total of 122,905 persons. No federal examiners have been assigned in Georgia or Virginia or in 26 North Carolina counties which come under provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

At the time of the comparisons, there were only two counties in South Carolina with federal examiners and only two in Mississippi with VEP-affiliated programs. Mississippi counties with neither were selected at random from various sections of the state. Alabama and South Carolina counties were chosen from the area immediately surrounding counties with federal examiners and VEP programs.

Urban counties were excluded because these counties generally have long-standing registration programs and other special histories which set them apart from rural counties. Louisiana was not included for lack of recent and adequate parish-by-parish registration figures. Federal examiners have been assigned to five Louisiana parishes.

Georgia furnishes a state example of low Negro registration where no federal examiners are present. Georgia's Negro registration is second lowest at 43.1 per cent of the Negro voting age population. In the adjoining states of Alabama and South Carolina, the figures are 48.9 per cent and 50.3 per cent respectively. Mississippi has the lowest Negro registration: 30.9 per cent of the voting age population.

The Voter Education Project assists, through small grants, programs of registration, citizenship education and leadership training in 11 Southern states. For further information about the attached tables, contact Marvin Wall, research director, Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303,

(Area Code 404, 577-2986).

ALABAMA

BOTH	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Hale	3,940	5,999	
Perry	3,719	5,202	
Marengo	5,535	7,791	
	13,194	18,992	69.5
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Greene	3,801	5,001	
Wilcox	3,932	6,085	
Lowndes	2,353	5,122	
Dallas	10,260	15,115	
Elmore	2,717	4,808	
Autauga	2,275	3,651	
	25,338	39,782	63.7
VEP			
Sumter	3,369	6,814	
Choctaw	2,971	3,982	
Conecuh	1,822	3,635	
Barbour	3,487	5,787	
	11,649	20,218	57.6

NEITHER

Clarke	2,495	5,833	
Monroe	2,380	4,894	
Butler	1,731	4,820	
Pike	3,015	5,259	
Bullock	2,980	4,450	
Russell	3,901	10,531	
Washington	1,403	2,297	
Crenshaw	1,210	2,207	
Escambia	1,755	5,685	
	20,870	45,976	45.4

MISSISSIPPI

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Coahoma	7,553	14,604	51.7
FEDERAL EXAMINERS			
Leflore	6,868	13,567	
Neshoba	904	2,565	
Jones	2,568	7,427	
Jefferson	3,038	3,540	
Claiborne	1,937	3,969	
Holmes	4,891	8,757	
Carroll	1,036	2,704	
DeSoto	1,825	6,246	
Madison	5,871	10,366	
Jeff Davis	1,843	3,222	
Benton	942	1,419	
Clay	1,624	4,444	
Humphreys	787	5,561	
Walthall	1,328	4,540	
Newton	1,075	3,018	
Simpson	882	3,186	
Warren	5.116	10,726	

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
Jasper	721	3,675	
Noxubee	1,461	5,172	
Rankin	1,503	6,944	
Winston	1,003	3,611	
	47,223	114,659	41.2
VEP PROGRAM			
Issaquena	377	1,081	34.9
NEITHER			
Lincoln	392	3,913	
Panola	2,186	7,250	
Sunflower	2,059	13,524	
Attala	866	4,262	
Amite	847	3,560	
Alcorn	139	1,756	
Franklin	338	1,842	
Sharkey	398	3,152	
Washington	4,811	20,619	
Pontotoc	243	1,519	
Choctaw	159	1,105	
Harrison	3,482	9,670	
Lauderdale	5,306	11,924	

VEP PROGRAM

Lowndes	1,260	8,362	
Pike	2,090	6,936	
Tunica	468	5,822	
Wilkinson	597	4,120	
Adams	5,829	9,340	
Montgomery	67	2,627	
George	115	580	
Yazoo	1,051	8,719	
Lee	709	5,130	
Stone	101	868	
Scott	664	3,752	
Lafayette	775	3,239	
Quitman	1,238	5,673	
	36,190	149,264	24.2

SOUTH CAROLINA

	Negro Registration	Voting Age Population	Per Cent Registered
BOTH			
Clarendon	5,182	7,735	67.0
FEDERAL EXAMINER			
Dorchester	3,836	5,370	71.4
VEP			
Williamsburg	5,356	10,535	
Sumter	7,791	15,380	
Beaufort	3,963	7,247	
	17,110	33,162	51.6
NEITHER			
Georgetown	4,119	7,173	
Orangeburg	8,289	17,355	
Bamberg	1,332	3,807	
Barnwell	1,759	3,242	
Lee	2,554	5,446	
	18,053	37,023	48.8

VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

The figures presented herein were accumulated during the summer and late summer of 1966. While they do not represent the final registration figures for the November elections, the difference is not expected to be large. The figures were compiled from a variety of sources---public and private, official and unofficial.

For four states---Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia---complete or near-complete county-by-county figures showing white and Negro registration were not available. For these four states, statewide estimates have been made, based on the best information obtainable.

For two states---Florida and Mississippi---figures did not indicate the race of a sizeable number of registrants. These have been divided between the white and Negro columns on the basis of VEP estimates.

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Director

Marvin Wall
Director of Research

NEGRO-WHITE VOTER REGISTRATION IN THE SOUTH

SUMMER, 1966

STATE	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alabama*	1,353,058	481,320	1,192,075	246,396	88.1	51.2
Arkansas	850,643	192,626	598,000	115,000	70.3	59.7
Florida***	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9
Georgia**	1,797,062	612,910	1,378,005	289,545	76.7	47.2
Louisiana	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1
Mississippi***	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9
North Carolina	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0
South Carolina	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4
Tennessee	1,779,018	313,873	1,375,000	225,000	77.3	71.7
Texas	4,884,765	649,512	2,600,000	400,000	53.3	61.6
Virginia	1,876,167	436,720	1,159,000	205,000	61.8	46.9
TOTALS	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,309,704	2,620,359	70.2	52.2

*Even division of 10,000 voters not registered by race.

**Two-thirds and one-third Negro-white division of 14,000 voters not registered by race.

***A later Mississippi figure put white registration at approximately 481,000 and Negro registration at 163,000. The October figure for Florida pushed white registration to 2,160,587 and Negro registration to 303,245.

A L A B A M A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Autauga	6,353	3,651	6,932	2,308	100+	63.2
Baldwin	22,236	4,527	19,692	1,242	88.6	27.4
Barbour	7,338	5,787	9,825	3,666	100+	63.3
Bibb	5,807	1,190	8,087	933	100+	78.4
Blount	14,368	378	13,709	140	95.4	37.0
Bullock	2,387	4,450	3,323	3,197	100+	71.8
Butler	8,363	4,820	7,850	1,803	93.9	37.4
Calhoun	44,739	9,036	33,472	4,404	74.8	48.7
Chambers	15,369	6,497	11,889	1,439	77.4	22.1
Cherokee	8,537	752	9,651	482	100+	61.6
Chilton	12,861	1,947	16,006	747	100+	38.4
Choctaw	5,192	3,982	5,833	3,024	100+	75.9
Clarke	7,899	5,833	10,336	2,564	100+	44.0
Clay	6,470	926	8,534	399	100+	43.1
Cleburne	5,870	385	7,493	139	100+	36.1
Coffee	14,221	2,985	11,334	1,002	79.7	33.6
Colbert	21,680	4,575	20,569	2,818	94.9	61.6
Conecuh	5,907	3,635	5,559	2,084	94.1	57.3
Coosa	4,201	1,794	5,678	956	100+	53.3
Covington	18,446	2,876	16,486	1,010	89.4	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Crenshaw	6,310	2,207	6,469	1,213	100+	55.0
Cullman	25,848	285	24,622	122	95.3	42.8
Dale	14,861	2,743	11,658	1,414	78.4	51.5
Dallas	14,400	15,115	12,787	10,513	88.8	69.6
DeKalb	23,878	441	26,680	217	100+	49.2
Elmore	12,510	4,808	15,710	2,813	100+	58.5
Escambia	12,779	5,685	15,631	1,825	100+	32.1
Etowah	48,565	7,661	41,820	4,120	86.1	53.8
Fayette	8,277	1,291	9,141	664	100+	51.4
Franklin	12,412	645	13,616	725	100+	100+
Geneva	11,357	1,606	10,321	585	90.9	36.4
Greene	1,649	5,001	2,001	3,927	100+	78.5
Hale	3,594	5,999	4,515	4,096	100+	68.3
Henry	5,165	3,168	6,629	1,459	100+	46.1
Houston	22,095	6,899	15,604	1,813	70.6	26.3
Jackson	19,298	1,175	18,526	629	96.0	53.5
Jefferson	256,319	116,160	175,087	62,992	68.3	54.2
Lamar	7,503	1,027	9,927	367	100+	35.7
Lauderdale	31,089	3,726	18,434	1,339	59.3	35.9
Lawrence	10,509	2,471	14,731	1,315	100+	53.2
Lee	17,547	8,913	13,470	2,818	76.8	31.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Limestone	16,173	3,579	14,272	1,278	88.2	35.7
Lowndes	1,900	5,122	2,823	2,758	100+	53.8
Macon	2,818	11,886	4,997	7,130	100+	60.0
Madison	54,516	10,666	41,333*	3,183*	75.8	29.8
Marengo	6,104	7,791	7,288	5,799	100+	74.4
Marion	12,656	403	16,418	267	100+	66.3
Marshall	26,997	637	17,174	152	63.6	23.9
Mobile	121,589	50,793	107,455*	24,794*	88.4	48.8
Monroe	6,631	4,894	7,542	2,497	100+	51.0
Montgomery	62,911	33,056	43,514	19,268	69.2	58.3
Morgan	30,955	4,159	25,741	1,194	83.2	28.7
Perry	3,441	5,202	5,495	3,847	100+	74.0
Pickens	7,336	4,373	7,407	1,717	100+	39.3
Pike	9,126	5,259	11,788	3,180	100+	60.5
Randolph	9,196	2,366	10,230	1,182	100+	50.0
Russell	13,761	10,531	12,682	3,932	92.2	37.3
St. Clair	12,244	2,035	11,044	906	90.2	44.5
Shelby	14,771	2,889	13,208*	985*	89.4	34.1
Sumter	3,061	6,814	3,775	3,392	100+	49.8
Talladega	25,635	9,333	21,389	3,406	83.4	36.5
Tallapoosa	15,310	4,999	17,807	1,818	100+	36.4
Tuscaloosa	47,076	15,332	29,049	5,707	61.7	37.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walker	28,148	2,890	26,885	1,277	95.5	44.2
Washington	5,293	2,297	7,690	1,469	100+	64.0
Wilcox	2,624	6,085	3,639	3,765	100+	61.9
Winston	8,559	47	11,179	40	100+	85.1
TOTALS	1,353,058	481,320	1,187,075	241,396	87.7	50.2

*Figures do not include a total of more than 10,000 voters for whom race is not designated in Madison, Mobile, and Shelby counties.

F L O R I D A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alachua	30,555	9,898	24,767	6,214	81.1	62.8
Baker	3,203	807	3,445	554	100+	68.6
Bay	31,940	4,964	23,223	3,330	72.7	67.1
Bradford	5,580	1,345	4,900	893	87.8	66.4
Brevard	58,433	6,494	63,271	4,147	100+	63.9
Broward	189,517	27,009	179,977	19,713	95.0	73.0
Calhoun	3,434	582	4,091	379	100+	65.1
Charlotte	8,659	427	11,588	346	100+	81.0
Citrus	5,174	829	6,626	589	100+	71.0
Clay	9,508	1,276	9,443	1,013	99.3	79.4
Collier	8,163	1,364	8,173	623	100+	45.7
Columbia	8,092	3,122	8,676	2,517	100+	80.6
Dade	537,448	75,573	373,413	50,621	69.5	67.0
De Soto	6,339	1,343	4,564	1,010	72.0	75.2
Dixie	2,138	363	2,775	371	100+	100+
Duval	203,804	58,430	134,175	36,691	65.8	62.8
Escambia	76,688	18,041	58,651	13,058	76.5	72.4
Flagler	1,789	846	1,944	391	100+	46.2
Franklin	3,186	779	3,428	537	100+	68.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Gadsden	11,711	12,261	6,338	4,237	54.1	34.6
Gilchrist	1,513	154	1,737	110	100+	71.4
Glades	1,061	741	1,130	269	100+	36.3
Gulf	4,196	1,138	3,652	710	87.0	62.4
Hamilton	2,486	1,621	2,683	1,087	100+	67.0
Hardee	6,734	552	5,475	354	81.3	64.1
Hendry	3,430	1,180	3,322	756	96.8	64.1
Hernando	5,689	1,151	5,597	719	98.4	62.5
Highlands	10,997	2,251	10,587	1,547	96.3	68.7
Hillsborough	213,950	31,114	152,995	19,803	71.5	63.6
Holmes	6,131	249	6,472	199	100+	79.9
Indian River	13,182	2,637	11,713	1,376	88.9	52.2
Jackson	14,087	5,390	11,370	3,515	80.7	65.2
Jefferson	2,383	2,600	2,470	1,540	100+	59.2
Lafayette	1,536	152	1,767	102	100+	67.1
Lake	30,535	6,438	25,241	2,665	82.7	41.4
Lee	30,636	4,677	31,301	1,668	100+	35.7
Leon	28,241	12,322	25,360	7,240	89.8	58.8
Levy	4,483	1,568	3,730	536	83.2	34.2
Liberty	1,525	240	2,073	155	100+	64.6

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Madison	4,380	3,067	4,250	2,023	97.0	66.0
Manatee	42,291	5,278	35,354	3,493	83.6	66.2
Marion	21,001	9,283	22,129	6,006	100+	64.7
Martin	9,291	1,753	9,106	1,225	98.0	69.9
Monroe	25,512	2,919	16,781	2,077	65.8	71.1
Nassau	7,054	2,076	5,680	1,476	80.5	71.1
Okaloosa	30,816	2,097	23,818	1,289	77.3	61.5
Okeechobee	2,870	533	3,140	419	100+	78.6
Orange	137,780	21,771	98,598	10,344	71.6	47.5
Osceola	11,697	1,122	10,049	609	85.9	54.3
Palm Beach	119,342	29,541	104,229	17,204	87.3	58.2
Pasco	22,329	2,391	23,461	1,160	100+	48.5
Pinellas	255,369	18,121	216,174	11,155	84.6	61.6
Polk	97,314	19,224	73,713	10,045	75.7	52.2
Putnam	13,095	5,089	9,056	2,049	69.2	40.3
St. Johns	13,771	4,331	10,225	2,241	74.2	51.7
St. Lucie	17,238	6,527	14,837	3,933	86.1	60.3
Santa Rosa	14,710	1,082	13,043	740	88.7	68.4
Sarasota	49,533	4,125	42,833	2,100	86.5	50.9
Seminole	24,372	7,050	17,125	2,989	70.3	42.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Sumter	5,396	1,523	5,308	911	98.4	59.8
Suwannee	6,409	2,149	5,388	1,083	84.1	50.4
Taylor	5,454	1,724	5,439	939	99.7	54.5
Union	2,880	1,082	2,049	171	71.1	15.8
Volusia	74,209	11,615	63,253	6,881	85.2	59.2
Wakulla	2,120	753	2,681	602	100+	79.9
Walton	7,958	1,086	7,816	857	98.2	78.9
Washington	5,364	1,021	5,596	840	100+	82.3
TOTALS	2,617,438	470,261	2,093,274	286,446	80.0	60.9

G E O R G I A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Appling	5,862	1,401	7,286	1,187	100+	84.7
Atkinson	2,486	812	3,202	800	100+	99.2
Bacon	4,203	536	4,535	264	100+	49.3
Baker	1,139	1,285	1,517	722	100+	56.2
Baldwin	16,109	9,235	6,555	1,871	40.7	20.3
Banks	3,850	213	3,405	63	88.4	29.6
Barrow	7,865	1,332	6,230	403	79.2	30.3
Bartow	14,942	2,373	15,594	1,417	100+	59.2
Ben Hill	5,931	2,436	3,607	977	60.8	40.1
Berrien	6,179	964	5,133	575	83.1	59.6
Bibb	60,429	26,812	27,084*	5,251*	44.8	19.6
Bleckley	4,508	1,350	3,613	172	79.8	12.5
Brantley	2,854	384	3,005	300	100+	78.1
Brooks	5,059	3,711	3,320	591	65.6	15.9
Bryan	2,289	1,111	2,335	1,165	100+	100+
Bulloch	10,101	4,337	8,528	2,196	84.4	50.6
Burke	4,358	6,600	3,835	1,595	88.0	24.2
Butts	3,195	2,099	4,101	936	100+	44.6
Calhoun	1,654	2,393	1,895	509	100+	21.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Camden	3,447	2,059	3,140	1,431	91.1	69.5
Candler	2,714	1,200	2,996	965	100+	86.4
Carroll	19,234	3,595	13,201	1,965	68.6	54.7
Catoosa	12,370	172	11,231	75	90.8	43.6
Charlton	2,077	810	2,539	444	100+	54.8
Chatham	78,118	37,563	54,676	21,174	70.0	56.4
Chattahoochee	8,061	1,830	462	119	5.7	6.5
Chattooga	11,460	1,025	8,983	927	78.4	90.4
Cherokee	13,964	617	13,749*	608*	98.5	100+
Clarke	23,895	6,740	13,897	4,723	58.2	70.1
Clay	1,130	1,441	968	256	85.7	17.8
Clayton	23,996	2,456	17,725	723	73.9	29.4
Clinch	2,373	1,256	2,350	371	99.0	29.5
Cobb	63,291	4,568	29,680*	1,800*	47.0	39.6
Coffee	9,682	2,977	11,224	1,304	100.+	43.8
Colquitt	13,982	4,081	12,778*	1,673*	80.0	41.0
Columbia	5,096	2,364	4,278	801	83.9	33.9
Cook	5,213	1,755	5,513	652	100+	37.2
Coweta	11,891	5,579	11,919	2,352	100+	42.2
Crawford	1,596	1,611	1,468	354	92.0	22.0
Crisp	6,451	3,858	6,301	1,805	97.7	46.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Dade	4,803	70	4,242	60	88.3	85.7
Dawson	2,148	1	2,373	0	100+	.0
Decatur	9,070	5,515	8,144	1,218	89.8	22.1
DeKalb	148,167	12,407	120,129	7,862	81.1	63.4
Dodge	7,392	2,328	7,013	1,871	94.9	80.4
Dooly	3,581	2,866	4,392	890	100+	31.1
Dougherty	29,897	14,163	13,715*	4,800*	45.9	33.9
Douglas	8,595	1,268	8,653	955	100+	75.3
Early	4,013	3,277	4,048	502	100+	15.3
Echols	832	246	838	19	100+	7.7
Effingham	4,008	1,756	3,974	569	99.2	32.4
Elbert	7,752	3,127	9,335	1,315	100+	42.1
Emanuel	7,627	3,005	6,318	2,098	82.8	69.8
Evans	2,738	1,308	2,355	547	86.0	41.8
Fannin	8,111	31	8,494	18	100+	58.1
Fayette	3,585	1,190	300	6	83.7	5.1
Floyd	38,230	5,949	24,932	2,600	65.2	43.7
Forsyth	7,328	4	6,539	0	89.2	.0
Franklin	7,611	776	7,599	112	99.8	14.4
Fulton	247,892	117,049	172,112	69,885	69.4	59.7
Gilmer	5,431	7	7,997	3	100+	42.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Glascock	1,281	351	1,487	22	100+	6.3
Glynn	18,750	6,762	8,628	2,715	46.0	40.0
Gordon	11,441	669	8,643	358	75.5	53.5
Grady	7,205	3,364	4,461	809	61.9	24.0
Greene	3,565	2,998	3,395	2,570	95.2	85.7
Gwinnett	24,299	1,841	22,633	1,515	93.1	82.3
Habersham	10,676	518	7,276	507	68.2	97.9
Hall	27,726	2,789	16,750	1,149	60.4	41.2
Hancock	1,727	3,576	1,661	1,706	96.2	47.7
Haralson	8,571	642	7,375	412	86.0	64.2
Harris	3,310	3,102	3,749	757	100+	24.4
Hart	7,382	1,832	6,481	425	87.8	23.2
Heard	2,661	590	3,067	365	100+	61.9
Henry	6,429	3,539	8,161	3,015	100+	85.2
Houston	17,742	4,228	13,390	1,976	75.5	46.7
Irwin	3,759	1,602	4,527	688	100+	42.9
Jackson	10,225	1,309	7,850	693	76.8	52.9
Jasper	1,926	1,705	2,152	735	100+	43.1
Jeff Davis	4,116	909	6,293	108	100+	11.9
Jefferson	4,937	4,780	4,524	4,306	91.6	90.1
Jenkins	2,985	2,210	2,764	652	92.6	29.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Johnson	3,455	1,261	3,329	555	96.4	44.0
Jones	2,655	2,185	2,695	956	100+	43.8
Lamar	4,078	2,118	3,758	1,030	92.2	48.6
Lanier	2,158	756	1,807	364	83.7	48.1
Laurens	13,176	6,248	13,490	4,195	100+	67.1
Lee	1,427	1,795	1,373	177	96.2	9.9
Liberty	5,310	3,176	2,950	2,594	55.6	81.7
Lincoln	1,974	1,336	2,500	519	100+	38.8
Long	1,527	635	2,255	1,081	100+	100+
Lowndes	20,746	8,459	13,093	2,680	63.1	31.7
Lumpkin	4,500	79	4,413	105	98.1	100+
McDuffie	4,625	2,740	8,030	931	100+	34.0
McIntosh	1,643	1,823	1,612	1,935	98.1	100+
Macon	3,171	4,077	3,514	1,644	100+	40.3
Madison	5,962	989	4,823	106	80.9	10.7
Marion	1,353	1,609	1,563	236	100+	14.7
Meriwether	6,547	4,990	5,402	1,871	82.5	37.5
Miller	3,095	946	1,594	153	51.5	16.2
Mitchell	6,055	4,971	5,592	1,242	92.4	25.0
Monroe	3,607	2,652	4,077	809	100+	30.5
Montgomery	2,520	1,288	2,449	745	97.2	57.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Morgan	3,415	2,469	1,667	993	48.8	40.2
Murray	6,209	51	6,210	25	100+	49.0
Muscogee	74,662	22,549	30,485	7,366	40.8	32.7
Newton	9,045	3,767	6,110	984	67.6	26.1
Oconee	3,228	681	2,554	120	79.1	17.6
Oglethorpe	2,964	1,709	2,873	328	96.9	19.2
Paulding	7,353	603	8,170	529	100+	87.7
Peach	3,650	4,562	2,930	1,011	80.3	22.2
Pickens	5,264	251	6,034	195	100+	77.7
Pierce	4,432	1,135	4,518	610	100+	53.7
Pike	2,584	1,643	2,601	669	100+	40.7
Polk	15,065	2,443	12,381	1,709	82.2	70.0
Pulaski	3,018	1,843	3,128	336	100+	18.2
Putnam	2,297	2,204	2,446	725	100+	32.9
Quitman	581	707	670	160	100+	22.6
Rabun	4,392	43	4,237	33	96.5	76.7
Randolph	2,878	3,663	2,598	867	90.3	23.7
Richmond	61,315	24,785	37,498	12,313	61.2	49.7
Rockdale	4,708	1,512	4,829	877	100+	58.0
Schley	961	903	1,142	210	100+	23.3
Screven	4,557	3,729	3,698	1,144	81.1	30.7

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Seminole	2,648	1,255	3,017	418	100+	33.3
Spalding	16,657	5,252	11,178	2,872	67.1	54.7
Stephens	9,975	1,355	9,518	743	95.4	54.8
Stewart	1,465	2,681	1,793	619	100+	23.1
Sumter	7,730	6,710	8,321	3,040	100+	45.3
Talbot	1,437	2,507	1,406	661	97.8	26.4
Taliaferro	917	1,073	1,052	1,165	100+	100+
Tattnall	7,377	3,135	6,515	2,995	88.3	95.5
Taylor	2,767	2,004	3,071	495	100+	24.7
Telfair	4,938	2,087	4,459	1,622	90.3	77.7
Terrell	3,038	4,057	3,305	449	100+	11.1
Thomas	13,179	7,644	8,697*	1,652*	66.0	21.6
Tift	10,211	3,513	7,828	1,637	76.7	46.6
Toombs	7,513	2,444	7,571	920	100+	37.6
Towns	2,942	1	2,600	0	88.3	.0
Treutlen	2,473	968	2,050	564	82.9	58.3
Troup	20,579	8,577	12,817	2,856	62.3	33.3
Turner	3,422	1,535	2,853	477	83.4	31.1
Twiggs	1,969	2,255	1,749	317	88.8	14.1
Union	3,457	1	3,500	0	88.4	.0
Upson	1,159	3,615	6,675	888	59.8	24.6
Walker	26,511	1,388	31,415	1,131	100+	81.5

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Walton	9,392	3,076	6,565	963	69.9	31.3
Ware	15,671	4,763	12,994	2,720	82.9	57.1
Warren	1,911	2,224	1,938	1,380	100+	62.1
Washington	5,373	5,451	5,367	1,672	99.9	30.7
Wayne	8,204	1,878	7,878	1,171	96.0	62.4
Webster	775	975	826	231	100+	23.7
Wheeler	2,236	824	2,172	682	97.1	82.8
White	4,047	169	4,631	230	100+	100+
Whitfield	24,437	1,085	19,767	991	80.9	91.3
Wilcox	3,309	1,282	3,840	541	100+	42.2
Wilkes	3,621	3,101	4,052	1,039	100+	33.5
Wilkinson	3,135	2,279	3,302	715	100+	31.4
Worth	6,324	3,776	6,246	823	100+	21.8
TOTALS	1,797,063	612,910	1,373,388	280,212	76.4	45.7

*Totals do not include more than 14,000 registered voters for whom race is not indicated. Most of these are in Bibb, Cobb, Dougherty and Thomas counties. A smaller number is found in Cherokee, Colquitt and several other counties.

L O U I S I A N A

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent white reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Acadia	22,399	4,557	21,651	4,118	97	90
Allen	8,357	2,310	8,303	1,981	99	86
Ascension	10,110	4,171	9,116	2,688	90	64
Assumption	5,877	3,237	5,356	1,997	91	62
Avoyelles	15,845	4,717	13,657	2,396	86	51
Beauregard	8,682	2,145	9,123	1,182	100+	55
Bienville	5,617	4,077	5,130	1,693	91	42
Bossier	23,696	6,847	15,460	1,117	65	16
Caddo	87,774	41,749	60,494	10,141	69	24
Calcasieu	62,987	14,924	49,151	9,396	78	63
Caldwell	3,843	1,161	3,944	377	100+	32
Cameron	3,642	239	3,485	195	96	82
Catahoula	4,110	1,919	4,287	798	100+	42
Claiborne	6,415	5,032	5,300	1,345	83	27
Concordia	5,963	4,582	5,928	1,350	99	30
DeSoto	6,543	6,753	5,866	2,317	90	34
E. Baton Rouge	87,985	36,908	78,497	15,715	89	43
E. Carroll	2,990	4,183	2,577	2,735	86	65
E. Feliciana	7,043	6,081	5,378	2,195	76	36
Evangeline	13,652	3,342	14,869	3,731	100+	100+
Franklin	8,954	4,433	4,584	409	51	9

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Grant	6,080	1,553	6,042	685	99	44
Iberia	20,200	7,165	18,143	4,854	90	68
Iberville	8,733	7,060	7,831	5,252	90	74
Jackson	6,607	2,535	6,274	1,486	95	59
Jefferson	98,103	14,970	92,549	9,404	94	63
Jefferson Davis	12,892	2,881	10,716	1,753	83	61
Lafayette	35,513	9,473	32,872	5,814	93	61
Lafourche	25,737	3,078	25,140	2,215	98	72
LaSalle	6,799	849	7,237	661	100+	78
Lincoln	9,611	5,723	7,480	1,835	78	32
Livingston	12,306	1,818	13,687	1,445	100+	80
Madison	3,334	5,181	2,971*	2,734*	89	53
Morehouse	10,311	7,208	8,154	1,158	79	16
Natchitoches	11,328	7,444	10,357	4,264	91	57
Orleans	257,495	125,752	162,452	52,336	63	42
Ouachita	40,185	16,377	31,044	7,596	77	46
Plaquemines	8,633	2,897	9,746	1,300	100+	45
Pointe Coupee	6,085	5,273	4,834	2,976	79	56
Rapides	44,823	18,141	33,982	6,870	76	38
Red River	3,294	2,181	3,627	969	100+	44

*Race is not indicated for 280 persons registered in Madison Parish.

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Richland	7,601	4,608	6,140	764	81	17
Sabine	8,251	2,143	9,047	1,445	100+	67
St. Bernard	15,836	1,105	18,843	705	100+	64
St. Charles	8,117	2,621	7,840	2,411	97	92
St. Helena	2,363	2,082	2,327	1,520	99	73
St. James	4,892	3,964	4,736	2,834	97	72
St. John	4,982	4,279	4,593	3,047	92	71
St. Landry	25,550	14,982	23,129	11,650	91	78
St. Martin	9,781	4,664	9,824	3,449	100+	74
St. Mary	17,991	7,176	15,986	5,179	89	72
St. Tammany	16,032	5,038	18,727	2,920	100+	58
Tangipahoa	22,311	9,401	20,654	4,323	93	46
Tensas	2,287	3,533	2,237	719	98	20
Terrebonne	24,393	5,464	19,646	1,711	81	31
Union	7,021	3,006	6,585	1,079	94	36
Vermilion	19,710	2,429	19,977	2,424	100+	100-
Vernon	9,279	1,268	10,311	751	100+	59
Washington	16,804	6,821	16,157	3,330	96	49
Webster	15,713	7,045	11,008	3,163	70	45
W. Baton Rouge	3,974	3,502	3,791	1,749	95	50

Parish	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
W. Carroll	6,171	1,389	4,516	186	73	13
W. Feliciana	2,814	4,553	1,113	1,817	39	40
Winn	6,790	2,590	7,092	1,362	100+	53
TOTALS	1,289,216	514,589	1,071,573	242,130	83.1	47.1

M I S S I S S I P P I

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Adams	10,888	9,340	6,306	6,005	57.9	64.3
Alcorn	13,347	1,756	8,603	398	64.4	22.7
Amite	4,449	3,560	3,831	949	86.1	26.7
Attala	7,522	4,262	NV	NV		
Benton	2,514	1,419	2,419	956	96.2	67.4
Bolivar	10,031	15,939	6,209	5,732	61.9	36.0
Calhoun	7,188	1,767	NV	NV		
Carroll	2,969	2,704	3,077	1,248	100+	46.1
Chickasaw	6,388	3,054	6,620	535	100+	17.5
Choctaw	3,728	1,105	NV	NV		
Claiborne	1,688	3,969	1,679	2,906	99.4	73.2
Clarke	6,072	2,988	5,211	1,026	85.8	34.3
Clay	5,547	4,444	3,535	1,695	63.7	38.1
Coahoma	8,708	14,604	7,215	7,761	82.8	53.1
Copiah	8,153	6,407	8,382	1,455	100+	22.7
Covington	5,329	2,032	4,339	937	81.4	46.1
De Soto	5,338	6,246	5,592	2,129	100+	34.1
Forrest	22,431	7,495	14,827	2,064	66.1	27.5
Franklin	3,403	1,842	3,919	358	100+	19.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
George	5,276	580	4,625	123	87.7	21.2
Greene	3,518	859	3,147	264	89.4	30.7
Grenada	5,792	4,323	5,962	1,752	100+	40.5
Hancock	6,813	1,129	5,574	510	81.8	45.2
Harrison	55,094	9,670	17,450	3,833	31.7	39.6
Hinds	67,836	36,138	63,952	15,663	94.3	43.3
Holmes	4,773	8,757	5,080	4,655	100+	53.1
Humphreys	3,344	5,561	2,861	1,283	85.5	23.1
Issaquena	640	1,081	768	446	100+	41.3
Itawamba	8,523	463	6,258	66	73.4	14.2
Jackson	24,447	5,113	NV	NV		
Jasper	5,327	3,675	4,643	976	87.2	26.6
Jefferson	1,666	3,540	1,913	2,049	100+	57.8
Jefferson Davis	3,629	3,222	3,443	1,833	94.8	56.8
Jones	25,943	7,427	NV	2,077(est.)		28.0
Kemper	3,113	3,221	3,342	369	100+	11.4
Lafayette	8,074	3,239	4,784	778	59.2	24.0
Lamar	6,489	1,071	6,062	174	93.4	16.2
Lauderdale	27,806	11,924	19,895	5,343	71.5	44.8
Lawrence	3,878	1,720	NV	1,074(est.)		62.4
Leake	6,754	3,397	6,358	849	94.1	24.9

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Lee	18,709	5,130	11,403	736	60.9	14.3
Leflore	10,274	13,567	NV	7,161(est.)		52.8
Lincoln	11,072	3,913	NV	NV		
Lowndes	16,460	8,362	9,813	1,267	59.6	15.1
Madison	5,622	10,366	6,334	5,991	100+	57.8
Marion	8,997	3,630	10,810	1,227	100+	33.8
Marshall	4,342	7,168	4,741	2,562	100+	35.7
Monroe	13,426	5,610	NV	NV		
Montgomery	4,700	2,627	4,250	591	90.4	22.5
Neshoba	9,143	2,565	6,783	953	74.2	37.1
Newton	8,014	3,018	6,198	1,127	77.3	37.3
Noxubee	2,997	5,172	NV	NV		
Oktibbeha	8,423	4,952	8,443	889	100+	17.9
Panola	7,639	7,250	6,555	2,411	85.8	33.2
Pearl River	9,765	2,473	NV	NV		
Perry	3,515	1,140	NV	NV		
Pike	12,163	6,936	8,760	2,162	72.0	31.2
Pontotoc	8,772	1,519	6,398	261	72.9	17.2
Prentiss	9,535	1,070	6,810	112	71.4	10.5
Quitman	4,176	5,673	3,391	1,382	81.2	24.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Rankin	13,246	6,944	12,321	1,504	93.0	21.7
Scott	7,742	3,752	5,677	705	73.3	18.7
Sharkey	1,882	3,152	1,768	433	93.9	13.7
Simpson	8,055	3,186	NV	NV		
Smith	6,597	1,293	NV	NV		
Stone	2,965	868	2,473	114	83.4	13.1
Sunflower	8,785	13,524	8,287	2,325	94.3	17.1
Tallahatchie	5,099	6,483	4,913	1,174	96.3	18.1
Tate	4,506	4,326	3,980	1,429	88.3	33.0
Tippah	7,513	1,281	5,957	374	79.2	29.2
Tishomingo	8,068	359	5,248	54	65.0	15.0
Tunica	2,011	5,822	1,558	505	77.4	8.7
Union	9,512	1,626	7,033	298	73.9	18.3
Walthall	4,536	2,490	4,261	1,293	93.9	51.9
Warren	13,530	10,726	12,169	5,229	89.9	48.7
Washington	19,837	20,619	12,683	5,094	63.9	24.7
Wayne	5,881	2,556	4,838	370	82.2	14.4
Webster	4,993	1,174	NV	NV		
Wilkinson	2,340	4,120	2,777	1,127	100+	27.3
Winston	6,808	3,611	NV	NV		

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Yalobusha	4,572	2,441	3,511	235	76.8	9.6
Yazoo	7,598	8,719	7,580	1,050	99.7	11.9
TOTALS	748,266	422,256	470,920	139,099	62.9	32.9

Note: Race is not indicated for many recent registrants in a number of Mississippi counties. Where these figures occurred, they have been divided between the races in the totals above. Most are counted as Negro registration, since it is thought that most of these recent registrants are Negroes. NV indicates statistics not available when these figures were assembled.

N O R T H C A R O L I N A

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Alamance	42,755	7,429	47,604	4,801	100+	64.6
Alexander	8,370	506	10,478	460	100+	90.9
Alleghany	4,588	119	6,899	83	100+	69.7
Anson	7,847	5,218	6,800	1,700	86.7	32.6
Ashe	11,276	115	13,038	110	100+	95.6
Avery	6,507	124	6,081	41	93.4	33.1
Beaufort	13,737	6,196	10,144	1,114	73.8	18.0
Bertie	6,156	6,261	5,925	3,879	96.2	61.9
Bladen	9,173	5,147	10,109	2,721	100+	52.9
Brunswick	7,602	3,170	10,298	2,588	100+	81.6
Buncombe	72,249	8,510	67,653	6,565	93.6	77.1
Burke	29,506	1,921	34,657	2,247	100+	100+
Cabarrus	35,165	5,380	31,463	2,899	89.5	53.9
Caldwell	25,520	1,723	22,486	1,938	88.1	100+
Camden	1,988	1,054	1,923	417	96.7	39.6
Carteret	16,030	1,932	12,087	1,065	75.4	55.1
Caswell	6,026	4,129	5,200	1,600	86.3	38.7
Catawba	38,542	3,296	22,068	1,557	57.3	47.2
Chatham	11,227	4,026	13,722	900	100+	22.3
Cherokee	9,102	226	9,055	152	99.5	67.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Chowan	3,825	2,507	3,424	822	89.5	32.8
Clay	3,112	37	2,454	25	78.9	67.6
Cleveland	30,356	6,474	19,883	2,490	65.5	38.5
Columbus	17,830	7,382	16,458	5,459	92.3	73.9
Craven	22,994	8,242	12,001	3,473	52.2	42.1
Cumberland	58,279	18,789	25,794	7,461	44.3	39.7
Currituck	2,845	1,076	2,574	378	90.5	35.1
Dare	3,467	237	NV	NV		
Davidson	41,462	4,491	31,839	2,404	76.8	53.5
Davie	8,898	1,080	9,967	966	100+	89.4
Duplin	14,477	6,955	15,812	3,185	100+	45.8
Durham	47,098	19,475	37,022	16,389	78.6	84.1
Edgecombe	15,515	12,330	12,247	3,624	78.9	29.4
Forsyth	87,219	24,952	68,221	17,028	78.2	68.2
Franklin	9,842	5,554	10,642	1,853	100+	33.4
Gaston	64,154	8,365	43,288	4,185	67.5	50.0
Gates	2,714	2,344	3,061	1,289	100+	55.0
Graham	3,324	125	NV	NV		
Granville	11,584	6,996	10,022	2,475	86.5	35.4
Greene	4,793	3,268	4,257	777	88.8	23.8
Guilford	116,748	27,292	84,838	16,711	72.7	61.2

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Halifax	16,496	13,766	17,529	4,821	100+	35.0
Harnett	20,061	6,150	15,326	3,799	76.4	61.8
Haywood	23,055	500	22,182	393	96.2	78.6
Henderson	21,062	1,170	17,419	651	82.7	55.6
Hertford	5,606	6,102	4,605	3,025	82.1	49.6
Hoke	3,998	3,747	2,984	1,375	74.6	36.7
Hyde	2,201	1,100	1,970	399	89.5	36.3
Iredell	31,094	5,517	23,338	2,958	75.1	53.6
Jackson	9,227	841	7,234	148	78.4	17.6
Johnston	28,259	6,395	22,188	2,550	78.5	39.9
Jones	3,248	2,251	4,508	1,571	100+	69.8
Lee	12,041	2,803	11,537	1,882	95.8	67.1
Lenoir	19,260	10,293	15,448	3,670	80.2	35.6
Lincoln	14,893	1,546	16,591	1,491	100+	96.4
McDowell	14,693	755	14,232	626	96.9	82.9
Macon	8,573	180	8,168	67	95.3	37.2
Madison	9,574	75	8,098	42	84.6	56.0
Martin	8,052	5,683	7,706	2,027	95.7	35.7
Mecklenburg	123,787	34,150	98,779	18,087	79.8	53.0
Mitchell	7,977	29	7,083	8	88.8	27.6
Montgomery	8,119	2,075	7,855	1,387	96.7	66.8

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Moore	15,733	4,803	12,821	2,136	81.5	44.5
Nash	21,761	10,573	14,837	2,655	68.2	25.1
New Hanover	31,641	10,569	22,241	6,788	70.3	64.2
Northampton	6,178	7,304	6,062	4,016	98.1	55.0
Onslow	33,988	5,015	14,995	2,694	44.1	53.7
Orange	19,385	4,978	16,619	3,265	85.8	65.6
Pamlico	3,708	1,593	3,207	807	86.5	50.7
Pasquotank	9,409	4,936	6,079	2,127	64.6	43.1
Pender	5,631	4,085	5,486	1,672	97.4	40.9
Perquimans	3,083	2,027	2,291	985	74.3	48.6
Person	9,994	4,227	9,664	2,070	96.7	49.0
Pitt	22,621	13,575	27,039	4,449	100+	32.8
Polk	6,104	766	8,408	683	100+	89.2
Randolph	33,477	2,591	23,421	1,245	70.0	48.0
Richmond	16,019	5,514	13,985	3,515	87.3	63.7
Robeson	20,851	21,424	12,904	9,401	61.9	43.9
Rockingham	33,438	7,398	26,419	4,289	79.0	58.0
Rowan	42,866	7,209	32,219	4,332	75.2	60.0
Rutherford	24,020	2,572	23,986	1,515	99.9	58.9
Sampson	17,378	8,203	22,491	7,510	100+	91.5
Scotland	7,812	4,686	4,913	1,644	62.9	35.1

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Stanly	22,056	2,164	19,136	1,322	86.8	61.1
Stokes	11,786	1,025	7,500	1,500	63.6	100+
Surry	26,796	1,423	37,075	955	100+	67.1
Swain	3,878	756	6,547	81	100+	10.7
Transylvania	8,687	405	8,509	398	97.9	98.3
Tyrrell	1,597	849	1,089	422	68.2	49.7
Union	20,044	4,423	13,209	1,428	65.9	32.3
Vance	11,005	6,520	8,145	2,507	74.0	38.4
Wake	76,799	22,856	62,912	12,022	81.9	52.6
Warren	4,439	5,490	5,207	2,562	100+	46.7
Washington	4,365	2,643	3,855	1,308	88.3	49.5
Watauga	9,639	126	10,927	94	100+	74.6
Wayne	29,349	15,754	17,527	4,939	59.7	31.3
Wilkes	23,779	1,444	24,440	1,826	100+	100+
Wilson	20,566	10,770	12,503	3,096	60.8	28.7
Yadkin	13,039	576	NV	NV		
Yancey	7,856	76	8,917	68	100+	89.5
TOTALS	2,005,955	550,929	1,653,796	281,134	82.4	51.0

NOTE: Non-white figures include Indians, but these are not a major portion of the statewide total. NV indicates statistics not available at the time the figures were assembled.

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Abbeville	8,733	3,215	7,113	1,099	81.4	34.2
Aiken	33,646	10,040	32,958	8,585	97.9	85.5
Allendale	2,531	3,205	3,018	1,626	100+	50.8
Anderson	47,542	9,598	31,718	2,924	66.7	30.5
Bamberg	4,371	3,807	4,485	1,407	100+	37.0
Barnwell	5,652	3,242	7,029	1,759	100+	54.3
Beaufort	12,098	7,247	6,378	3,999	52.7	55.2
Berkeley	10,122	7,619	10,649	4,717	100+	61.9
Calhoun	2,623	3,318	2,663	1,621	100+	48.9
Charleston	77,909	35,499	52,815	17,422	67.7	49.1
Cherokee	16,037	3,360	14,824	1,757	92.4	52.3
Chester	11,172	5,664	11,123	2,558	99.6	45.2
Chesterfield	12,099	5,219	10,597	3,965	87.6	76.0
Clarendon	5,223	7,735	5,436	5,339	100+	69.0
Colleton	8,203	6,180	8,527	2,705	100+	43.8
Darlington	16,706	9,900	14,940	4,364	89.4	44.1
Dillon	8,725	5,529	7,593	2,840	87.0	51.4
Dorchester	7,121	5,370	8,624	3,941	100+	73.3

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Edgefield	4,103	3,764	4,128	1,022	100+	27.2
Fairfield	4,975	5,536	4,894	2,227	98.4	40.2
Florence	27,047	15,951	24,770	7,759	91.6	48.6
Georgetown	8,855	7,173	8,418	4,189	95.1	58.4
Greenville	102,365	18,605	67,538	8,700	66.0	46.8
Greenwood	19,218	6,764	15,977	2,914	83.1	43.1
Hampton	4,711	4,052	4,889	2,355	100+	58.1
Horry	27,518	7,429	20,132	2,889	73.2	38.9
Jasper	2,689	3,333	2,879	2,079	100+	62.4
Kershaw	11,258	5,903	11,434	3,034	100+	51.4
Lancaster	16,213	4,762	17,465	1,944	100+	40.8
Laurens	19,775	6,818	11,149	6,222	56.4	91.3
Lee	4,394	5,446	4,616	2,564	100+	47.1
Lexington	28,774	4,782	25,002	2,519	86.9	52.7
McCormick	1,915	2,248	2,153	972	100+	43.2
Marion	8,103	7,684	7,204	3,047	88.9	39.7
Marlboro	8,230	5,932	8,462	1,514	100+	25.5
Newberry	12,204	4,954	10,833	1,884	88.8	38.0
Oconee	19,762	2,230	13,761	1,226	69.6	54.9
Orangeburg	16,381	17,355	16,039	8,397	97.9	48.4

County	White Voting-age pop.	Negro Voting-age pop.	White reg.	Negro reg.	Per Cent White reg.	Per Cent Negro reg.
Pickens	24,015	2,356	17,339	1,077	72.2	46.1
Richland	79,050	32,670	55,509	19,265	70.2	59.0
Saluda	5,573	2,327	5,583	1,104	100+	47.4
Spartanburg	73,317	17,047	58,200	7,782	79.4	45.7
Sumter	22,004	15,380	13,849	9,238	63.0	60.1
Union	12,826	4,125	12,969	1,715	100+	41.6
Williamsburg	7,560	10,535	9,285	5,810	100+	55.1
York	31,799	10,196	23,094	4,516	72.6	44.3
TOTALS	895,147	371,104	718,061	190,609	80.2	51.4

Pat!

Tried calling you, but you were in Mr. Dunlap's office.

The man's name for 4th Congressional District for negroes is S. W. Tucker

L. G.

1,250

Aug. 18

Atlanta, Ga.--Wiley Austin Branton, a heavy-set, quietly intense Negro civil rights lawyer with a sense of humor, has had about a year and a half experience in the generally uncharted art of coordinating activities of America's diverse and sometimes disharmonious civil rights organizations.

He is director of the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council here. As such, he has been in charge of a Southwide effort described as a research project into the causes of low registration in 11 states. Participating have been the Congress of Racial Equality, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee and various local organizations.

In this role, he has been responsible for allocation and administration of $260,000 in private foundation funds since January, 1962, to the various organizations. The annual report of the first fiscal year (ending in March) listed 115,000 new voters as a direct result of the venture, and some 25,000 voters saved from purge lists.

Colleagues agree on two qualities he has given to this work. He is a shrewd and careful judge of the calibre of work of the organizations, with no illusions in appraising various ones of them. And he can be a stern fund-master.

"He reads the riot act beautifully," said Vernon Jordan, assistant to the director of the Southern Regional Council. "He is the kind of guy who can tell you to go to hell and make you look forward to the trip."

Before coming to Atlanta in 1962, Mr. Branton had gained national recognition among top echelons of civil rights leaders, mainly for his work in the desegregation of Little Rock schools. He has been chief counsel, working with NAACP attorneys, for Negro plaintiffs since the orginal suit was filed in 1956. He appeared at every hearing of the case in the U.S. District Court, Court of Appeals and Supreme Court.

He also has been counsel in a number of Arkansas criminal cases involving Negroes, was co-counsel in defense of the first freedom riders in Jackson, Miss., and worked in cases involving freedrom riders and sit-ins in Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana.

Honors resulting from his legal work include a Democratic Minority Conference Award in 1959, Arkansas Conference NAACP Award for outstanding lega work in the civil rights field in 1958, and inclusion in Life Magazine's 1962 list of 100 most important young men and women in the United States.

It also brought "almost contious" harrassment in Arkansas, with mail, phone and personal threats. A cross was burning on his lawn in Pine Bluff, Ark., on the night he brought his wife home from the hospital with a new daughter. (This was Debra, now 6, youngest of six children in the family.)

"It didn't bother me, but I was concerned about my wife and how she would take it," he said. "She managed to stand up under it."

He tells a story about family attitudes concerning the oldest youngster, Richard, his wife's son by a previous marriage. When he was 14, Richard answered the phone in Pine Bluff and heard a man say he would come Saturday and kill his father. "You better come Friday please," Richard answered. "DAddy won't be home Saturday."

This call came as a result of a suit Mr. Branton filed as chief counsel for plaintiffs seeking desegregation of all public facilities in Little Rock. The case is still pending, and is among ones from his

law practise he has worked on out of Atlanta. He still maintains his law firm in Pine Bluff, but says he may make Atlanta a permanent home because his family has "fallen so in love with it." (He will commute to New York in his new job, he said.) The family bought a new home in a fashionable Negro section of Atlanta when they first arrived. They have run into no harrassment here.

Mr. Branton still keeps up with Arkansas, as a worker in the Southern Regional Council's Research Dept. discovered recently. He mentioned to Mr. Branton that he was unable to find anything from Arkansas for a state-by-state roundup of civil rights developments. "He listed off, blam, blam, five or six things going on, and sure enough when we checked it, he was right on every particular."

Mr Branton said he still subscribes to the Pine Bluff and Little Rock papers. He reads them and three Atlanta papers, including the Daily World, a Negro paper, religiously. When he goes on a trip, his wife save all the sets of his papers, and he lines them up chronological and plows through them when he returns.

He was born into a well-to-do Negro family in Pine Bluff Dec. 13, 1923, and attended public schools and Arkansas AM and N College there. He completed law school at the desegregated Univ of Arkansas in 1952, meanwhile having been married in 1948. This was all after 3½ years in the Army during World War II, with service in the Far Eastern Theater. His wife is the former Lucille McKee of Memphis.

In 1954, Mr. Branton ran unsuccessfully for the Arkansas House of Reprenentatives. He was the second Negro since reconstruction to seek a state legislative office.

When he left Arkansas, several white court officials who had come to know him during the years of the school desegregation battle presented him and Mrs. Branton with a silver tray and a signed farewell card.

People describing him invariably use the words "warm" and "outgoing." They also agree he is unruffled by emergencies, and can think through a situation no matter how hectic.

There is also a diffidence about him, or a being busy, that has in Atlanta kept him out of the public eye far more than others in the civil rights field with a far less impressive record.

His legal work since coming to Atlanta has also included cases involving Negro organization workers, particularly SNCC, in voter registration activities over the South. In Greenwood, Miss., on one such case this year, during the registration and demonstration crisis there, he dropped a startling family name at a mass meeting. He told the Negro audience that his great-grandfather was Greenwood Laflour, for whom not just Greenwood but the County of Laflour is named. He couldn't, he said, exactly be called an outside agitator, as some white leaders were calling him.

His father's mother, he said, was a daguther of Laflour, who was the son of a Choctow Indian princess and a French trader who settled that area of Mississippi. Laflour later became the head chieftain of the Choctow nation.

He said this geneology was something the family had always talked privately about, but had never previously had occasion to make public. One upshot of his joking speech was a telegram from his brother, Leo Branten, a Los Angeles attorney whose clients include singer Nat King Cole. It complained that the revelation might cause Califorinia bar-tenders to refuse him service, since it is against the law there to serve drinks to Indians.

His Indian and Negro ancestory have given Mr. Branton an ambivalent complexion which, as one friend said, makes him look white among whites, Negro among Negroes. His skin is a yellow color, and he has black, glossy hair and black eyes.

A year before Atlanta Negro college students won with sit-ins this spring desegregation of leading restaurants, Mr. Branton could be seen in them calmly lunching in a ~~it~~ private desegfegation deception of his own. One of the places he used to go to was Leb's Restaurant, specializing in Kosher foods, now a hold-out against desegregation and still the scene of bitter sit-in clashes.

"One of my favorite puns," he said, "is that I have quit eating at Leb's because they won't desegregate."

For relaxation, Mr. Branton says he goes to the office and sees "what else needs doing for civil rights." His wife, he said, tells him he doesn't relax enough. This, he said, is not so. "I do a lot of reading." Asked what, he said current events and legal research.

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~~CORRECTVENXVENXMANXYNVNMMXX~~

Pat Watters
76 Park Lane, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

The Voter Education Project, a little noted but basically significant separate arm of the civil rights movement, is entering its final phase. Since April 1, 1962, it has been the coordinating agency for major civil rights organizations and local groups in a massive voter registration campaign in eleven southern states, an effort to budge discrimination's disenfranchisement of millions of Negroes. The campaign will end with the close of registration for this year's national elections. Upon the eventual assessments of its results and meaning hinge fundamental questions of the Negro revolution, and perhaps even its future direction.

An interim report recently released showed the degree of gain to be expected in the strongest of efforts to register Negroes to vote in the South. It showed a net gain of 327,588 Negro voters through VEP efforts during the first twenty-one months of its operation--from April 1, 1962, to December 31, 1963. This is of course not the only Negro increase during the period--only that which is directly attributable to VEP. In all, Negro registration at year's end was estimated by VEP at 1,751,818. This is 35.2 per cent of the 1960 Census's 5,016,100 Negro voting age population, and 12.2 per cent of an estimated total registration in the eleven states of 14,295,426.

During the twenty-one months, VEP spent $505,640, of which $382,003 was in grants going directly to the field.

With major voter drives underway in areas where they are expected to do the /

most good, project spokesmen are confident that Negro registration will pass the two million mark in the eleven states in time for the national elections in November.

The increase expected in less than all of this year is almost as great as the total increase for the first twenty-one months. This, in part, reflects the strength of organization built up by the program. Particularly where registration organization has strong local ties is the effect of VEP expected to continue after it is gone.

The program is foundation-financed, non-partisan, and separately administered under the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. It is directed by Wiley A. Branton, the Negro attorney who handled the Little Rock school desegregation court suits, and who is also head of the high-level Council for United Civil Righrs Leadership, an informal alliance of the major civil rights organizations.

States covered by the VEP campaign are Arkansas, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, and the Urban League are the national organizations participating; their personnel and those of the all-important local groups do the actual field work of voter registration. The project has the backing of both political parties and includes partisans of each among workers and officials of the participating agencies.

The extensive reports required of participating groups in VEP will be used to study the organizational and field methods that may best overcome the often-studied environmental causes of low voting in the South. This data will be evaluated and published after the field work is done. It may well be one of the important studies of the politics of our time.

In the time that is remaining, field work will be concentrated in places where the most voters can be registered. This mainly means urban areas, because of the concentrations of population, relative ease of registration, less white resistance generally, and the often disporportionate influence of the Negro vote in both municipal and state elections when it gets as large as a city population makes possible.

It is clear from the VEP figures that this kind of balance-of-power influence is among the chief political gains to be hoped for from enfranchisement of the Negro Southerner. For if every single eligible voter--white and Negro--were registered in the eleven states, Negroes would be only one-fifth of total registration. In no state is the potential Negro vote more than 50 per cent of the total potential vote. It is closest in Mississippi (36 per cent).

Yet in a city like Atlanta where Negro registration is 51,000 out of a total registration of 182,000, the Negro vote has for many years been courted assiduously by those office-seekers who also appeal to what is considered the moderate, enlightened middle class white vote. Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., a representative of the moderate element, would have lost his run-off race for mayor in 1961 had it not been for the heavy Negro support he received against a segregationist opponent. Reapportionment of congressional districts just passed by the Georgia Legislature means that Rep. Charles Weltner--who voted against the civil rights legislation when his constituency covered three counties--will have to work hard for the Atlanta Negro support this year to carry his district, reduced now to the one county with heavy Negro registration.

The steadily increasing registration of Negroes, in combination

with reapportionment and elimination of the poll tax, is bound to have a liberalizing effect on Southern politics. How much the effect of the gains by Negroes will be felt this year is problematical.

White registration has of course also been increasing--in most of the states at a higher numerical, if not proportionate, rate. Arkansas and Louisiana are states whose registration figures are official, and dependable for comparisons of small percentage changes. In Arkansas from December, 1961, through December, 1963, white registration increased 46,856, which is a 9 per cent gain. Negro registration increased 11,030, a gain of 15 per cent. In overall strength, the Negro registration moved from 11.9 per cent of total registration to 12.6 per cent.

In Louisiana, the white vote increased 102,893 during the period, a gain of 11 per cent. The Negro vote increased 10,834, a gain of 7 per cent. The Negro percentage of total registration thus actually decreased during the period, from 14.2 per cent to 13.5 per cent.

The estimates of registration in other states--with less exact figures as a guide--show some instances where the Negro increase was higher numerically than the white. This was apparently true in Alabama during the period, where the white increase was from 913,000 to 925,000, a gain of about 12,000. The Negro increase was 23,000--from 67,000 to 90,000.

Another factor complicating the figures is the constant process of voter list purging. This is particularly true during the 1961-1963 period in Louisiana--and there are usually charges that the purge is most stringent on Negroes.

It is probably true that new Negro voters are more apt to vote

than their white counterparts, and that, proportionately, more of the total Negro registration votes than of the white. This is in part because registration for Negroes in the South requires more of an act of will than for whites. (Or, as Branton says, "there is a keener interest among new Negro registrants, somewhat akin to people in the Methodist and Baptist Churches who have gotten religion for the first time. They want to be active in the church.") It is also due to the fact that better records are kept on more recent registrants than the ones of long-standing, and most Negro registration is of recent origin. Thus, white registration figures are often inflated--an extreme case being the discovery a few years back that many Georgia counties carried more persons on the voting rolls than the census showed living there of age. There seemed to be no dishonest design, merely an inability to keep registration records up to date.

There is due reason that VEP spokesmen and other students of the situation are not dismayed by low or no proportional gains in the voting strength of Negroes compared with whites in the eleven states. They point out, first, that wherever there is one more Negro vote in the South, Negro conditions are bettered.

They also point out that aside from discrimination, probably the greatest evil in Southern politics has been generally low registration, not enough voters of either race. So any increase, even that of whites obviously spurred by competition from the new activity of Negroes, is healthy--a strengthening of the democratic process, a weakening of the grip of demagogues who maintain power by manipulation of a proportionately small number of votes. The more voters, the more difficult it is, also, to steal elections.

In practical political terms, the strengthened Negro vote is just

one more thing, along with the heavy Northern Negro vote, that will have to be taken into account this year by Presidential candidates when it comes to such things as their reaction to new demonstration drives, or to the question of immediate enforcement of civil rights legislation.

In lesser elections this year, Branton gave this assessment of what the strengthened Negro vote could do: "From dog-catcher to governors and congressmen, it would probably go 90 per cent against most Southern incumbents, where they do have opposition acceptable to Negroes." (He hastened to stress VEP's neutrality on the question of where the vote, once registered, goes.)

The Negro vote is already large enough in Tennessee and North Carolina to be a potent factor in statewide elections. Policies of state government in both reflect this. Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina (where the Negro vote is credited with carrying the state for Kennedy in 1960) are reaching this point.

Only on county and municipal levels in the Black Belt do you find Negroes outnumbering whites--and in only one locale so far have Negroes in recent years become a majority of the total registered. This is Macon County, Alabama (Tuskegee), and it took federal court action to accomplish it. Five Negroes have qualified as candidates this year for the county board of education, circuit clerk, justice of the peace, and board of revenue.

For many years, Negroes have been a majority of registrants in rural Charles City County of Virginia, and occasionally in Liberty County, Georgia. But the politics of both of these somnolent pockets of Southern paternalism has been under white control. Macon County,

probably the only place in the country where Negroes have higher educational and economic levels than their white neighbors, will be different.

It is in the locales where Negroes outnumber whites that resistance to registration is stiffest. In them, Negroes at their meetings and among friends talk jokingly of when "we take over," and of the hope to elect Negroes to city, county, state and federal office.

But that millenium would not come immediately, even if all barriers to registration were dropped overnight. If that should happen, it would take at least another two years, according to Branton, to add another million Negro voters. And this could be done only with strong programs to remove the fear and apathy, born of hopelessness, that have been bred into Negroes in Mississippi and parts of other states, most notably Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia.

Hopelessness is one of the things voter workers have had to fight, constantly explaining the new-South axiom that wherever there are Negro votes to be wooed by politicians, there come better conditions for Negroes. In rural areas, workers had to spend months establishing themselves and building confidence in themselves and the democratic process before the first registration could occur.

The other big fight has of course been against active white resistance--taking the form of administrative roadblacks, intimidation, and violence. A quick sampling of Federal Court suits arising out of the voter campaign tells much of the story.

Homes of persons active in the voter drive have been fired into and churches where voter meetings were held have been burned in Southwest Georgia. Sheriff Z. T. (Zeke) Matthews led a group of white law officers, including the sheriff of an adjoining county, into one church in Terrell

County and interrupted a voter meeting to take names of those attending, harrangue them, and tell three reporters (including this writer) on hand: "We're a little fed up with this registering business..." (A recent consent decree in Federal Court ended this 1962 case, the sheriff promising better protection for registration. County officials were already under an injunction not to interfere with registration when it occurred.)

A case in Mississippi sought to restrain registration interference, including arrests of leaders, by the sheriff and officers of Holmes County. This came after a voter leader had his house set on fire and was arrested, along with SNCC workers, on charges of arson. (The case was recently dismissed in Federal Court on the promise of county officers to do better.)

A highly important case recently decided in Louisiana centered on administration of registration laws as blocks to the ballot. Election officials in twenty-one parishes were enjoined from requiring citizenship and literacy tests of Negro applicants unless all voters are re-registered.

Evidence in the case included samples of multiple-choice "citizenship tests." One included the following among six questions, four of which had to be answered: "Our constitution has been changed--(a) by the President (b) by the Congress and people (c) by the Supreme Court." "Limits are placed on the right to vote by the--(a) National Government (b) states (c) courts." "The Constitution of the United States places the final authority in our nation in the hands of--(a) the national courts (b) the states (c) the people."

The evidence also included instances where Negro applicants were disqualified or purged for such things as an error of one day in the

computation of the applicant's age by number of years, months and days; for misspelling the word "birth"; for putting "brown" in a blank marked "My color is..."; for putting "Negro" in the same blank; for leaving out a middle name; for underlining "have not" as well as crossing out "have" in a series of character statements which include: "I have not (have) given birth to an illegitimate child within five years..."

Often where such tests are used, registration workers say Negroes are given more difficult versions than whites, or that Negro answers are checked more scrupulously. Where illiterate whites are registered and Negroes with college degrees are turned down in a given locale, the reason may be that the whites were registered before such tests were brought into action.

Results in Mississippi have been by far the lowest during the campaign. The VEP interim report showed only 3,228 new voters (and this figure is probably high) out of twenty-one months of some of the most diligent and dangerous work of the voter drive, most of it by SNCC. VEP strategists say that any effective work there will have to wait at least on the outcome of pending Federal Court suits--including one which attacked state election laws generally and sought an end specifically to publishing of names of applicants and to illiteracy tests in six counties, including Leflore, site of the Greenwood direct action on voting last year. After a year and a half, the case was thrown out by an all-Mississippi three-judge Federal Court of Appeals panel, two to one. This will be appealed.

Provisions in the civil rights legislation to give priority to voter cases for Federal Court hearings would help in such cases. Beyond this, said Branton, the great need is for vigilent enforcement of

present laws and court orders.

Other spokesmen criticize the civil rights legislation for leaving voting discrimination entirely in the hands of the courts. John Lewis, president of SNCC, has said it will take federal troops to gain the ballot for the Negro in Mississippi.

Events in Canton, Mississippi, during February point up the situation in the state. The New York Times reported these results of a "Freedom Day" registration effort sponsored by CORE and the NAACP and SNCC: of more than 200 Negroes who lined up outside the Madison County Courthouse on February 28 to make application to register, exactly six were processed.

Justice moved quickly for an injunction demanding a speed-up to at least six applicants at a time. Federal District Judge Harold Cox, a Kennedy appointee, was quoted by The New York Times at a hearing on the injunction as saying he was interested in eliminating discrimination but not in "whether the registrar is going to give a registration test to a bunch of niggers on a voter drive."

The very act of lining up to try to register was considered a major Mississippi breakthrough last year when it occurred at Greenwood. This came only after a combined effort of NAACP, CORE, SNCC and SCLC, called Council of Confederated Organizations (COFO). The effort began after a SNCC registration worker was shot in the neck by a blast that sounded like a machine-gun from a car containing three white men. This occurred outside Greenwood in February, 1963. Actual registration results of the Greenwood effort, marked by arrests, some with police dogs attacking Negroes, and finally what amounted to mediation by the Justice Department, to this day are not known. One of the major frustrations of the Mississippi work is the difficulty of finding out whether an applicant was successful

or not.

The situation in the rest of the South is indicated by a state-by-state appraisal by VEP of final phase activities underway, and results of the first twenty-one months. Of the figures used in the appraisals, those from official sources in Arkansas, Florida, Virginia, and Louisiana are considered accurate by all who attempt the difficult job of compiling voting data by race. For the other states, the best estimates that could be derived from a variety of sources were used. Here is the breakdown:

Virginia--The end of the poll tax means that for federal elections, certificates of residence may be filed through May 2. In the Fourth Congressional District, the U.S. House candidacy of a prominent Negro attorney, S.W. Tucker, will enhance registration efforts among a sizeable Negro population. If there should be a real contest involving Senator Harry Byrd, it would enhance registration efforts statewide, and Negro votes would be a factor in hopes for an upset of the Byrd machine. The VEP interim report showed a 13,877 increase in Negro registration during the twenty-one months ending December 31. Total Negro registration at that time was 108,312, compared with 923,792 white registration.

North Carolina--White and Negro registration is already high. For Negroes, it is 42.4 per cent of those eligible. A three-way governor's race (with Terry Sanford stepping down) is a spur to registration. So are voter campaigns in cities and the eastern part of the state. VEP gains through December were 23,323. Negro registration was 11.1 per cent of a total registration of 2,090,270.

South Carolina--Considering expectations, gains have been impressive. Efforts continue in the First, Second, Fifth and Sixth Congres-

sional Districts. In every county except Charleston and Richland, registration has until recently been limited to one day a month, this a Monday. In a few counties, like Williamsburg, difficulties were great. Of one hundred who might show up to register, twenty-five might be processed, and of these, fifteen finally accepted. Yet through December 31, VEP recorded an increase of 20,727 over the state. Some counties now allow registration for three consecutive days, and in May and August, there will be continuous periods of registration. Massive campaigns are planned up to the October 5 cut-off for the general election. Total Negro registration as of December 31 was 111,628, compared with 703,000 white registration.

Georgia--An early deadline (May 2) for both the primary and general elections has prompted a crash program. Negro registration stood at 221,919 in December. Activity has been in urban areas this year. The First Congressional District saw a 1,400 increase in January. Reapportionment of the Atlanta congressional district this year is a spur to registration. A SNCC voter drive in Southwest Georgia (rural areas around Albany) began soon after VEP was organized, and has seen some of the fiercest resistance of any. Statewide, VEP gains through December were 46,347. Total Negro registration was 36.2 per cent of the eligible Negro population. It was 15.7 per cent of the total registration, the highest proportion in any state.

Florida--This is one of the least difficult states for Negro registration. A Negro drive in Gadsden County was regarded as more successful than a simultaneous one by Goldwater Republicans last year. VEP gains through December were 37,111 statewide. The 213,128 Negro voters in December were 45.3 per cent of the eligible Negro population, and 9.9 per cent of total registration.

Alabama--The only significant changes have been in Birmingham. But these have been big. Approximately 1,000 new voters a month have been registered there since October 1 by a VEP-backed effort. The Negro vote has already been a balance of power in the election last year which rid the city of the rule of Eugene (Bull) Connor, fiercely segregationist commissioner. Registration of 9,500 then had been about doubled by March of this year. Part of this resulted from a suit brought by Negro citizens and joined later by the Justice Department. It was held up after a new board of registrars last fall asked for a chance to reprocess Negroes who had been turned down. Registration has also been heavy in central Alabama. But in Black-belt areas, like Selma, where another Justice Department suit has been filed, resistance has been steady and effective. VEP gains through December were 13,487. Only 90,000 (18.7 per cent) of the 481,320 eligible Negroes were registered at the end of December. This is 8.8 per cent of a total registration of 1,015,000.

Mississippi--Out of 422,256 eligible Negroes, only 28,000 (6.6 per cent) were registered as of December 31. And this figure is optimistic. It is five per cent of the total registration of 553,000. The white voting age population is about double that of the Negro--748,266 compared with 422,256.

Tennessee--This state has the highest percentage of eligible Negro voters registered, 64 per cent at the end of December. There are few barriers to Negro registration. VEP gains through December were 34,243. Two U.S. senatorial races and reasonable cut-off dates insure further increases.

Arkansas--Elimination of the poll tax is a factor in expectations of increased registration this year. There is a strong movement to make

registration permanent. The gubernatorial race, whether Faubus runs or not, will spur Negro registration. VEP gains through December were 8,756. Negro registration was 80,000. This was 41.5 per cent of eligible Negroes, and 12.6 per cent of total registration.

Louisiana--The recent Federal Appeals Court decision on administrative procedures is considered an important gain. The twenty-one parishes affected are mostly in the heavily Negro northeastern part of the state. A CORE program in that area, and one planned in Shreveport, will add to the Negro totals. In December, Negro registration in the state was 162,084. This was 13.5 per cent of total registration. VEP gains through December were second lowest for the eleven states--5,899.

Texas--The largest VEP gain was made here, a total of 120,590. This figure includes some 40,000 Latin Americans and whites who during 1963 were among 100,000 new registrants secured by Voters of Texas Enlist, a statewide VEP-aided effort combining Negro, labor and Mexican groups. Poll tax is still required for state elections, but free registration for federal elections was continued until March 6. As in Arkansas, this is not permanent registration, but must be renewed annually. The 300,000 registered Negroes as of December 31 were 14.8 per cent of total registration, and 46.1 per cent of eligible Negroes.

Out of all this emerges the most serious of the implications of VEP. The project grew out of long concern over the disenfranchisement of Negroes in the South, the area of lowest proportionate registration in the nation. It came along at a time when many people were upset over the sit-ins and freedom rides of 1960 and 1961. It wasn't designed to get the energies of the Negro direct action revolution off the streets.

But there was pressure and persuasion of civil rights leaders and workers to cooperate fully in such a program, channeling at least some of the excess energy of their movement into this drive for a more representative government in the South.

Not the least of such advisors was the United States Department of Justice, and close observers still question whether Justice has measured up to implied obligations of protection to voter registration workers, and of diligence in pressing court suits. With enforcement of civil rights legislation looming as another tax on what is already considered an overtaxed staff, the plaint that Justice needs more people and more money may became better recognized as a major factor in the civil rights picture.

How this problem is resolved will be among many which eventually must end a debate of really terrible implications which from the beginning has been going on in civil rights circles about VEP. The debate in essence raises the question of whether such an effort is feasible--whether it is worth it. And this, in another way of saying it, is the bed-rock basic question of the Negro revolution, the question of whether or not the nation can adjust its normal institutions to include this generation of Negro Americans in their benefits.

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WB

TO: Rev. Arthur Thomas, Mr. Robert Moses, Mr. Courtney Siceloff, and Mr. Wiley Branton

FROM: John Due

RE: Field Trip - Southwest Mississippi

This is a field report to the above interested parties about my trip to Southwest Mississippi on behalf of the National Council of Churches, a group assisting an organization existing in Mississippi, known as the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) and its director, Mr. Robert Moses.

On April 28, 1964, I received a telephone call in the Voter Education Project Office of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia from Rev. Arthur Thomas of the National Council of Churches. He asked as to whether it might be possible for me to come to Mississippi. I was to assist Mr. Robert Moses in several counties in Southwest Mississippi to find witnesses or to procure affidavits. There was to be a hearing by the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission, May 6, 1964. The Committee was to investigate interference with voter registration by intimidation and terror by the Klu Klux Klan and police officials.

I told Art that I would be very happy to go and to assist in any manner I could be used, but I would have to have approval from Mr. Wiley Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. I would already be near there--I was to be in New Orleans later in the day and remain through the next Sunday. Mr. Branton gave us his approval, and we made plans that I would meet Bob Moses in Jackson, Mississippi on Monday.

Fortunately, I met Bob in New Orleans and it was decided that I cut short my stay in New Orleans because he had only Sunday to be with me in order to direct me as to people and the locale. So, Saturday afternoon, Robert Moses and I left New Orleans by train, arriving in McComb, Mississippi at about 6:00 PM...

On the train, Bob and I were in the last car; I guess it was a first-class coach--both of us sitting as we did prefer around a table. For the greater part of the trip, we were the only Negroes on the coach. It was a strange trip. I do not know about Bob, but since my trips into Mississippi, I have acquired a habit of "not-seeing" the white stranger who is in Mississippi. I would make a deliberate effort of assuring that there would be no eye-contact between us. This was a defensive mechanism to avoid hostility.

When we arrived at the McComb Train Station, a white taxi driver offered to pick us up. I thought this was somewhat funny in a town where there

John Due - Natl Council of Churches

have been cross-burnings, job-firings, etc., and we had just left the town--New Orleans--where white taxis will not take Negro passengers. We took a Negro taxi.

Bob Moses directed the cab driver to the home of Mr. Curtis Bryant. It was his place, a barber shop situated near his home, which was bombed, only just last Tuesday, April 26. It was now about dusk, and the shop was lighted and was still usable. Mr. Bryant was at the time cutting a boy's hair. Also, there were some of his local friends, including a Mr. Marshall. Mr. Bryant was glad to see Bob; they both knew each other from working together. Bob identified to them as to who I was--an attorney from Florida, presently working out of the Atlanta, Georgia Office. He informed them about he meeting of the Advisory Committee of the United States Civil Rights Commission to be held in Natchez. They were told that if they could testify about cross-burnings, police or state interference with attempts to register, or job-firings, people would appear before the Committee. We told them where they should go. The hearing was to be held in the Natchez Post Office Building. However, they were told that if they or anyone else could not appear, we would be willing to take their signed statements.

Because we had several places to go, I set up my portable typewriter for Bob to use, and I took my legal pad in order to take notes. At this time, at the ever-deepening darkness, I began to be aware of Mr. Bryant's nervousness. I was asking Mr. Bryant questions and wrote his answers, such that he is the president of the Pike County Branch NAACP, that he had been conducting voter registration clinics, and as an employee of the Illinois Central Railroad, he, along with a Mr. Willie Thompson, had filed affidavits with the President's Committee on Equal Job Opportunity about practices of racial discrimination by the railroad. He answered all the questions as he cut the boy's hair...

Mr. Bryant was concerned about both Bob and me not having eaten. Mr. Marshall volunteered to get us some food. As it was getting late, I asked about the people who Mr. Bryant knows who could give information to the Committee, whether they could meet us at a centralized point, such as the restaurant where we could eat, or could these people come to Mr. Bryant's house. Mr. Marshall, whose wife has "failed" 5 times in taking the test to become a qualified voter, said that "as far as I'm concerned, I'm not afraid, but I know my wife won't come here," (Mr. Bryant's house).

As I reflect now concerning this report, I realize that I was carelessly naive to believe that these people, being intimidated, would be eager to run to me to give me their statements. Bob had said that ~~by~~ their appearing before the Committee, this would be another additional thing which

would encourage more federal intervention in the area. I said that the Federal Government, being in Washington, will only act if it has a base of valid evidence upon which to act, which means affidavits and witnesses.

Then it was beginning to get darker and darker. Mr. Marshall had already taken his leave to get Bob and me our dinners. Bob told me that he would have all day Sunday to show me around McComb, and we would just try to see as many people as we could at their homes. Someone came into the barber shop with a rifle to guard. Mr. Bryant then told Bob and me that we should come into the house in order to finish taking his and others statements, not only for his own safety but for our safety as well.

I shrugged my shoulders, feeling somewhat comfortable where I was, feeling confident that another attempt surely could not be made; they should KNOW already that Mr. Bryant has a guard now. But a new thought invaded my assumed air of "cockiness"--the thought that the whole system of segregation, etc. is absurd. Therefore, indeed murder and destruction could happen that night, although it, too, is absurd. When we left the barber shop, it was pitch-black, and Bryant led us into his home by the back door so that we would not present a good target by entering the front door. Even Bob looked a little nervous when a car, made indistinguishable by its bright lights, sped by the country road. Surely Bob Moses could not be afraid!...

The kitchen was next to the back door and also near the back was a bedroom with a couch where several neighborhood children were sitting watching television, along with Mr. Bryant's son. I also met Mrs. Bryant. I became so involved in getting information from Mr. Bryant about his experiences that I failed to notice that the children, and even Mrs. Bryant had soon left, possibly at the end of the Jackie Gleason Show. They would be safe some place else.

I finished taking Mr. Bryant's statement--how on that fateful Tuesday night, he heard a loud "blast" while watching television. He went to the door, did not see anything and returned to watch television. He told me that "he did not know what the noise so close was." Yet, reflecting now, it is interesting that he returned to watch television, as if he were determined to enjoy life as he sees it, no matter what the loud noise was about, despite those things which would deny life. It took the neighborhood children screaming to his door to tell him that his barber shop was on fire. He called immediately the Police Department and the Justice Department and was able to stop the fire before it did significant damage to the barber shop. The Police Department came immediately and recovered a piece of pipe which they promised to send to New Orleans for expert investigation and analysis.

Mr. Bryant also gave us a statement about a cross being burned in front of his home in January along with about 14 other places one night in January, and how his wife and son have received unknown obscene telephone calls warning them to leave death or informing them of their imminent death. Klu Klux Klan materials were everywhere distributed among the Negro neighborhood...

Mr. Bryant gave me the names of several persons who could give me their statements or who may be able to appear before the Committee, such as Rev. Haynes, who received a telephone call after the bombing Wednesday Night that he would be next; Jack Micellis, who was forced to be fired from his job as a plumber by the Klu Klux Klan; Mr. Marshall's wife, who has been discriminated against in attempting to register to vote five times; a Mrs. Burgler, who was beaten without any cause by a Mr. Brown of the Public Housing Authority; and two Negro teachers, Miss Wilson and Miss Clark, who were sexually abused by the white superintendent; and Mr. Willie Thompson, who was recently fired from his job at the Illinois Central Railroad for the given cause of "insubordination," but in fact was fired because of his insisting that he is an "equal." (He was the other person who filed an affidavit with Mr. Bryant who is with the President's Committee of Equal Job Opportunity.)

Mr. Bryant called Rev. Haynes who lived a few blocks away and who came by. While Bob Moses typed out Mr. Bryant's statement, I proceeded to talk to Rev. Haynes. I identified myself and what we were trying to do. He kept saying repeatedly that he really did not know anything. I told him that it would be important if the Committee would get the slightest information and asked him whether he could give us a statement of any information he may have. Rev. Haynes was a young man in his 30's. Whether age has anything to do with a person's action, this man was afraid. He did give us a statement, which I wrote down in my legal pad. He told me how he was returning home that Tuesday night at about 8:30 when he first saw the fire and the blown out windows of Mr. Bryant's barber shop. He also told how the next day, about 6:30 PM, the phone rang, his little girl picked up the phone, and an unknown person on the phone picked up and said, "You are next" and then hung up. He was in a hurry, saying that he had to go to a barber shop and left. I asked him whether he would be available sometime Sunday morning so that we can get his statement notarized. He said No, that he would be out of town as early as 6:30 AM, going to pastor several churches. He then left. After we got his statement in form and typed, we realized that we needed Rev. Haynes' signature. We called his wife and she did not know what barber shop to which he would be. I was resigned to the fact that we had to just hold his statement.

At this time, I determined that it was necessary to ascertain the practicability of the use of Notary Publics for the statements so that they would be good as affidavits. I defined the practicability of the use of Notary Publics to mean as to whether any Notary Publics are available who would be friendly or at least neutral and would not disclose any information to local officials or local people who may be connected to the Klu Klux Klan. I then asked Mr. Bryant whether there were any Negro Notary Publics, feeling that under the above description, a Negro Notary Public would probably fit the above definition, rather than a white Notary Public. Mr. Bryant told me of two Negro Notary Publics in the area, but he was not confident that they would be willing to notarize any statements--they have never done so before. I called one, a Mr. John McCray, and introduced myself and what I wanted done. Mr. McCray said that his commission had expired. I called the other Negro Notary Public, Mr. Charles Westbrook, McComb undertaker, and he said that he would be willing after that night.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Bob Moses and a SNCC worker, John O'Neal, had driven down to where we were from Jackson, Mississippi, and were involved in an accident which just damaged the car from the fault of the other driver. The police came to the scene to investigate and soon let her and John O'Neal go. The car is in Bob Moses' name. His wife was driving the car. So the police now knew that Bob Moses must be in town.

Bob Moses, who always seem calm, who speaks softly, who always seem imperturbable, now again seemed to be worried. I remembered that McComb, Pike County, Mississippi, was the first area Bob Moses came to, back in 1961, in order to carry on a voter registration drive. He was a Harvard graduate, a former teacher in the New York school system. He seemed to be so unpretentious, reserved, and even seemed to be more of an introvert rather than an outgoing "true believer," but all at once compelled to come to work for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in voter registration in Mississippi.

Here in Southwest Mississippi, I knew he had been jailed, had been beaten, and had suffered all the tribulations which any civil rights worker in Mississippi undergoes. He is well known to the community, both white and black. But this was the first time I ever was aware of his fear.

Bob and his wife hugged and talked to each other quietly. Eventually, I accompanied Bob in order to get his wife and John O'Neal some food at the nearest Negro restaurant. I called so that the food would be ready when we got there, so that the car would not be parked too long, and so that the enemy would not be attracted. A new awareness came upon me--an awareness that this was war.

Mr. Bryant let John O'Neal, Bob Moses and his wife, and I sleep at his home for the night. But this was reluctantly done, only because we could find no other place for us to stay for the night other than the Negro hotel, where one has to register in the name of Bob Moses. Everyone slept lightly except one, Mr. Bryant, who did not sleep at all. He stood guard until 4:30 before one of his friends relieved him.

But before we turned in that night, while we were out going to get the food, we had gone by Mr. Marshall's house to get Mrs. Justina Marshall's statement. It was after 10:00 PM, but he had said that they would still be up. We called, blew our horn, and knocked on the door, but it was only after quite a while that Mr. Marshall opened the door. They had not gone to bed. She is a young housewife. Mr. Thomas Marshall is an employee of the Illinois Central Railroad and is active in the local NAACP.

She was reluctant to give us a statement--her being afraid. Mr. Marshall helped us to encourage her to tell us what she knew. He made a point to say that he is personally not afraid. We said to her that the little information that she would give us may help to encourage the Federal Government to actively protect Negroes in Southwest Mississippi from official sanctioned or sponsored intimidation. She finally gave us a statement and promised to have her signature notarized the next day. Justina Marshall had been failed by the registrar five different times. It is hard to imagine a gentle young woman like Mrs. Marshall, a product of a system which teaches all Negroes their caste place, to go down to the registrar's office, at first accompanied by Mr. Bryant, but later only by another lady friend, to attempt to register.

The next morning, it was Sunday--and a beautiful day--cool, sweet, with the smell of moist grass and hay. Bob Moses and I got into his car (which was still in running condition) and drove into town. He left it at a place where a friend works in body repairs to see what could be done, at least stop the tire from rubbing the damaged fender. The friend said to Bob that he would have the car "fixed-up" for him, and we left his house walking to Mr. Willie Thompson's home.

Mr. Willie Thompson had a comfortable home with a small garden sufficient to raise vegetables for the dinner table. Bob introduced me to him and his family, explaining what we were doing. His daughter Carrol Thompson was busy in the kitchen. The Thompson's asked us whether we had anything to eat. With somewhat false modesty, I declined, saying "We have so much work to do." Immediately, I realized I was wrongly talking for Bob Moses, and so both of us were provided a hearty breakfast.

After getting back to work, Mr. Thompson told me that he had been fired for what was claimed to be "insubordination," but in fact had been fired

because he refused to do the work of two men in unloading a railroad car, especially since the railroad had reported that he had a hernia condition. His immediate gang foreman then brought Mr. Thompson before the Second General Foreman, who agreed WITH Mr. Thompson THAT HE does need help from another person, but before Mr. Thompson could proceed, the immediate gang foreman, Stringer, brought down from the front office the gang foreman, who cursed Mr. Thompson, and that same day was fired and had not been able to return to work. I found out from Mr. Thompson that he and his family have long been active in the civil rights cause. In 1961, his daughter, Carrol Thompson, and other girls went inside the still "white" side of the depot of the Illinois Central Railroad. Without any police protection, probably with police sanction, she and the other girls were chained. (She testified in 1962 before the Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission).

It was clear that Mr. Willie Thompson's activities, such as being a co-signer with Mr. C.C. Bryant on an affidavit alleging discrimination at the Illinois Central Railroad, voter clinics, and his daughter's activities, have placed him as an "Uppity Nigger" due to being fired, etc, but he was reluctant to sign the statement. He argued that one of the foreman had told him that after things cooled down, he would be able to go back to work. He showed me his letter which he received from the Superintendent. He had had an administrative hearing where he had no representation, and that he had been dismissed finally. I explained to him that the information which I was seeking probably will not get him his job back. It is that the most beneficial use is to demonstrate before official United States bodies violations of civil rights. When I asked him the question, that since he was in the right in the very beginning, could he really believe that they are sincere in hiring him back, I said that he probably will have more to gain to the benefit of all if the statement is submitted as an affidavit or if he could make an appearance. Later, Mr. Bryant said that the foreman's statement that he would be hired back later is nothing but a trick in order to induce Mr. Thompson from inaction until he no longer had a right to appeal under the Union rules. Mr. Thompson agreed that he would sign the statement, have it notarized, and even try to go to Natchez for the hearing by the Committee. We found that there would be an NAACP meeting later that Sunday Afternoon; so we agreed to meet him there.

Bob Moses and I then left The Thompson's and walked for about 15 minutes until we came to MR. EARL MOSES shoe repair store on a somewhat busy street next to a photograph store WHITE OWNED WHICH ~~owned and operated by white persons~~. He knew Bob. After we told him what we wanted, he closed his store and gave us his statement. He always had trouble, such as verbal abuse, etc. from the Klan type on the grounds that he was accused to be Bob Moses' father. However, he had been operating the shoe repair store for 19 years and serviced the shoes of the white rich man and the white business man. He

pointed to the shoes on the racks, which were Florsheim or other $25.00 type shoes. The recent intimidation he had received was the fact that a cross was burned in front of his store. He also stated his knowledge of crosses burned all over town that night in January. He also pointed something up which was quite interesting. The owner of the High Hat, a white restaurant, was shot and killed by a member of the Klu Klux Klan, the same person who had beaten Carrol Thompson with a chain three years ago. The owner was shot with the gun of the deputy sheriff to whom the killer was related, in the presence of the deputy. Mr. Earl Moses said that he would be glad to have his statements notarized. I said to him that we would try to do this sometime Sunday or Monday.

Bob and I then called a cab and went to Rosehill Church, where a cross had been burned recently, to find information about a Rev. Tobias who had been told by Sheriff Daniel Jones of Liberty and Amite County, to leave town. When we got to the church, the service had not ended. In fact, the sermon was just beginning. I was impressed with the social message content of the sermon, which was "Don't Fight the Sun Rise." The sermon pointed out that the way of life in Mississippi is ever-changing, and that the people must prepare to meet the new society. Bob and I stayed outdoors to finish typing the statements, etc. Soon, however, when the sermon was over, some of the deacons spotted Bob Moses and we were ushered in to say a few words to the congregation. The minister introduced Bob Moses first, telling them who he was and what he was doing "for them" at the risk of death, and that they should be thankful for it. Bob said a few words about the United States Civil Rights Commission, the Mississippi Advisory Committee, and the hearings the coming Wednesday. Bob, in turn, introduced me as an attorney from Atlanta, Georgia, and what I was doing. I gave a few remarks, telling them how outside the church, I heard the sermon and its topic and how it was so relevant to the problems they were facing. I told them that although the South is ever-changing, there remains an anachronism from the past, the Klan, and the hate of men who fear other men only because of race. I told them that different from the days of the horse-buggy and kerosene lantern, we have now a federal government in which there is concern about what is happening in Mississippi, but that it takes them, not Bob Moses and me, to act. I told them that to act is to give information, that the federal government cannot act without information. Yet at the same time, I did not promise them that giving us any information would cause any immediate changes in their condition, but only that this is the way and only way to do anything which could cause a change which would contribute to a change in their way of life of intimidation, segregation, and separation. I asked them that if any person had any information, to please see me after church.

Yet after the sermon, we met again the stone wall of fear; we found no one to give us any statements about the cross being burned in front of that very church, or about Mr. Tobias of Liberty, Amite County.

A little teen-age girl and her sisters did come to to me to give a statement about their father, Jake Micellis. Mr. Micellis for many years worked as a plumber with a Mr. Guyton, a white man who owned a plumbing business in McComb, Mississippi. Early in March, 1964, late at night, a man came to their door of their home and hollered "Jake." Mr. Micellis walked to the door and saw a white man who handed him a note; the white man then walked to a car filled with other white men and drove away rapidly. The note read: "Jake Micellis, your job with Guyton Plumber is over, (signed) Klu Klux Klan." The next day, Micellis went to work and learned that Mr. Guyton, his employer, had received at his home a similar note. They both went to the McComb Police Station, and the Chief advised them to get a gun to protect themselves. Two weeks later, late at night, a large object came crashing through the Micellis's picture glass window. Mr. Micellis immediately called the police, who recovered the object which was a brick with a note attached, reading KLU KLUX KLAN. The very next day after the incident, Mr. Micellis went to work and learned that the same thing had happened to Mr. Guyton. Mr. Guyton told Jake Micellis that he would work there no longer so that no one would be hurt. Micellis found no work in McComb and is presently in Laurel, able to visit his family only occasionally.

After taking their statement, I told them that we would get it typed and would come later to get them to sign this statement before a notary. It was now getting late, and about time for the NAACP meeting; so we got a cab back in the main part of town.

Sitting there in the meeting hall, I realized that the Bob Moses, James Forman's, Martin Luther King's, and James Farmer's are not the real heroes. It is the C. C. Bryant's in the South, who get a little lead of publicity when they are mysteriously bombed or shot, who are the real heroes. For the latter are truly alone and more likely to confront the fact of death forsaken by their friends, as was forsaken a Jew 1,964 years ago. Yet these same C. C. Bryant's remain loyal, although alone, to their cause and their NAACP. At the meeting, Mr. Bryant exhorted the members to take up tickets for the NAACP "T.V. Spectacular" which was to be held in Jackson, Mississippi, May 14, 1964...

INSERT NEXT PAGE HERE

After the NAACP meeting, Bob, his wife, and I went back to Mr. Bryant's house and waited for John O'Neal, the other SNCC worker, to pick up Bob Moses' car which was ready but hidden from view. The owner of the repair garage asked for this, because he has white trade who would be suspicious of a car with a license plate from Jackson, Mississippi, who probably would be aware in this somewhat small town of an accident last night of a car in the name of "Bob Moses."

Field Report - Southwest Mississippi

ADDENDUM: (follows page 9)

The NAACP meeting was held in a Negro masonic meeting hall on top of a Negro grocery store, the same store which Bob Moses and I tried earlier to get a statement from the owner or manager about the cross which recently burned in front of the store, but no one would say anything. About four or five men in their late 40's or early 50's stood about their parked cars, waiting for Mr. Bryant, the president of the local McComb NAACP. Driving by was a Mr. Stone who saw Bob. He stopped his car and was glad to see him. Mr. Stone once owned several cabs, and in 1961, used to help furnish transportation for Bob until he was forced to leave town. Stone has now settled in California, being in McComb to take care of some business.

Eventually Mr. Bryant arrived and the meeting began. It began with singing of "Leaning on the Everlasting Arms," which is hardly a Freedom Song. But in the hot stuffy room, coupled with my awareness of their experiences, made that song seemingly appropriate like the slave songs were appropriate. It seemed strange to see Bob Moses, a graduate of Harvard University, and his wife, a graduate of Chicago University, two people who some may describe as intellectuals, dressed in nondescript clothes, standing together and singing sincerely, softly, and sadly this old song.

I remembered how a few years ago some of my white friends and I, being self-appointed agnostics or athiests, would snicker and separate ourselves from the emotionalisms in small Negro churches we were present in trying to influence into the movement. But that was in the days of abstract arguments. This day was a reality of life. While we stood up there singing that song, I finally realized that we were all alone--from society--from all that was outside that room. It was this fact that we were alone that we shared a common identity and were able to sing that song. Although others may marvel that so-called "intellectuals" with Northern middle class values for a background could sing with these people, it was not hard because in Southwest Mississippi, we all shared the only important background--we were all Negroes.

Although again Bob and I were introduced and we made our little talks, the most tearing thing out of the meeting was Mr. Bryant pleading ~~that~~ for the local branch of the NAACP provide him some protection to pay a person to guard his home, since volunteers are not reliable. It shocked me to find that his friends would not guard his place in shifts. The other members gave fine statements, and it was passed that Mr. Bryant's home would receive paid protection. Then Mr. Marshall made a statement which was really a cry, criticizing the local ministry for not supporting the civil rights struggle, who do not have in general any social message encouraging their church members to exercise their civil rights. It was now clear that in singing, there was unity, but that more often than not, each Negro is his own island.

Field Report - Southwest Mississippi

ADDENDUM: (follows page 9)

Crosses have been burned in front of Negro churches in the area, although they have not been active in the Civil Rights Struggle. Maybe the Klan recognizes their potential. Also, it is apparent that the Klan's activity does work--the cross burnings, beatings, and job firings;;instead of uniting the community, it separates it--each family--even members of a family turning inward, separate from the other. Maybe this is brought on from experience flowing from slavery days that unity invited total destruction.

By now, we had several statements which were typed and ready to be signed and notarized. I had also a new statement from Mrs. Lizzie Thomspon, the wife of Mr. Willie Thompson, which was "hear-say" but still relevant. In 1962, after Carrol testified before the U. S. Civil Rights Commission's Mississippi Advisory Committee about her beating, the labor foreman told her son, also employed with the Illinois Central Railroad: "We have a Klu Klux Klan and anyone who draws the shortest straw has to kill someone, and if Carrol doesn't watch out, she will find herself dead."

I planned to be in the next county, Amite, and other counties Monday; so I gave Willie Thompson $5.00 to get these McComb, Pike County, statements notarized and to see the persons we talked with in order to get a car load of persons to come to Natchez to appear before the Advisory Committee of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Bob, his wife, John O'Neal, and I said goodbye to Mr. Bryant and Mr. Thompson. Mr. Bryant again apologized for his wife and him not being able to be more hospitable under the circumstances which, to the contrary, was more than we expected. We stopped at a restaurant to eat supper and then went by side streets and alleys out of McComb, going to Liberty, Amite County.

Bob and his wife sat in front, and John O'Neal and I were in the back. During the 25 odd miles to Liberty, I shall not ever forget the light from the cars behind us as it reflected from his glasses as seen in the rear-view windowm. We finally reached Liberty and drove farther a few more miles until we came to the farm of Mr. Westly.

Mr. Westly was one of the COFO contacts in Southwest Mississippi who had been very active in Aaron Henry's campaign for governor in Mississippi. Mr. Aaron Henry is President of COFO and the Mississippi Branches of the NAACP. Our main purpose in seeing Mr. Westly was to find out whether he or someone else would have a car and would be free to accompany me to see people in Amite County, Wilkinson County, and other surrounding counties.

Mr. Westly is a strong, wiry, and lean Negro in his early 40's. He owns jointly with his father and two other brothers a large farm, which he operates alone, except during the plowing and harvesting season, and that is why he could not be with me the next day to accompany me. This had been a very wet season and late Spring, and now it was dry. It was the first opportunity for him to plow for the planting of cotton and corn, and he must take every advantage of it. This would be the case for everyone in the county, Amite being a rural farm county. The use, too, of his car, would be very risky. The "whites" all knew Westly's car, and seeing a stranger--me--driving the car would surely put myself in jeopardy. They all knew that he had been busy in civil rights campaign of Aaron Henry; they all would therefore know I must have some "civil rights" purpose. I knew that I had to go to Jackson with Bob Moses and rent a Hertz car and return to the area.

Westly did take me to one brother who has had more contact with the "whites" in this area and may have information I could use. His brother lived in a small shack on the farm. By the time we got there, it was pitch black. Although Mr. Westly is a brave man, he was still cautious. When he drove to his brother's house, Mr. Westly told me to stay in the car and wait for him to see if he could talk to his brother. He called for his brother several times before the porch light came on, and his brother came out of the house. While sitting in the car, I remembered that when we had come to Westly's house, Bob had to call several times. It was obvious to me that Negroes just don't answer their doors at night unless they recognize the voice who is calling them, in Amite County. The shot-gunning of Herbert Lee and of Lewis Allen had made everyone cautious.

Mr. Westly and his brother began talking and before I knew it, I had fallen asleep. Mr. Westly eventually called me and I awakened, not aware of where I was for a few seconds. Mr. Westly's brother had no real firsthand knowledge except about Mr. Tobias, who, being a suspected president of the local NAACP, was told by Sheriff Daniel Jones to get out of the county. But being a farmer, he bought on credit and owed the local merchants alot of credit. When they found out what the sheriff had done, they were so angry that before Mr. Tobias and his family could move out, the sheriff came by and ordered him to stay. I asked whether we could see Mr. Tobias that same night. Westly's brother said that it would do no good anyway because Tobias denies now that this had ever occurred, he being so afraid. It seemed ironic that merchant creditors would protect a Negro from being run out of town but not from death. Their claims can be satisfied against the dead Negro's estate.

Mr. Tobias does have some relatives who live next to him, and they would have something to say, but it was obvious that Westly did not want to be going anywhere that night; but he did take me to see one of his share croppers. The story of Mr. Thomas Marshall was that in April, he and his family were tenant farmers on the property of Mr. Marshall, when one night he was aware of fire blazing in the bottom. He and his sons rushed to put out the fire and were busy fighting the blaze when Mr. Marshall's landlord drove up to see and then left. Soon he returned with the county fire department engines. He also had a shotgun. He was very angry and told the Marshall's to leave that same night, accusing them of starting the fire. The Marshall Family was able to borrow a pick-up truck from a neighbor, and not knowing where to go, came to Mr. Westly's farm. Mr. Westly has allowed them to stay at his place ever since.

At the time that night, I did not think that this was a civil rights case or even a Klu Klux Klan type activity. I did not think that this would be appropriate for a report before the Advisory Committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. Now, I realize this may have been a mistake because this incident dramatized the usual lot of the Negro who in Southwest Mississippi is in a hostile society without legal protection.

Mr. Westly and I returned to his home. Bob Moses and the others had remained there; he was to finish typing the remainder of the statements I had procured. I told Westly that I would return to his home after 6 PM, Monday Evening. He was to bring to me another brother who had been fired from his job in Liberty when he attempted to register to vote. We left the Westly's home and finally reached Jackson, Mississippi around 2 AM.

~~On Monday Morning, I went to the COFO office on Lynch Street, Jackson. It was important to find Jesse Morris, the COFO-office staffer, who was to be coming to Natchez, Mississippi to contact witnesses and to develop an itinerary. The hearing was to be held the coming Wednesday.~~

On Monday Morning, I went to the COFO office on Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi. Bob Moses, before his departure to Atlanta, Georgia, said that Jesse Morris, a COFO staffer, was going to Natchez and with him I could plan my itinerary in Southwest Mississippi before the hearing on Wednesday Morning. While waiting for Jesse Morris, Rev. Arthur Thomas of the National Council of Churches, the person at whose request I was in Mississippi, came to the office, but soon he left on his way to Canton, Mississippi in special work of seeking to reach poor whites in that area on the behalf of civil rights for all.

Came also Mr. Courtney Siceloff who introduced himself as regional representative of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. It was most fortunate that I was able to meet him, as he was the very one who was organizing the hearing by the Mississippi Advisory Committee in Natchez and who also was seeking witnesses who may testify at the hearing. I had already placed in my legal pad the names and addresses of contacts of COFO in Southwest Mississippi, plus places and persons involved in incidents that we were concerned with. Mr. Siceloff was going to be in Natchez Tuesday, so we compared notes and names of people and decided that we would meet there that day in Mr. Archie Curtis' Funeral Home. Mr. Jesse Morris Came, and since Mr. Siceloff and I would be in Natchez, it was decided that Jesse would not go. Instead, Miss Ema Bell, a COFO staffer who has researched Southwest Mississippi's intimidations, brutalities, and Klu Klux Klan activity, and whose home is in McComb, Mississippi, agreed to accompany me.

About 2 PM Monday, I finally picked up a Hertz Car, a fast 500 Galaxie Ford. Ordinarily, I preferred an unpretentious and cheaper compact, but since Ema and I were going back into Southwest Mississippi, I thought it was worth the expense. Only two years before, Bob Moses, Jim Travis, and Randolph Blackwell (the latter my fellow employee in Atlanta, Georgia) were in a car and were followed by a car-load of men who finally drew up to their side and shot into their car with automatic firing weapons. By some stroke of fate, no one was killed, but Jim Travis, the driver, suffered a serious wound in the neck. The Ford is hardly any real assurance against a similar type incident, but with its speed, it made me feel better.

Ema and I were finally on the road. As it was getting late, I decided against going to Port Gibson, Jefferson County, which is about 40 miles above Natchez, and decided to save the trip for Tuesday. Our plan was to drive straight south from Jackson to Brookhaven, Lincoln County, 60 miles away. We would see a contact there, a Dr. Lott, investigate cases of intimidation in that area, and then drive the next 40 miles or so until we reach Liberty, Amite County. We planned to spend the rest of the afternoon and evening in Amite County, looking for evidence and information and then go to McComb, Pike County, about 25 miles away from Liberty, Amite County, in order to sleep, I checking into a hotel and she staying with her mother.

When we reached Brookhaven, I had already called Dr. Lott and indicated my purpose. When we reached his office, he was very cordial in receiving us. He was a young Negro dentist in his early 30's. When I asked about cross burnings and other types of Klan activity, he pooh-poohed the very idea of it. When I asked about any kind of interference with voter registration, he answered that there is no kind of interference with registration whatsoever. He indicated here that the problem was Negro apathy, that any Negro who would attempt to register would be registered, if they would only pay their poll tax. He said that the last registration drive he ever knew about was the one conducted in 1952 by the Citizen's League, a group that is no longer functioning.

Ema and I glanced at each other, both of us thinking that it seemed incredulous that Lincoln County and Brookhaven were so free of the kind of intimidation that was present in the surrounding counties. I then asked him whether or not he heard about any cross-burnings and killings in any of the surrounding counties. Other than Pike and Amite Counties, which we were already aware of, he said that a patient of his, a Mary Clay, a girl from Beauregard, Mississippi, would be the only one intelligent enough to be able to tell me about the cross-burnings they have had in that area. He indicated that Beauregard is a Negro community, just off the road from where we had come, in Copiah County.

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Mary Clay is a hair dresser and was working on a customer. She seemed to understand our purpose, etc., but she could only say that "she heard about cross burnings, but didn't see any." She would not give us any further help, but did direct us to her father-in-law home which was the biggest house of the group. When we drove up to Mr. Clay's house, they gladly invited us in and we were made to feel as if they had known Ema and me as long friends. Old Man Clay was now retired from the Illinois Central Railroad, and he has raised nine daughters and two sons, some of whom are college graduates. I marvelled that it was his wife who was so energetic and busy. Visiting them was an old friend and fellow worker of the Illinois Central Railroad by the name of Frank Glasp.

It was Mr. Glasp who gave me a signed statement that on April 24, 1964, a cross was burned at the railroad intersection leading into Beauregard, that crosses have been burned in the Negro quarters where we had just been, and that it was general knowledge that crosses have been burned all over Brookhaven near Negro businesses and housing projects. Mr. Glasp said that was especially true when in January many crosses were burned in Brookhaven the same time they were burned in McComb, Mississippi. Glasp also said that the cross at the railroad intersection was still there. Ema and I thanked everybody and drove off. Before I crossed the railroad track, I stopped the car, picked the charred cross, which broke when I picked it up. The biggest part was a 3 x 5, the cross being probably a 2 x 4. The cross was covered with half-burned rags, it being probable that not enough kerosene was thrown on it so that it could readily burn. A car was coming up, so I hurried, not caring for anyone to notice my interest in crosses.

In Beauregard, we found a Negro community of about 300 families, connected to the highway by a softly bending road which enters in the community after crossing a double railroad track, the Illinois Central Railroad. Just as soon as you cross the railroad track, there was a juncture road upon which were a general store and also upon which fronted several middle-class white-owned homes with spacious yards. I was then puzzled why Beauregard was called a Negro community. We doubled back towards the soft bending road and resumed it until shortly we came to the top of a hill. Upon the side of this hill were stretched 20 to 30 small houses, seemingly standing on stilts which were only patched up with weather boards, none with glass-paned windows, and all of them a funny weather-beaten reddish brown, the color of the earth upon which they stood.

There were emaciated dogs lying around, but it was the chickens that made the fuss as we approached. As we drove up into the housing section, Negroes peered out, half hidden in the darkness of the houses. We stopped at the first house and a young man, seemingly in his 20's, came to the door (the brave spokeman?). Ema Bell jumped out of the car. She had assumed the position of being "spokeman" before poor Negroes, feeling that she would know how to talk to them and put them at ease, she being, in a sense, "one of them." It was very hard for them to understand her or for her to understand them. There had been cross-burnings in the area but no one saw any. They were at least that smart. They did tell us where the "Clays" lived, which was only a short distance away.

The "Clays" were a settlement by themselves with about four houses grouped together. This area was altogether different from the area from where we had left. There was sufficient siding on the houses. The dogs were still lazy, not even looking up when we drove up, but they were at least not skinny.

Ema and I then stopped in Wesson, Copiah County, at the club or home of Mrs. Mary Pendleton in front of which several crosses had been burned. Several women, not relatives of Mrs. Pendleton, were sitting in chairs sunning themselves. Mrs. Pendleton was not there but was due to return. I decided that

it hardly would be worth seeking to obtain her statement. If this was a "club" it seemed probable that she illegally sold whisky as all other "clubs" do. I also thought it was quite possible that that was not the only thing around there that was sold illegally. She would therefore hardly do any reporting to me about cross-burnings. So Ema and I left Wesson.

As we drove through Brookhaven, we comtemplated the fact that Mr. Glasp told us that it was "general knowledge" that there were cross-burnings in Brookhaven, whereas Dr. Lott had "pooh-poohed" the idea. We knew that if we could not get any information about this from Dr. Lott, our COFO contact, it would do little good to ask a stranger--we wmight ask the wrong person. We were soon through Brookhaven, and by 5 or 6 PM, we were in Liberty, Amite County.

The first thing we wanted to find out was how to find Rev. Tobias' relative, Mr. Cassius Tobias. He lived somewhere near Liberty on a farm. An in-law of his lived in Liberty right on the highway going out of Liberty. As I drove, Ema looked for the house of the "in-law." It was on the left, but we had to drive until the next junction about 75 yards away, turn around so that we could park in front of her house. As I turned around and parked the car in front of the house, I saw that we had been followed by a young white boy in a white 500 Galaxie, who also turned around where I had and then sped back into town and parked where we could be visibly seen. I suddenly remembered that my car had been stopping when idling. I then wondered whether my black 500 Galaxie was tuned enough to out-speed his. I don't know whether I was comforted by the thought that probably I could because his car would be over-loaded with white farmers later that night.

We received instructions on how to reach the Tobias Farm and soon left the "in-law." Going back into town to take the road to the Tobias Farm, we noticed that we were not followed. Ema said to me that Liberty, Amite County, is off the main roads, and out-of-county cars are exceptions there. The white boy was probably a deputy who followed us enough in order to take our Jackson license number in order to find out who I was.

The Tobias', cousins to Rev. Tobias, were very friendly and very glad to see Ema. They knew her and had spoken to her on the phone many times about our case. They composed a tightly-knot family, owned land, and for generations, worked their own land and the land of others for set wages. They were a militant family and seemed to pride themselves that they have not been run-off, and have stood-off whites who would seek to harm them. They are harmed. They told me that "they' (whites) won't bother us because they know that we stick together and would have to deal with everyone of us." This unity began, they said, when their grandfather was burned up in gasoline by the Klu Klux Klan many years ago.

I heard again the story of Rev. Tobias, who was believed by the sheriff to be president of the county NAACP, and because of this, was told to leave town; but because he owed money, was then told not to leave town.

Of the Tobias's, the one who did the most talking was Miss Evelina Tobias, who was about 29 years old. I asked her whether she would come with us that evening to see other people in Amite County. She said Yes, and she also agreed that she would go to Natchez Wednesday Morning for the hearing. She could tell the Advisory Committee the Tobias story and other incidents involving the family, such as the occasion where they would purchase money orders at the U.S. Post Office, other white persons who she did not know or say at the post office would demand from her to tell them where the money orders were being sent and who gave her the money; or when their white neighbors with whom they had almost been friends many years all at once shot up their roof without any reason. They also have been told to leave.

Evelina Tobias knew where the homes of other Negroes who had been intimidated; so at dusk, we found the residence of Mr. Lucious Woodard. He lived off the highway a few miles from Liberty; it appeared to me to be exposed to rifle fire from the highway. In his yard were cars in different stages of repair. Woodard, a husky Negro in his late 30's, gladly received us and understood easily what we were attempting to do and proceeded to give us a signed statement.

Mr. Woodard, having had specialized training in Detroit, had been employed 10 years as a mechanic for his employer, a white businessman, Harvey Motor Company in Liberty; but on Sunday Morning, April 19, 1964, his employer, Mr. J. T. Walsh, came by his home and said to Mr. Woodard, "I can't use you anymore. It aint nothing you done. You ought to know why. I can't tell you anymore." The way Mr. Walsh said it to him made it clear that Walsh was scared, and that he was a member of either the KKK or the WCC, or some gang. Mr. Woodard then gave me the names of six other Negroes who had been fired under the same circumstances as he, such as Charlie Caulfied, who had been in charge of deliveries at the IGA Supermarket; Earnest Hamilton, a presser and who did cleaning at the Liberty Laundry Company; Cleveland Walker, a highly-visible general handyman at the Fairway Food Store; Howard Floyd, who worked at the Sinclair Service Station as a service attendant; a James Carter, who owned a shoe repair shop in the town of Liberty, but was run out and is presently in California; and a Jack White, who had also been working as a service attendant at the local Texaco Service Station. There is also a community opinion among the Negroes that this same Jack White was hired to kill Lewis Allen, and is presently being held in the Baton Rouge Jail to keep him from talking.

Mr. Woodard and Evelina discussed a brother O'Quinn who lived in Centreville, Wilkinson County, who was "run" out of town recently after being "whaled by the law."; that it was this same O'Quinn's father who was bush-wacked the same way as was done Lewis Allen recently, over five years ago. Mr. Woodard believed that Mrs. O'Quinn would be willing to tell us about her son and also about another mysterious killing a la Lewis Allen a few weeks ago of a Mr. Clifton Walker, who was also shotgunned at both sides of his face as he was entering his home near Woodville, Mississippi. There was speculation that the murder grew out of the controversy around the integrating of the shower room of the Natchez Paper Mill where the deceased Walker had worked. However, also ala Lewis Allen, it was the widow who was made the prime suspect by the

police. They also indicated to me the incident of an E. M. Jackson who was recently found dead in his car, supposedly from carbon monoxide poisoning, last Christmas, in Woodville, Mississippi. This was supposedly self-imposed despite the fact the man was severely beaten about the head.

With all these incidents in the neighboring county of Wilkinson, a county more than 70% Negro, it was clear that Tuesday Morning I should attempt to investigate and find people with personal experiences. For the rest of Monday Evening, it was decided that we see how many more affidavits, written statements, or persons who could appear before the Advisory Committee out of Amite County. We then left the Woodard's home, going to Mr. Westly's farm.

We had to go through Liberty in order to reach Mr. Westly's farm which was near a community called "Good Hope," 10 miles north of Liberty. It was now after 8:00, completely dark with lights producing little light. There was no discernible movement nor were people visible as we drove past the Courthouse through the town square. Evelina Tobias then pointed out a side road for us to take, for we did not want to return the same way we came in. The side road was enough only for one car, seemingly more like a tractor path. The rhythm and blues from a New Orleans station kept our spirits up, but I still thought I imagined that I saw a light reflect in the rear view mirror. After several minutes, we finally approached the state highway, and as soon as we neared the highway, bright lights from a car behind in the path from where we came blinded us, but only for a minute. After digging up some gravel, I accelerated the Ford at its utmost out of there, and in a short time, no lights were behind us. I felt very silly and began to wonder whether I was acting reasonable and becoming afraid too much.

We soon arrived at Mr. Westly's farm. He was chatting with a man who he had met earlier that day. His name was Frank Adam Robinson, who resides at Centreville, Wilkinson County. I talked with him while Mr. Westly went to get his brother, Roosevelt Lee, the one who was fired as soon as he attempted to register. Mr. Robinson is a self-employed junk man who works the several Southwest Mississippi counties. Although he could give no more information than that I already had procured in relation to the incidents in Pike, Amite, Wilkinson, and Franklin Counties, and it being all hear-say, I thought it may be useful to the Advisory Committee that he appear personally. He could indicate the atmosphere in these counties to the members of the committee. He agreed to go with us to Natchez Wednesday Morning. I told him that we would meet him there at the Westly Farm at about 8 AM.

Mr. Robinson, by his very own words, is typical of a growing number of Negroes, although to me a few in number, who in their early 50's are now willing to die. They have "Uncle Tommed" enough now that their children are out of school.

After a while, Mr. Westly returned without his brother, Roosevelt Lee. His brother did handwrite a statement which I took. It was now getting late, so we took our leave. As soon as we reached the highway to Liberty, I noticed we had a flat tire. I backed up into a driveway to a church, and with only the ceiling lights from the car, I was able to change the tire. The girls felt very uneasy in being seen inside the lighted car.

After the tire was changed, the drive back to Liberty to the home of Miss Evelina Tobias was uneventful. We dropped her off home and came back through Liberty to go to McComb where we were going to stay for the night. As we turned into the highway toward McComb, we saw eight to ten young white men standing around at a service station, this obviously being a place for the youth to hang around. Ema was uneasy. She told how she and Bob Moses, when they were working in voter registration in the county three years ago, would have to avoid being trapped by the Klan and had on occasions turned around in the highway to miss them. After we reached the "resume speed" sign, I relaxed and sped on towards McComb, Mississippi.

About 10 miles away from Liberty, we could see in front of us on the left side of the road a flashing red light. I was then approaching at 65 miles. At first I thought that just a state cop had stopped someone, and then I saw that someone was circling a flashlight in a large circle. A car approached me and passed me going in the opposite direction. So I had decided to go on through, having slowed down only to about 50 miles per hour. As I went through the area, a state cop who had the flash light jumped off the side of the highway as we went through. I then suspected that I might be in trouble and stayed at 50 miles per hour for a few hundred feet until I came through a curve and then I went back to 65 miles per hour. After a couple of minutes I noticed a car with even bright lights trailing me; so I let the engine brake down to 50. In a few minutes, red lights reflected in the rear view mirror. I marveled how calm both Ema and I were. As if a release of tension from trying to avoid the kind of situation, it had at last happened. I stopped the car on the side of the road and jumped out. Before I could turn to see him, the state trooper was there and ordered me to place my hands on top of the roof, and he searched me. He turned the flash inside the car and then into my eyes and cursed, asking why I tried to run him down. He was quite angry. I tried to explain to him that I could not see him on the highway until I was up to him, and I thought that his big circle was for me to go on like the other car. I started to apologize. It seemed a little out of place, but I said finally anyway that I was sorry. He answered that I bet I was sorry, saying that I was lucky that he did not shoot. He said that anybody who knocks him off the road is going to jail. He asked Ema whether she had a license. She said Yes. He told her then to follow us, he ordering me in his car.

He went back the scene where a prior accident had occurred, which he indicated was a terrible accident, in a tone of voice as if I was also responsible for it. I asked whether anybody got hurt in a solicitious tone of voice. He said yes. My own survival instincts indicated that I must appear as a human being as much as possible, rather than as a "Nigger." I was concerned; being worrried about others took pressure off me from being worried about myself. While in the car, it was startling to hear on the police radio a description of Rev. Arthur Thomas, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York. He must have been picked up, I thought.

We got to the scene of the accident where another state cop was also present. My arresting officer ordered me out of the car, and in a loud voice told me to stay in front of his car and lights, and warned me that if I moved, he was going to put a bullet in my head.

Eventually the wrecked cars were towed away and the trooper turned to me. He asked to see my driver's license and I showed him both my license and RTB's Credit Card for Hertz Car. He asked me where I was going in such a hurry, and I said that I was taking my girl friend home to her mother. He asked me what we had been doing in Liberty and whether we were coming from Baton Rouge. I said no, thinking that was too much of a lie which might be used to catch Ema on the same question. So I told the truth, as vague as possible, that we were just visiting some of her people in Liberty, coming from Jackson. He asked where I worked, and I said that I worked for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. He was curious about it and asked what the group did. This gave me an opportunity to expound for a few minutes that the purpose of the Southern Regional Council was concerned in the economic development of the South. I told him that we were particularly concerned about Amite County where there is a high percentage of poor whites and Negroes unemployed and underpaid, and that we were interested in remedying this.

He then called me "Reverend" and asked me jokingly whether I wanted to be under the jail or in the jail. I told him that I never had been in jail and would not know which would be the better. The trooper then became friendly and said that I would be released on cash bond, and proceeded to call the sheriff who would approve the appearance bonds. He grinned and said, "I know how it is--you in your big car with your girl--and not caring what was going on." I followed with my concern about her getting home, indicating that her mother would be quite angry in keeping her out past 11 PM. I asked the trooper what time it was and after 11 PM; so I sighed again.

Eventually the sheriff, David Jones, came with a few men. Ema was made to get out of the car and she stood next to me. I told her what I had said to the cop. With chagrin, I saw that Sheriff David Jones was quite interested in what was in the back seat of our car. There were my brief cases and NAACP Legal Defense Fund materials which I had gathered from my trip in New Orleans. Also in the front seat were my legal pads and statements from McComb, Pike County, and Liberty, Amite County. By a stroke of fortune, the Hertz key chain had broken, so only the ignition key was in that car. I had the trunk key in my pocket. Even now, I wonder how the sheriff and his friends would have reacted if he had found someway to open the trunk and saw the cross. What surprised Ema was that the sheriff did not recognize her despite her past activities in the area.

What I had in the car interested them. Ema was told to get in the police car with me. The State Cop solicitous said that the sheriff would "drive my car into Liberty." Knowing the state trooper's quick changes of temper, I did not think it worthwhile to protest the illegal search of my car at that time, it being better that I try to get out of the situation as quickly and easily as possible so that I could finish the work for the hearing by the Advisory Committee.

The state trooper drove us into town and stopped by the doctor's office to see about the persons hurt in the accident. The light in the car was on, and I asked him to turn the light off. He said sternly that the light was staying on. So Ema and I sat exposed to the eyes of people who would later identify or recognize us, but fortunately, no one came by. We looked at his report and

saw that his name was Sgt. B. Butler. The trooper came out of the building. I asked about the patients, and he said that they would live. He asked Ema whether she was attending school. She answered in a sweet-girlish voice, yes, that she was a sophomore at Jackson State. I then interjected how angry her mother was going to be at me for keeping her out late.

Sgt. Butler then drove us to Sheriff Daniel Jones' office. Our black car was parked right next to its twin, the white Ford Galaxie. I said out loud, "There is the Deputy's car," but the State Trooper did not respond one way or the other.

They let Ema sit in the car. When we entered the lighted room, only Sheriff Daniel Jones was there. I wondered to myself where the other two men were who had been with the sheriff down the highway when he had first searched the car. Jones was looking through my legal pads, one for Pike County, the other for Amite County. Also in his possession were statements and affidavits, and also the COFO materials concerning intimidation and brutality in Southwest Mississippi. He also asked for whom I worked, and I repeated the same story but being a little more explicit that I had been researching the "economic conditions" in Amite County, knowing where my notes were going to lead him. By that time, Butler had demanded my billfold and spent much time going through my cards. He found my membership card to the Florida Bar, my NAACP membership card, and my CORE membership card and threw them to the sheriff, saying "that communist organization."

The sheriff took my Florida Bar card and asked me if I was an attorney. I said yes. He then said, "Well attorney, what good is being a lawyer doing you now?" I admitted that it was not doing me much good. Sheriff Jones went briefly through my report on Amite County and said, "Well, we don't want Bobby Kennedy down here, so I will give these papers all back to you nice and pretty." I don't think he noticed whre he had been involved in the Lewis Butler Allen murder or the Tobias story.

The State Trooper then motioned the sheriff into another room and discussed something about which I could not hear. The sheriff then came out, took my papers and placed them in his safe. The trooper then left. After I had been charged with reckless driving and failure to stop for an emergency vehicle, the sheriff then said that my cash bond was $100, and asked whether I wanted the trial in the morning or in the afternoon on Wednesday. I chose the afternoon. He then said for me to be there at 3 PM, warning me that he wanted me to be there.

I was free. I got in the car, and Ema drove off. She drove past a place where Lewis Allen was shot, which I really didn't care to see at that time; and she searched for the road that would lead out of Liberty other than the highway toward McComb. It had been two years since she had been in the area, and she couldn't find it. We drove back into the main part of Liberty and went past the courthouse into the highway toward McComb. It was now after 1 AM and it seemed that no one was stirring. Ema drove slowly, both of us keeping close eyes to the side of the road. About 15 miles away from Liberty, we drove past

a building behind which a state trooper was parked. About six or seven miles away from McComb, lights of a car approached us from behind. We were traveling only about 50 MPH. The car passed us, and with our bright lights shining into it, we could see six tall men sitting ram rod, straight--who seemed to be farmer types--all of them wearing wide-brim hats. Ema in about a mile turned off from the highway onto a county road which leads to Magnolia, Mississippi. From Magnolia, we entered McComb from the side. Ema said that if we had gone farther on the highway, they probably would have met us at an under-pass where the highway divided with no place to turn around.

As we drove into McComb, we passed a Billingsley All-Night Gasoline Station, at which Mr. C. C. Bryant had said earlier that he does not like to do business because he believed that the owner was a member of the Klan. There were several cars of people gathered at the station, but we did not tarry there in order to determine whether Mr. Bryant's belief was true or not.

Ema then dropped me off by the Negro hotel. I told her to return at 6 AM. I wanted to be out of Amite County before the sheriff would get to his office. Also, we had to get all the information as soon as we could out of Wilkinson County and get to Natchez, Mississippi so that I could report to Courtney about the sheriff stealing my papers.

I had a very restless night; however, I was dressed and ready to go when Ema came by. I decided not to take the most direct route to Centreville and Woodville, Wilkinson County, which was by Liberty, Amite County; but rather, we drove south out of the way and then took the county road to Centreville. One pick-up truck followed our car for about five miles, but it went on to Liberty when we turned off into a very rugged county road that finally led into Centreville.

We soon reached the home of Mother O'Quinn, 94 years old, but seemed to be in her 70's. When we introduced ourselves, she invited us in her half-lighted living room. We explained to her why we were there. She understood and was eager to cooperate. The daughter-in-law, Ida O'Quinn, owner of the club, who we were looking for was in Florida; so we decided to take her statement.

Her own son, married to Ida O'Quinn, was shot-gunned one dark night as he was coming into his driveway, over five years ago. Their own son, Clarence O'Quinn, who had made his home in Florida and was teaching, came to Centreville to live and comfort his mother. Around the first of April of this year, he came home and told her that Bill Ivory, Chief of Police in Centreville, had beaten him. She asked what happened. Clarence said that he was only going in the post office and was on the steps when the Chief approached him without any explanation or cause and said, "You damn uppity Nigger, you think you own the town," and began to beat O'Quinn. Clarence asked his grandmother what he should do. She said, "You have a life worth living; you should not throw it away. You have no rights and privileges here." She told him to get all his things and leave Centreville that day. Clarence did leave Centreville that day to save his life and is presently in Florida.

In this work, I had been objective, not emotionally involved with the particular person, but tears came to my eyes as Ema and I turned to leave. I had almost become used to stories of beatings and "mysterious shot-gunnings." I had not become used to a mother telling her son to leave her--in order to live--because he had no rights and privileges. I suddenly remembered the hot argument I had with a high school chum back in 1951. He had volunteered for the Air Force rather than waiting to be drafted in the infantry. He argued that he did not want to die in Korea fighting people of his color, when here in the United States he was not even treated as a human being. I do not remember the counter arguments I used, but whatever they were, they are implicit in the activity of Ema and I trying to get statements before the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission; but moist eyes belied the same old frustrations felt by my old high school chum.

Ema and I then went to the O'Quinn's restaurant in Centreville to see her daughter who might be able to tell us about the Walker killing ala Lewis Allen in Woodville a few miles away. Although Mrs. Ida O'Quinn was in Florida, her daughter was there managing the restaurant. She was able to direct us only to the address of his mother-in-law, who could tell us nothing. She was only able to give us a vague direction to his former residence, which was supposed to be on the way to Natchez near Woodville. We didn't find the house, but rather than spending any more time, I decided that we should go on to Natchez. I didn't want to miss my appointment with Courtney Siceloff of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. I wanted to tell him what happened, hoping the USCRC would procure my papers by a court order.

It was a relief to arrive in Natchez. Ema didn't understand my feelings because the very reason the hearing was being held in Natchez is that most of the known cases of brutalities and beatings have occurred in Natchez. After a while, we finally arrived at the funeral home of Mr. Archie Curtis, the place where I was to meet Siceloff.

Curtis is a Negro who seemed to be in his 50's. He has an Adenauer-type face resulting from having recently suffered from a stroke. It had not incapacitated him except to require him to speak slowly and to write slowly. He welcomed us into his private study. Although it was already planned that he appear before the Advisory Committee, he told us what had happened to him. One night in March of this year, he received a telephone call for him to pick up a body. He and his assistant, Willie Jackson, took the hearse wagon and drove in the direction of the given address. He said to Jackson, "We must have the wrong address" because they were in a deserted area when a car drove up behind them and they were ordered to stop. Curtis told me that six armed men in hoods got out of their car, and one of them demanded from him his NAACP membership card. Curtis told them that he had no NAACP card (it so happened that his new one had not yet arrived). They proceeded to beat him and his assistant. He begged them to stop beating him, telling them that he had had a stroke, but they continued until they were tired of it and then left him and his assistant in the street. This same "trick" happened to another Negro funeral director, George West.

Mr. Curtis is actually not active in any NAACP but has been active with Natchez Negro Business League which has been urging Negroes to register. Their success which would arouse the KKK to be excited is that only about 200 Negroes are registered.

Mr. Siceloff arrived, and while eating a lunch brought by Ema, I told him what happened. He expressed a great concern about my papers because now in jeopardy were all the people I talked with, being that they were in the possession of the Sheriff, Daniel Jones, the same one accused of being involved in the Lewis Allen killing and who was said to have ordered Rev. Tobias to leave and then ordered him to stay. Siceloff said that he would be willing to go and get the papers. Before that moment, I did not see any need to go back to Liberty. I assumed that it was the usual practice of being able to forfeit the appearance bond. I called the COFO office in Jackson and reported what had happened to us. They asked what I thought I should do, and I said I may sue Sheriff Jones for damages and for the return of my papers in a federal civil action. Both Sheriff Jones and State Trooper Sgt. Butler had violated my civil rights for their illegal search and seisure. Then I called my Atlanta office, and I was advised that I should call Sheriff Jones to see whether it would be acceptable for me to forfeit the bond. Then Mr. Siceloff was called by his office and was instructed that there is a question whether the U.S. Civil Rights Commission had already acquired an interest in my papers because I was not working for them and, therefore, was not acting as their agent. The COFO attorney then called me and advised that if I forfeited the bond, a bench warrant could be issued for my arrest, and I would have to leave Mississippi. Also, any federal action would be clouded by the forfeiture. They, too, agreed that I should sue Sheriff Daniel Jones. Rather than forfeiting or even getting consent that I could forfeit the bond, I decided to return to Liberty and appear for the trial and stand mute; but at the same time, I believed that I should present a written demand for my papers.

Upon the advice of Mr. Wiley Branton, I asked Mr. Siceloff to be a witness or ascertain whether a member of the FBI would be present. Siceloff was willing but said that he had to call Washington to make sure that they were on notice. As it was after 2:00 and the trial was at 3:00, Ema and I left Natchez.

When we arrived in Liberty, I already felt like a martyr. I had solemnly prepared written motions, such as, appearance to stand mute, demand for papers, and request for an attorney and a jury trial. I gave copies to Ema, putting them in an envelope which she hid. I anticipated that they would deny that I ever presented the motions.

When I arrived in the office of Sheriff Jones, a quite sullen deputy sheriff was waiting for me. Soon, I heard the voice of Mr. Siceloff, and I felt as if the U.S. Marines had arrived. Mr. Siceloff identified himself and expressed an interest in the papers which Sheriff Jones had. The sheriff, in a surprised voice, said well, he was going to give the papers back anyway. "I had information which was useful for his investigations," he said. We all then went up to the Justice of Peace's office.

The Justice of Peace was an elderly man who seemed almost gentle. After reading the accusation, he asked me for my plea and I told him that I stood mute and explained what that meant. Sheriff Jones interfered, saying that in Mississippi, there is no such plea, that NOLO CONTENDERE took the place of "standing mute." I admitted that I was not all that familiar with Mississippi law except that it was a common law state, and "standing mute" is part of the common law. I then presented the written motions and the demand for my papers. I may have made a mistake, but I proceeded to explain my action on account of the fact that the sheriff had taken my papers without my consent. Sheriff Jones exclaimed that he was going to return my papers regardless of whether I plead guilty or not guilty; so he hurriedly went downstairs and restored to me my papers.

I then pleaded "guilty" after a long pause of thinking. It seemed unreasonable to fight both the traffic case and the sheriff's action. I decided to fight Mississippi's methods of dealing with traffic violations another day. The Justice of Peace then gave a statement about the seriousness of what I had done and that the maximum sentence included 30 days; but because I was so "reasonable and fair," so said the Justice of Peace, I was fined $50 for both charges and $19 for the cost of court. After paying the fine, we all left. Soon Ema and I were leaving Liberty.

The day before, Monday Afternoon, I had planned to go on Tuesday to Port Gibson, Claiborn County. COFO had a contact there who could probably lead us to persons who probably could make an appearance for the Committee or at least give us some signed statements; but it was already 4 PM, and we were reluctant to be driving after sunset. Siceloff had offered to give us his car because of the belief that our enemy now knew our car. We planned to stay in McComb Tuesday Night, and Port Gibson was too far away. We decided therefore, to go only to Bude, which was only 30 miles away from McComb.

Bude is in Franklin County, in which is comprised mostly of the Homochitto National Forest. COFO had received a newspaper account dated in March of this year picturing the Negro club, the "Horseshoe Circle, owned by a Mr. John Clark, to be demolished in front by dynamite. The picture shows the stone front demolished by, again, "unknown persons." When we arrived there, we talked to Mrs. Clark, who was obviously afraid and who did not give us a statement. Other than that, she was friendly, and we took our leave.

On our return to McComb, we took a state highway which was out of the way, going to Brookhaven rather than going directly to McComb. While driving to Bude, we noticed several sheriff cars going in the opposite direction. Although they were un-marked, Ema stated that she knew that they were sheriff cars because of antennas, etc. I joked that they might just be going to a sheriff's meeting. She said that there must be a Klan meeting in the area, and that, of course, local sheriffs are the principal figures in Klan meetings. So leaving Bude going towards McComb, we didn't take the same road because the people we had met on the road previously might just be interested in two Negroes in a "fast-back" black Ford Galaxie with a Jackson license plate after getting the word from Sheriff Daniel Jones. Being in even a national forest did not seem a safe way to keep Mississippi's wonderful reputation of not having had lynchings in recent years.

When we arrived in McComb, Mississippi, we re-visited Mr. C.C. Bryant and Mr. Willie Thompson, seeing that the affidavits which he had would be notarized and sought to assure that a car load of people from McComb would come to Natchez. Mr. Willie Thompson said that at least he and Mr. Bryant's brother would drive to Natchez. Ema then dropped me off by the hotel I stayed the night before, and she then drove to her home.

Around 6:30 [redacted] Wednesday Morning, Ema and I left McComb going to Liberty to pick up Evelina Tobias. We again wanted to be out of Liberty before too many people stirred around. We then remembered that we had procured no real information about the Lewis Allen killing of February of this year. During the excitement evolving around my situation, we had relied upon the Jackson COFO office to follow through in reaching Mrs. Allen in Louisiana. Ema called her and told her as I had promised, that we would pay for her expenses if she would come to Natchez, but Mrs. Allen told her that she didn't want to have anything to do with Mississippi. However, we still had hopes that she might come.

After we picked up Evelina Tobias, she told us about how the Sunday before , a high school boy by the name of John Harris was beaten by the Klan. Evelina knew where the family lives, so we went there to talk to them. They lived in the town of Gloster, 12 miles west of Liberty on a small farm. In reaching their home, we had to pass the homes of Sheriff Jones and the deceased Lewis Allen! Both of them had been neighbors. We turned into the driveway of the Harris' home, and Evelina went to the door and brought to the car Mrs. Lillie M. Harris, the mother of John Harris. I told her what we were doing and asked her what happened to her son. She said that on Sunday, April 19, her son, the members of the family, and members of the choir were coming home from church when hoodlum whites, without their hoods, drove up in their car and stopped, ordered John Harris to come to them and proceeded to assault him with the blunt end of their pistols. He screamed for his mother and then begged for them to [redacted] kill him. Without hearing more, I asked her whether she and her son would go with me to the hearing in Natchez. She said yes, and in a short while we had picked up her son, who wore a cap to cover the stitches on his head wounds. We then picked up Mr. Franklin Robinson at Mr. Westly's farm, and finally reached Natchez at about 11 AM.

When we arrived at the place of the hearing at the Natchez Post Office, Mr. Siceloff asked us to return later because members of the Mississippi Advisory Committee were having a preliminary discussion. We went to a Negro restaurant, and while there I met Mr. Archie Curtis, who notarized my affidavit that I witnessed personally the signatures on the signed statements I had in my possession. He also brought with him a man by the name of Mr. Willie Birdie who lives in Kingston, Adams County, a community which is just outside of Natchez. Mr. Willie Birdie had somebody for me to see. I told Ema to take everybody on down to the U.S. Post Office and that I would be there later.

Even Mr. Curtis could not come with Mr. Birdie and me because it was a secret hiding place, and with him already having been beaten, he could be beaten again in order to tell the Klan where the place was. Mr. Birdie brought me to the place, and as I entered a bedroom, there was lying on the bed a young Negro of about 25 years of age. (Whereas only <u>this</u> person is in <u>immediate</u> danger as distinguished from the other persons who gave me their statements and who

gave me their statements and who are in probable danger only, I shall not expose this person's name.)

He had worked as a general handy man for a white farmer. On April 13 of this year, on a Sunday Night, he was in the barn. He was trying the ignition because the truck had not been starting. He just happened to turn around and stared in the barrel of a shotgun. A man in a black hood holding the gun said, "Get out boy." The Negro pushed the gun out of the window and quickly rolled the window up. He turned around to roll the window up on the other side of the truck and looked into the barrel of a rifle. This man also in a black hood told him, " You better do as he says." Each of them got to the side of him and began marching him to the back of the barn. As soon as he came to the edge where he could see back of the barn, he said about six more men in hoods were all armed with guns. One man said, "We have been waiting for this a long time". He immediately pushed the two by his side together and turned, sprinting toward the house. He was able to get one side of the barn between him and them for a while, but he had at least 50 yards to reach the porch of the house. He ran screaming for Mrs. X, (the owner of the farm), and had attained about 20 yards when he received a shot in his shoulder and back. The force of the bullets spunned him slightly around when he was dropped by a shot in his leg.

Mrs. X ran out screaming, "What is the matter, what is the matter?" She saw that he was covered with blood. She told him to "play" like he was dead, and she ran and ~~go~~ got a raincoat to cover him up with. With both of them straining together, they were able to get him on the floor of a car and she drove him to the hospital.

Why did this happen? He is the only Negro in Kingston who has been registered and he has been voting since 1960. Whites have made pointed remarks about this, his voting being a common known fact. Because of this, he has acquired a personal debt of more than $435 medical expenses incidental to four bullet wounds.

I then returned the the hearing of the Advisory Committee. While the hearing was in session, I saw now that there remained only one more hurdle--to get my witnesses back safely in Liberty and McComb, and then get back to Jackson. Courtney Siceloff was worried about this. So was William Taylor, the General Counsel to the United States Civil Rights Commission, who was there with the Advisory Committee. We also were worried about retaliation by the Klan against these people.

When we first had arrived in Natchez and when my party first got out of the car, I noticed how we attracted the attention of curious people, such as the white attendant, who in the service station next to the bus station "studied" us and then made a phone cal and talked to someone while still "studying" us.

On my return to the post office and when I went back to the car to get the cross out, and as I carried the cross down the block across the street, going to the hearing room, I deliberately avoided looking into the face of the same attendant or other white persons standing about. I left the cross outside the

door of the hearing room, not wanting to take it in. I felt that it might just interrupt the proceedings.

Pretty soon two car loads of men drove up to the post office, disembarking their passengers. Although there were a few thin high school youths and a thin man about 40 in a business suit, the most of them were husky white men in their 20's and 30's wearing tight levis and khakis, western hats, string-ties, and sunglasses. One wore sun-mirrored glasses which he wore throughout the hearing, and sat in the front row easily frightening the members of the Committee. However, most of them were in good spirits, even joked about the cross standing by the doorway. When they first came to the door, they hesitated when they were confronted by the scene of an integrated panel presided by the Negro, Britton. Not wishing them to be standing by the door because of my example, I pointed to vacant seats. They nonchalantly took their seats, even next to Negroes--some preferring to cluster together and some preferring to sit in the front row, as did the one with mirrored sunglasses.

They remained quiet, but they were still an omininous group by their mere presence. One of them got a pad out and as each witness would identify himself, the "cowboy" would busily write down the person's name, address, etc. I received a hidden joy to see the members of the committee become a little unnerved, especially Mr. William Taylor of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission who seemed plainly frightened. I was glad the Klan was there because that was exactly what we wanted to show the committee, and eventually the American people's fear and intimidation produced by the Klan. Only Dr. Britton, although wet with beads of perspiration on his forehead--which I cannot blame only because of all the stuffiness of the hearing room, seemed brave when he dryly stopped the proceedings. He indicated that the committee noticed the presence of new people who had just arrived. He explained the purpose of the committee and indicated that if any of them had any information to present, such as being injured by violations of their civil rights, etc., the committee would hear them.

In a few minutes, I saw Attorney William Taylor abruptly leave and then returned. Dr. Britton then called a short recess and asked everyone to leave. I then saw the local police come in the room. At first I thought he was after my charred cross, but I learned later that Taylor had received a bomb warning.

After my people from Pike and Amite Counties testified, I presented my statements and explained to them why some of them were not notarized. I also produced the charred cross, since some of the members of the committee had never seen one.

For the closed session, Dr. Britton asked everyone except the witnesses and their families to leave. After a short recess, the closed session was called and more testimonies were taken.

By this time, Robert Moses and his wife had made their appearance. Dr. Britton acknowledged their presence and asked Bob whether he had anything to say. Bob then gave a run-down of all the cases and killings and brutalities which had been reported to COFO and demonstrated the need for federal protection in the area. Dr. Britton then asked Bob a leading question about the kind of people

doing violence. Bob told the Committee that these people believe that the U. S. Government is an illegal government and that their actions are a response to their beliefs.

It was now after 4 PM, and by an unspoken unanimous agreement, it was decided that we terminate the hearing so that everyone would be able to get home before dark. Because my people had to go to Liberty, Amite County, and McComb, Pike County, I was able to persuade Dr. Britton, with his car load of committee members, and Courtney Siceloff, both of whom were going to Jackson, to go out of the way and go as far as Bude, Franklin County, following us. This would leave only about 30 miles for us to go, but this 30 miles was all in Amite County. Robert Moses and his wife were also in a car. It was clear that a caravan of five cars was now attracting attention; but at a very slow pace, we finally reached Bude and waved goodbye to Dr. Britton and Siceloff, who continued on their way to Jackson. Mr. Robinson, who was in my car, offered that I should go only as far as Mr. Westly's farm and that he would take Miss Tobias and the Harris's home. I appreciated that, realizing that my black car was well known in Liberty, and it would be safer if they were in Mr. Robinson's car. We reached Mr. Westly's home and I said goodbye to these good people of Amite and Wilkinson Counties. I was glad that I had given to Mr. Taylor of the USCRC the names and addresses of persons I brought to the hearing

Our caravan of three cars went by an out-of-the-way country road until we were about six miles from McComb, and then we said goodbye to Mr. Thompson and Mr. C. C. Bryant who drove their car on to McComb.

I let Ema drive. She complained about how slow Bob habitually drove. She wanted to hurry to Jackson--she wanted to party. Ema Bell is a young girl about 19 who is really no different from other 19 year olds. She had already forgotten the experiences of the last three days. She had the vaguest notions about whether to return to school. She is one who truly lives for the moment. When I later saw her in the shop where the COFO staffers ate, she hardly recognized me.

Whereas myself--10 years older--must walk in a state of shock of savoring each day the experiences of being with these people existing in a brutal state whose Southern spokesmen from Alabama had just finished crusading in my denied home state of Indiana to win 30% "Stand Up for America" vote. There was a temporary relief when we finally reached Jackson, but I knew that in Jackson, Wisconsin, Indiana, Maryland, and Atlanta, there are people no different from the Western-hat, sunglass-wearing people sitting in the hearing room in Natchez, Mississippi.

When I had paid the cash bond to Sheriff Daniel Jones the Monday Night before, I asked the sheriff whether I could speak to him frankly. I had already seen an "Impeach Earl Warren pamphlet" on his desk. He said that he always intends to speak frankly. I then said that I was interested in Mississippi and the rest of the South in being better places for all the people, both black and white. The sheriff rejoined, not in an angry tone of voice, that that was his duty--to make his county a safe place for all the people. He said he has been surely taxed by outside agitators--who are bent to break the law and stir up people, and that he intends to enforce the law. He mentioned Bob Moses. He then produced the well-known picture of Martin Luther King sitting with a

couple of so-called Communists at a Highalander Folk School meeting. He said that "this is the type of people we are dealing with." He then looked at me and said, "I don't know how you are tied up with this. I think you are just brain-washed. I advise you, I am not ordering you or warning you, I am just advising you to leave Amite County and not come back."

Therefore, Bob's statement before the Advisory Committee is indeed true. I believe that the sheriff was actually sincere in believing the civil rights movement is a communist conspiracy. But so was the KKK sincere in the belief that in the 1870's the Scalawags and the Carpetbaggers were raping the South. But how can this justify the murder of innocent Negroes?

One night in February of this year, Mr. Lewis Allen had just got out of his truck when obviously he found himself in trouble. It seems that he was trying to run and get under the truck when he was shot from both sides by deer shot and buck shot. His face was so indistinguishable that at his funeral the casket was shut.

He had signed an affidavit, with a copy filed with the COFO office that he had witnessed the murder of another Negro, Mr. Herbert Lee, by the member of the Mississippi Legislature.

Mrs. Lewis Allen was arrested by Sheriff Daniel Jones for the killing of her husband and was subsequently released. Robert Moses came to the funeral. His assistant, Dave Dennis of Core, cried without shame before a gathering of New York area attorneys.

Such, as this report indicates, is the war against "communism."

John Doar

JD:bs

~~A little noted but basically significant separate arm of the civil rights movement is entering into the final phases of a campaign which~~

~~[illegible]~~

The Voter Education Project, a little noted but basically signivicant separate arm of the civil rights movement, is entering its final phases. It will end with the close of registration for this year's national elections. Its eventual results

Since April 1, 1962, it has coordinated major civil rights organizations and local groups in a massive voter registration campaign in eleven Southern states, an effort to budge discrimination's disenfranchisement of millions of Negroes. The campaign will end with the close of registration for this year's presidential elections. Upon the assessments of its eventual results and meaning hinge fundamental questions of the Negro revolution, and perhaps even its future direction.

VEP is a foundation financed, non-partisan separately administered agency of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. It is directed by Wiley A. Branton, the Negro attorney who handled the Little Rock school desegregation court suits, who is also head of the high-level Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, an informal alliance of the major civil rights organizations. States covered by the campaign are NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC and the Urban League are the major participants in VEP; these national groups their personnel do the actual field work of voter registration. The project has the backing of both political parties and includes partisans of each among workers and officials of cooperating agencies.

Rosch

~~An interim report was released recently showing results of th first twenty-one months of the campaign in the eleven states-- list them. This was a net gain of 327,588 Negro voters.~~

An interim report released recently showed a net gain of 327,588 Negro voters through VEP efforts during the first 21 months of VEP operation-- from April 1, 1962, to December 31, 1963. This is of course not all the Negro increase of registration during the period.

In all, Negro registration in the eleven states at year's end was estimated by VEP as 1,751,818. This is 35.2 per cent of the 1960 Cnesus's 5,016,100 Negro voting age population, and 11.8 per cent of an estimated total registration of 14,157,058.

During the 21 months, VEP septn $505,640, of which $382,003 was in grants going directly into voter registration field work.

With VEP major drives underway in areas where they are expected to do the most good, Branton estimates that Negro registration will pas the two million mark in the eleven states in time for the national elections in November,

The increase expected in less than all of this year is almost as great as the total increase of the first twenty-one months. This, in part, reflects the strength of organization built up by the program. Particularly where the organizations have strong local ties, they are expected to continue after VEP is gone. This continuing effect is one of the ~~along with research data for further study of the South's voting problems are the~~ long-term objectives of the project.

Another factor in accelerated results this year is the frank plan to concentrate from here on out only in places where the most voters can be registered.

(Branton is the Negro attorney who handled Little Rock school desegregation. He also heads up the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, a high-level, informal alliance of the major civil rights organizations.)

On one score alone-- the strong resistance that still exists in many areas to the fundamental right of the ballot for Negroes-- the results so far and expectations of VEP

~~From here on out, Branton said, the project will concentrate only on areas where appreciable results can be expected.~~ This will mainly be in urban areas, because of concentration of population, relative ease of registration, and the often disproportionate influence of the Negro vote as a blance of power in both city and state elections.

It is clear from the VEP figures that this influence is the chief political implication of such an effort as of VEP. Southwide, the total potential Negro vote is only one-fifth of the total potential vote (5,016,100 out of 25,112,853). And in no state is it more than 50 per cent of the potential vote. But where choices for Negro votes are clear, as in races between segregationists and moderates, the so-called Negro bloc vote can be a potent factor. (In Atlanta's last mayorality race, however, when two moderates opposed one segregationist, the two moderates ~~almost exactly~~ split this "bloc" vote.)

Only on county and municipal levels in the Black Belt do you find Negroes outnumbering whites. These are the areas generally of stiffest present-day white resistance to Negro registration. In them, Negroes at their meetings and among friends now talk of the time when "we take over," and of controlling various city, county and even state offices.

But that millenium would not come immediately, even if all barriers to registration were dropped overnight. If that should happen, it would take at least another two years, according to Branton, to add another million Negro voters. It would take that long, he said, and definite programs, to remove the fear and apathy that have been bred into Negroes in Mississippi, and

parts of other states, most notably Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana.

This apathy born out of hopelessness is one of the things voter workers have had to fight, constantly preaching the new-South gospel that wherever there are Negro votes to be wooed by politicians, there come better conditions for Negroes. In rural areas, workers had to spend months estab. themselves in communities, living in the homes of local residents, gaining their confidence and then building self in the democratic process, before the first registratrations could occur.

The other big fight has been against active white resistance-- taking the form of administrative roadblocks, intimidation and violence.

pick up

a quick sampling of FC suits answers much of the story. ~~Sheriff Shooting and church burning~~ Homes of ~~NegRx~~ have been fired into, voter drive activists and churches where voter meetings were held have been burned in Southwest Georgia. Sheriff Z. T. (Zeke) Mathews led a group of white law officers, including the sheriff of an adjoining county, into one church and interrupted a voter meeting to take names of those attending, harangue them, and tell three reporters (including this writer): "We're a little fed up with this registering business..." (A recent consent decree for better registration protection ended this 1962 case; county officials were under an injunction not to interfere with registration when it occurred.)

A case ~~pending~~ in Mississippi sought to restrain registration interference, including arrests of leaders, by the sheriff and officers of Holmes County. This came after a voter leader had his house set on fire, and was arrested, along with SNCC workers, on charges of arson.

A recently decided very impt. case in Louisana centered on ~~shows the extent to which~~ administration of registration laws ~~are used to~~ as blocks to ~~Negroes from~~ the ballot. Evidence included samples of multiple choice "citizenship tests" requiring answers to four of six questions. One of these tests included the following questions: ~~"In case of impeachment of the President, the officer who would preside at the trial is-- (a) the Vice President. (b) the Speaker of the House of Representatives. (c) Chief Justice of the United States."~~ "Our Consitution has been changed-- (a) by the President. (b) by the Congress and the people. (c) by the Supreme Court." "Limits are placed on the right to vote by the-- (a) National Government. (b) states. (c) courts." "The Constitution of the United States places the final authority in our Nation in the hands of-- (a) the national courts; (b) the states. (c) the people." The other ~~three~~ 3 questions are slightly easier.

The evidence also includes instances where Negro applicants were disqualified or purged for such things as an error of one day in the computation of the applicant's age by number of years, months and days; for misspelling the word "birth;" for putting "brown" in a blank marked "My color is..."; for putting "Negro" in the same blank; for leaving out middle name; for underlining "have not" as well as crossing out "have" in a series of character statements which include: "I have not (have) given birth to an illegitimate child within five years..."

Results in Mississippi were lowest among the VEP totals: only 3,228 out of 21 months of some of the most diligent and dangerous work (the 3,228 figure) the whole campaign, most of it by SNCC. John Lewis, president of SNCC, has said it will take federal troops to gain the ballot for the Negro in Mississippi. VEP strategists say that any effective work there will have to wait at least until pending court suits are settled--including one which is a year and a half old seeking an end of the publishing of names of applicants and the application of illiteracy tests in six counties, including Leflore, site of the Greenwood direct action on voting last summer.

Despite meagre numbers of new voters in Mississippi and the other Black Belt sectors, the work that has been done in them is considered valuable--for the stirring of Negro morale, the permanent organizations formed, and the court suits initiated.

But from here on out, Mr. Branton said, the project will concentrate only on areas where appreciable results can be expected. This will mainly be in urban areas, because of concentration of population, relative ease of registration, and the often disproportionate influence of the Negro vote as a blance of power in both city and state elections. It is clear from the VEP figures that this is the chief practical, political

Provisions in the civil rights legislation to give priority to voter cases for Federal Court hearings would help in such cases as this one, and others over the South. (Another provision affecting registration calls for a court-appointed referee in counties where less than 15 per cent of eligible Negroes are registered.) Beyond this, said Mr. Branton, the greatest need is for vigilant enforcement of present laws and court orders.

The Greenwood situation last summer is an example of how in operation, VEP headquarters is like a field general headquarters-- with tactics shifting with local developments and maneuvers of the enemy. Efforts of CORE? NAACP?SNCC AND SCLC in the Delta had been combined and shifted to Greenwood. On Feb. 28, 1963, VEP Field Director Randolph Blackwell and two SNCC workers were driving just outside Greenwood. A car occupied by three white men pulled up alongside and opened fire with what sounded like a machine-gun. One small man, James Travis, was shot in the neck. Branton phoned the organization headquarters, and asked for special federal protection, and a task force of 30 workers from N-C-S+S poured into Greenville. In ensuing months, despite police dogs and arrests, a major breakthrough against Mississippi intimidation and deterrence was finally won. (Travis recovered, and three white men were charged with assault and battery.)

With this same kind of field general's flexibility on local tactics, VEP gave the following appraisal of results so far and final phase activities in each of the eleven states:

Meanwhile, here is the state-by-state estimate* of things as they are and have been for VEP:

~~All figures, unless otherwise noted, are from the Dec. 31 report.~~

~~Here is VEP's state-by-state estimate of recent and the actual about:~~

Virginia-- The end of the poll tax for federal elections means that residence may be filed as late as May 2. ~~registration will continue until Oct. 3.~~ In the Fourth Congressional District, the U.S. House candidacy of a prominent Negro attorney, S. W. Tucker, will enhance registration efforts among a sizeable Negro population. If there should be a real contest involving Sen. Harry Byrd, it would enhance efforts statewide, and Negro votes would be a factor in hopes for an upset of the Byrd machine. VEP increases through Dec. were 13,877, and total Negro registration was 108,312, compared with 923,792 white registration.

North Carolina-- White and Negro registration, the latter 42 per cent of eligible Negroes, is already high. A three-way governor's race (with Gov. Terry Sanford stepping down) is a spur to registration. So are VEP campaigns in cities and the Eastern Shore area. VEP gains through December were 23,323.

South Carolina-- Gains so far have been impressive. Efforts continue in First and Second Congressional Districts and Fifth and Sixth. In every county except Charleston and Richland, registration in the 2 or 3 worst counties, like Williamsburg, has until recently been allowed only one day a month, this a Monday. Of one hundred who might through VEP educational and courage-rallying meetings show up to register, twenty-five might be processed, and of these, fifteeen accepted. Yet through Dec. 31, VEP recored an increase of 20,727. Some counties now allow registration for three consecutive days, and in May and August, there will be continuous periods of registration. Massive VEP campaigns are planned up to the Oct. 5 cut-off for the general election. Total Negro registration in the Dec. 31 figures was 111,628, compared with 703,000 white registration.

* Figures for Va, Fla & La are cowed by all who attempt to compile voting data by race as accurate. Figures for other states have to be the best we get for many sources.

Events in Canton, Miss., during February point up the situtaion in that state. The New York Times reported these results of a "Freedom Day" registration effort sponsored by CORE and the NAACP and SNCC: Of more than 310 Negroes who lined up outside the Madison County Courthouse to make application to register, exactly seven got inside. The very act of lining up to try to register was considered considered a major Mississippi breakthrough last year when it occurred at Greenwood. This came only after a combined effort of NAACOP, CORE, SNCC and SCLC called Council of Federated Organizations (C.O.F.O). The effort began after a SNCC voter registration worker was shot in the neck by a blast that sounded like a machinegun from a car containing three white men. This occurred outside Greenwood in February, 1963. Whether the breakthrough actually registered any voters, after Actual registration restuls of the Greenwood effort, marked by arrests, some with police dogs attacking Negroes, and finally what amounted to mediation by the Justice Department, to this day is not known. One of the major frustrations of the Mississippi is the diffuclty of findin out whether an application for registration was successful or not.

Georgia-- An early deadline (May 2) for both the primary and general election has prompted a crash program - now underway. Negro registration stood at 221,919 in December, and activity has been heavy in urban areas since. The First Congressional District saw a 1,400 VEP increase in January. Reapportionment allows Atlanta to elect its own congressman instead of sharing one with two other counties, enhancing Negro registration efforts. Rep. Charles Weltner, who voted against the civil rights bill before the reapportionmnet, is considered in trouble with Negro voters, a balance-of-power in Atlanta. A SNCC voter drive in Southwest Georgia (rural areas around Albany) began soon after VEP was, and has seen some of the fiercest resistance of any. Statewide, the VEP gain trhough December was 46,347. Total Negro registration was 36.2 per cent of the elgible Negro population. It was 15.7 per cent of the total registration - highest % of any of states.

Florida-- This is one of the least difficult states for Negro registration. A VEP drive competed with a Goldwater Republican drive in Gadsden County, and apparently was more effective, increasing the 400 Negro voter total by 50 per cent the first month. VEP gains through December were 37,111. The 213,128 Negro voters in December was 45.3 per cent of the eligible Negro population, and 11.2 per cent of total registration.

Alabama-- The only significant changes have been in Birmingham. They have been quite significant. Approximately 1,000 new voters a month have been registered there since October by VEP. The Negro vote had already been a balance of power in the elections last year which rid the city of the rule of Eugene (Bull) Connor. The 9,500 registration when VEP started was estimated doubled by March 1. Part of this resulted from a brght by Neg citizens + later joined by the J-D-, suit to enjoin discrimination. The suit was held up after a new board of registrars last year asked for a chance to reprocess Negroes. Reg is also slow in central Ala. in Black-belt areas, has been. Birmingham, as in Selma, where another Justice Department suit has been field, resistance has been steady and effective.

VEP gains through December were 13,487. Only 90,000 (18.7 per cent) of the 481,320 eligible Negroes were registred at the end of December. This is 8.8 per cent of total registration. White voting age population was 1,353,058.

Mississippi-- The situation is considered dismal. Out of 422,256 eligible Negroes, only 28,000 (6.6 per cent) were registred as of Dec. 31. They comprise 5 per cent of the total registration. The white voting age population is about double that of the Negro, 748,266 compared with 422,256.

Tennessee-- It has registration ~~for both races 64 per cent of the Negro voting age population, 70 per cent of the white~~. Negroes find few barriers to registering. VEP gains through December were 34,243. Two U.S. senatorial races and reasonable cut-off dates insure further increases.

This state has the highest percentage of eligible N voters registered — 64%. It also has the closest to a balance of percentages of eligible voters registered — with 70% for whites.

Arkansas-- Elimination of the poll tax is a factor in expectations of increased registration. There is a strong move for permanent registration. The gubernatorial race, whether Faubus runs or not, will spur Neg reg. VEP gains through December were 8,756. Negro registration was 80,000, which is 41.5 per cent of the Negro voting age population, and 12.6 per cent of total registration.

Louisana-- The recent Federal Appeals Court decision on admin procedures barring citizenship and literacy tests unless all voters are reregistered is considered an important gain. It affects 21 parishes, most of them in the heavily Negro northeastern part of the state. A CORE program in the area, and one planned for Shreveport will add to La. total year-end registration of 162,084, which was 13.5 per cent of total registration. VEP gains through December were second lowest for the eleven states-- 5,899..

Texas-- The largest VEP gain was made here, a total of 120,590.

statewide VEP - aided effort, combining Negro, labor, liberal groups.

This figure however includes some 40,000 Latin Americans and whites who during 1963 were ~~registx~~ among 100,000 new registratns secured by Voters of Texas Enlist, a VEP project. Poll tax is still required for state elections, but free ~~xxxxxxx~~ registration for federal elections ~~xxxxxxx~~ was continued until March 6. As in Arkansas, this is not permanent registration, but must be renewed annually. A court suit ~~xxxxx~~ could arise over plans to have state and federal races on the same ballot, with free registrants barred from ~~xxxxx~~ voting in state races. The 300,000 registered Negroes as of Dec. 31 was 14.8 per cent of total registration, and 46.1 per cent of eligible Negroes.

What are the practical results of this increase in the strength of the southern Negro vote? In presidential politics, it is just one more thing , along with the heavy Northern Negro vote, that will have to be taken into account by candidates when it comes to reaction to new demonstration drives, and to immediate enforcement of ~~xxxxxxx~~ civil rights legislation.

In lesser elections, Branton gave this assement of what the Negro vote could do: "From dog-catcher to governors and congressmen, it would probably go 90 per cent against most Southern incumbents, ~~xxxxx~~ were they to have opposition acceptable to Negroes." (He hastened to stress VEP's neutrality on the question of where the vote, once registered, might go.)

~~It will only be wehn such choices actually exist in to any real degree in the South that the xxxxxxx answer to a basic question about VEP is given. This is the question of whether the xxxxxxxxxx effort has~~

It will only be wehn such choices accually exist to any real degree in the South that the final assessment of VEP can be made. The project grew out of long concern over ~~the disenfranchisement~~ vote disen— of Negroes, ~~xxx~~ largest factor in the South's being the ~~xx~~ nation's ~~xxxxx~~ lowest area of enfranchisement. It came along at a time when many people were ~~also concerned~~ upset over the sit-ins and freedom rides of 1960 and 1961. It wasn't designed to ~~xxxxxx~~ get the

energies of the Negro direct-action revolution off the streets, but there was pressure and persuasion of civil rights leaders and workers to cooperate fully in such a program, channeling at least some of the excess energies into this drive for a more representative government in the South. Not the least of such advisors was the United States Department of Justice, and

~~Then and until now, the question of whether civil rights people have debated whether the effort was worth it. There has also been considerable debate by~~ close observers still question whether Justice has measured up to implied obligations of protection to voter registration workers, and complete diligence in pressing court suits, ~~even~~ including the seemingly hopeless ones.

While the revolution on the streets has continued to produce drama and crises, VEP has quietly been pressing the revolution to the very central question of what the civil rights movement is all about. VEP has quietly been pressing home the central question of the revolution. It is not whether American institutions should be overthrown, but whether or not those insitutions can be induced to include this generation of Americ Negroes in their benefits?

While the revolution on the streets has continued to produce drama and crises, the main question that it asks America remains unsanswered in the debate over whether VEP has been worth it. ~~This is not the question of whether~~ For this is a revolution that doesn't seek to overthrow institutions of American society. It asks whether they ~~can be induced~~ to include

From the beginning there was debate in civil rights ~~xfx~~ circles of whether such an effort as VEP was worth making. In effect, this debate asks the central, bed-rock question of the race revolution — one that is not yet answered. It is, simply, whether or not the nation can adjust its normal institutions to include this generation of Negro Americans in their benefits.

##

will be among many ~~to eventually determine~~ which eventually must end a debate of a really terrible importance from the first and now has been going on in C.R. circles @ VEP—

The Project is a neat combination of research & practical interests. The Southern Regional Council undertook ~~the~~ it through a general interest in larger registration & a specific interest in ~~the~~ studying the organizational & field method that may best overcome the oft-studied ~~cause that~~ ~~commonly~~ cause of low voting in the South. Since April 1962, as the registration campaign has gone on, VEP analysts have been compiling data about it, which will be evaluated & published after the Project's full work is over. It ~~is~~ may well be one the important ~~social science studies~~ studies of politics on time.

Prepared by the Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
1/28/64

RESULTS OF VEP PROGRAMS
April 1, 1962 to December 31, 1963

STATE	1st Fiscal Year 4/1/62-3/31/63	1st 9 months 2nd Fiscal Year 4/1/63-12/31/63	Total As of 12/31/63	Total Voting A Popu- lation
ALABAMA	5,598	7,889	13,487	1,834,37
ARKANSAS	4,952	3,804	8,756	1,043,26
FLORIDA	22,790	14,321	37,111	3,087,69
GEORGIA*	27,156	19,191	46,347	2,409,97
LOUISIANA	2,765	3,134	5,899	1,803,80
MISSISSIPPI	1,592	1,636	3,228	1,170,52
N. CAROLINA	9,838	13,485	23,323	2,556,88
S. CAROLINA	7,357	13,370	20,727	1,266,25
TENNESSEE	16,269	17,974	34,243	2,092,89
TEXAS	20,590 G. Texas	100,000**	120,590	5,534,27
VIRGINIA	6,100	7,777	13,877	2,312,88
TOTAL	125,007	202,581	327,588	25,112,83

*Voting age is 18

**Represents an estimate of the new voters paying poll tax for the f
Voters of Texas Enlist (V.O.T.E.). Includes Latin Americans, whit

NOTE: The 300,000 NW Reg. for Texas is a 1963 estimate. 1964 resul
registration.
The first three columns to the right of the double vertical b

514589
2
1,029,178

422256
2
844512

g Age n	White Voting Age Population	Nonwhite Voting Age Population	Total Registration	W. Reg.	NW Reg.	% NW of Total Reg.	% NW Reg. of NWVAP
,378	1,353,058	481,320	1,015,000	925,000	90,000	8.8	18.7
,269	850,643	192,626	633,665	553,655	80,000	12.6	41.5
,699	2,617,438	470,261	1,899,433	1,686,215	213,128	11.2	45.3
,972	1,797,062	612,910	1,405,000	1,183,181	221,919	15.7	36.2
,805	1,289,216	514,589	1,193,775	1,031,691	162,084	13.5	31.4
,522	748,266	422,256	553,000	525,000	28,000	5.0	6.6
,884	2,005,955	550,929	2,090,270	1,856,497	233,773	11.1	42.4
,251	895,147	371,104	814,628	703,000	111,628	13.7	30.0
,891	1,779,018	313,873	1,500,000	1,297,026	202,974	13.5	64.6
,277	4,884,765	649,512	2,020,183	1,720,183	300,000	14.8	46.1
,887	1,876,167	436,720	1,032,104	923,792	108,312	10.4	24.8
,835	20,096,735	5,016,100	14,157,058	12,405,240	1,751,818	11.8	35.2

he first time under a VEP-sponsored statewide program through
hite and colored. 60,000 are estimated to be Negroes.

esults will not be known until about 3/15/64. Poll tax is only

l bar reflect 1960 census figures.

tex = Hien % of ~~total reg.~~ NWVAP sh wh —
" " " total reg. sh % of pop. . .

add another million in 2 yrs.
if restraints removed:

Miss, Ala, Pts La & Ga: immed. not ~~rem~~ result mass reg'n — because of fear etc> Hanover hd the programs remove that...

John Doe: (100,000N rotease in 4 horse p'shes—

opin in La case... [3 Judge panel— Wisdom & Christenberry West dissented]

Decree Jan. 28>
La case: 21 parishes
Arcadia Homer Lake Pr—
Monroe
all Ac nxs no-Zehenn + (few in Sou)

Emp fr reg - ~~absent~~ say a general
reregistering, cannot
require that of anybody
a next aug 3, '62 —
15th day ea mo = mo'ly
report on ea applicant
& reasons reject...

are enjoined from:
requiring, absent a gen re-registration of all voters in the parish, any applicant for registration of voting age & possessed of the ques- requirements as of May 3, 1962 to take the multiple choice "citizenship" test as a prerequisite to registration to vote...

Circ Judge John Minor Wisdom

Dist Judge Herbert W Christenberry

Dist Judge E. Gordon West dissent-

[alb = Slater Ring = propdeed > lus pol > for i.d.
Soc Secur = not for i.d. purposes...

C9 pm 1 a

Predict they x of Nov gen elec
will lose 2 mil Neg V-
in Sou states.

Va = Leg is = keep poll tax for
state elections = Hard casting =
2 yrs = @ $4.50 ... Cont determined
But w abolit of poll tax, can file
certif of neg is - for fed elec -
this = 6 mos (see table) advance of elec -
in 4th Cong Dist - prob
Neg lawyer named for Cong.
dates registration in hearing
(S.W. Tucker) Neg pap -
antic ever neg under this
certif of neg -
If Byrd gets opp - might
~~really~~ get upset of Byrd machi -
QE

NC - not qub race - sanford not elig -
Expect subst - gains = Kennedy
Ed J - appointee resign to run -
hi white negis...
Reagan v gains
Esp. urban NC -
Compm Eastern shore NC

SC - gtest pol progress ever st
2 cong dist voter ~~[illegible]~~ prog's
1st + 2nd... Cone in 5th + 6th
Greenwood except Charleston &
Columbia Ally register
1 day a month a M con -
of 100, req 25 - 15 pass. w same names
same places now 3 consec days
in May + Aug = remind contin
registration...
Marine campaigns for these

Co - early deadline
Elec law sub co - attorneys
2 mos — but no action...
Tonlexs do, May 5...

Wnelapp — Co - hot races...
1st dist - rep - 1400+ in January...
under Dade cons -
being felt more than any
other...
Atl = bal of power... welters catch hell...

Fla...
backup big gains: very simple get rep -
Hillsborough & Gadsden (Quincy) Co - program
had @ 400 rep... 1 had 200 more 1st mo -
this a co where Caldwell ~~pres~~
Dep - men ~~at~~ rep drive... it
petered out & rep drive pick
up momentum...
arrests when drive started...
Internal grp -
Cracker country - pixley - wood - Dobbs

cert registered, infl strong

Ala -
early chg = B'ham -
still reg 1000 a month -
9500 when VEP started
1000 mo since O et al
~~[illegible]~~ Negro rate bal of
power on chg farm & gov't -
& ~~on~~ cards -
If fips slight, by 1st wk
of March = double when
VEP started...
some venepec by Dept
Justice...
Mayor Just. Dept
"Suit injoin discrim - joined...
New bd of registrars -
Circuits chance reprocess

Miss —

O until justice dept. suit leads to wom-
3 j dist ct - seek end of
publish names, ~~st~~ illit
law... state, gov, elec offic -
registrar & cts —
incl fed —
2 elections ago —
never pend —
Judge Wisdom withdrew
~~to~~ 3 now all Miss —
adverse appealable to
sup ct —
Prob = get a decs —

saturation

Texas = 64.6% elig Neg ~~Neg~~ Neg-
ron = 70%

Easy to register...

✓

Arkansas — & Texas...
0 Neg- ~~Neg~~ law = Just poll tax
Ark legis meet Feb. 26 -
Cx sentative approved to
plan require annual regis-
Faubus = liberal — free lit test
~~Intend keep~~ Oct. 31 deadline for
summer primaries —

Reg sys this spring — free...
Both carry thru 1965...
Legis may make perm
turn things one —

La —
gub. elec — next notes
Don't expect too much —
Lit test neg —
Cont mon & major suit
Enjoin lit test 21
parishes — W.P.'s all
neg — N.'s only applied
only! nes ~~telephone~~ time
begun using test...
Can neg —

Appeal to Sates

Case in NE La & 5th Dist —

Boon = Shenepard = vicious ~~on~~
negistration...

Muslims in Memphis
~~Black Muslim~~

Texas —
rep in lieu poll tax
now... 30 days...
poll tax all elecs
except fed —

Effect = much depends
on who incumbent
yet opp —
Cons, gov, local level
if good opp — 90%
total N vote in Sou
need cand-support
to him — best officer
to dog-catcher!

time upon Miss—
mural areas...
Infeel yr, concentrate
ness wh most
meaningful results—
If mural, well works...
Urban = infl stalwards
pal... this direct leads
to mural + + +

where feedback, as Miss,
cants see VEP funds—
until CA + Lutsm—
but satisf effort
worth it...

Results so far...
Satisfied —
Impressive —
Any new prop — waste effort —
When consider map set up — opt next of year — — —

Later prob's in bell:
① Speed up v. later cases...
Give priority for hearing —
Clear up in Miss —
the major thing...
② If least 15% eligib's neg when file — cts appt referee or registrar while it pending...

Beyond this, deep need?
Vig enforcement...
⇒ Cf Terrell Co inspector
agst sheriff...
New suit when brake up
meeting

#

apathy ⇒
successful things sins
too much concern-
atb / of worst...

No other Neps so far...
antic others ⇒
another 4 years

Charlotte - 6000 votes
Dr. Reginald Hawkins
dentist...

His race to impact on
Neg pol races...

Chm nat'l Ed NAA Voter Reg
Kelly Alexander — mention
not do much... (GOP.)

#

Ala>	925,000	90,000	
	913,272	66,870	
	11,728	23,130 ✓	
Ark >	553,655	80,000	
	506,799	68,970	
	46,856 ✓	11,030	
Fla.	1,787,695	213,128	
	1,686,215	182,456	
	→ −101,480	30,672 ✓	
Ga.	~~1,183,181~~	1,293,231	221,919
	~~1,293,231~~	1,183,181	165,535
	~~89,950~~ →	−110,050	56,384 ✓
La.	1,031,691	162,084	
	928 798	151,250	
	102,893 ✓	10,834	
Miss-	525,000	28,000	
	440,906	25,921	
	84,094 ✓	2,079	

1889433
1787695
101,738 ✓

1293231
165535
1458766
1,364,988
293
71
1,3021

? cf 3,228 VEP increase

$$\begin{array}{r} 12 \\ \times 6 \\ \hline 72 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 12 \\ \times 4 \\ \hline 48 \end{array}$$

$$\cancel{11}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \times 3 \\ 12 \\ \times 3 \\ \hline 36 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 36 \\ \times 4 \\ \hline 144 \end{array}$$

LA

928 798
151 250
1,080,048

```
                14.2
1080048 | 151250.00
          1080048
          -------
          4324520
          4080192
          -------
          2443280
          2160096
```

EAA

748 266
422 256
1170522

```
                36
1170522 | 422256.00
          3511566
          -------
           7110040
```

```
                11
928798 | 102893.00
         928798
         -------
         1001320
          928798
         -------
           72522
```

```
                07
151250 | 10834.00
         ~~7500~~
         ~~107500~~
         ~~175900~~
         1058750
```

5 to 10 $\quad 10 \overline{)5.00}$ .50

~~553655 | 506,799.00~~

ARK $\quad 506,799 \overline{)46,856.00}$ .09 = W

45 611 91

1 24 409

.15 = N

~~.16~~

$68970 \overline{)11\,030.00}$

6 8 9 7 0

413300

413820

ESA

506799

68970

575769

$575769 \overline{)68970.00}$ 11.9

575769

1139310

575769

5635410

5191921

443489

NC –	1,861,430	233,773
	1,856,497	210,450
→	– 4,933	23,323 ✓
SC	703,000	111,628
	510,094	90,901
	192,906 ✓	20,727
Tenn.	1,297,026	202,974
	930,198	150,869
	366,828 ✓	52,105
Va.	923,792	108,312
	866,794	100,499
	56,998 ✓	7,813

cf sheet

Pat Watters
Is this part of the registration story?
Gil Stamson

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-6270

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CORE SET FOR MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS IN MISSISSIPPI

By Robert Gore

Canton, Miss., Feb. 19--Leaving this small city yesterday after working for four days on voter education, I am impressed. Not so much because of palpable gains, but because of the immense sense of dedication CORE workers have imbued throughout Madison County.

Plans are being completed for what may be the biggest civil rights demonstration to take place in this town located some 20 miles north of the capitol city of Jackson.

On February 28, which has been designated as "Freedom Day" in Canton, thousands of Negroes will march to the registrar's office to attempt to register for voting. Heretofore, there has been reluctance to have Negroes register even in small numbers. Local Negroes will be escorted by a group of leading church, civic and labor leaders from various parts of the country who plan to come to Canton for the occasion.

CORE, which has been conducting a voter registration drive in this area under the direction of CORE field secretary David Dennis, has dispatched, in addition to myself, five field secretaries and two Task Force workers into the area. CORE already has fifteen Task Force workers in Mississippi. Additional personnel will be Miss Mary Hamilton, Rev. B. Elton Cox, Isaac Reynolds, Marvin Robinson, Jerome Smith, Bruce Baines and Claudia Edwards.

We have been holding daily street meetings in Canton attended by as many as 150 persons. Nightly, we have held mass meetings at churches throughout the country. The sporadic arrests of persons attending these mass meetings have not reduced the attendance. In fact, attendance rises daily. The larges number of arrests--seventeen--were made during the week of January 20-27.

Hopefully, "Freedom Day" in Canton will be the beginning of massive registration of Negroes in this area by CORE.

####

SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTER STATISTICS

STATE	Total Negro Voters as of 11/1/64	Increase Since 4/1/62	% of Eligible Negroes Regis-tered	% of Eligible Whites Regis-tered	% Negro of Total Regis-tered	% Negro of Voting Age Popula-tion	Presiden-tial Winner & Margin 1964	Unregis-tered Negroes of Voting Age
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ALA.	111,000	42,700	23.0	70.7	10.4	26.2	BG 213,625	370,000
ARK.	105,000 ~~95,000~~	36,000	54.4 ~~49.3~~	71.7 ~~72.9~~	14.6 ~~13.2~~	18.4	LBJ 70,932	88,000 ~~98,000~~
FLA.	300,000	117,500	63.7	84.0	12.0	15.2	LBJ 42,599	170,000
GA.*	270,000	94,500	44.0	74.5	16.8	25.4	BG 94,027	343,000
LA.	164,700	13,000	32.0	80.4	13.7	28.5	BG 122,157	350,000
MISS.	28,500	4,500	6.7	70.1	5.2	36.0	BG 303,910	394,000
N. C.	258,000	47,500	46.8	92.5	11.7	21.5	LBJ 175,295	293,000
S. C.	144,000	53,100	38.8	78.5	17.0	29.3	BG 93,348	227,000
TENN.	218,000	67,100	69.4	72.9	14.4	14.9	LBJ 126,082	96,000
TEXAS	375,000	133,000	57.7	53.2	12.5	11.7	LBJ 704,619	275,000
VA.	200,000	89,900	45.7	55.9	16.0	18.8	LBJ 76,704	237,000
TOTAL	2,174,200 ~~2,164,200~~	698,000 ~~688,800~~	43.8 ~~43.9~~	73.1 ~~73.4~~	13.1 ~~13.0~~	22.4	LBJ 369,164	2,843,000 ~~2,853,000~~

~~Released 12/15/64~~ by Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Corrected to 1/1/65

*Voting Age 18

M E M O R A N D U M

May 10, 1962

TO: Les Dunbar

FROM: Jim Moss

IN RE: Your memo of May 9 - statement of activities of program since January 1, 1962

The following list represents the publishing activities of SRC since January 1, 1962:

GENERAL:

Albany - Howard Zinn - January 8, 1962
The Unequal Badge - Elliott Rudwick - January, 1962
Executive Support of Civil Rights - March 13, 1962

EMPLOYMENT STUDIES:

Chattanooga: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South. The Second of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities. - February, 1962

Atlanta: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South. The third of a series of Employment Studies in Southern Cities. - May, 1962

Miami: 4th of series: New South + mimeographed

L-REPORTS:

L-31 - A reprint from the Wall St. Journal "Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South." - February, 1962

L-32 - A refutation of Carleton Putnam's book, "Race and Reason: A Yankee View." - March 9, 1962

L-33 - A Statement of Recommended Police Policy Resulting from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on: "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." - March 9, 1962

MISCELLANEOUS:

An employment study of opportunities for the Negro in Miami. Mimeographed without SRC imprint. Material also to appear in forthcoming issue of New South. - May, 1962

Reprint from Fortune Magazine - "The City and the Negro" - March, 1962

An increase in concern and demand for information in these areas sparked the following surveys which, although not published, have served as basis for reply to individuals

and organizations seeking factual data:

Desegregation of Hospitals
" of Hotels
" of Cultural Facilities

For the hospital survey, questionnaires were sent to every hospital with an intern program connected with medical training centers in the South - 64 hospitals.

For the hotel survey, questionnaires were sent to 11 hotel chains, 30 hotel associations, and contacts (either a Council on Human Relations, Urban League chapter, or NAACP chapter) in the same cities.

For the survey of Cultural Facilities, questionnaires were sent to the mayors and contacts in 20 southern cities - these cities selected because they represent the major population centers. New South, "Arts + Amusements" Sept. 1962

A tabulation of the results of the hospital survey was given to the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations to assist them in their efforts to desegregate Grady Hospital. It has not been determined whether a full report on the survey will be issued.

The survey on Cultural Facilities is scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of New South.

PUBLICATIONS AND/OR REPORTS IN PROGRESS:

The Negro and Crime
State Commissions on Human Relations (Ben Muse)
Desegregation of Schools: Atlanta, Memphis, and Dallas (Newsom)
Desegregation of Catholic parochial schools (L-report - B. Patterson)

STUDIES COMMITTED:

Pupil Placement Laws
Administrationof Justice
Economic Status of Negroes in South (V.Henderson)
Agricultural aid programs and voting participation in South Carolina (Ira Kaye)
(?) Integration North and South (Moss and Loth)

OTHER ACTIVITIES COMPLETED:

A conference on voting research was held in the SRC offices on May 1 and 2, 1962, attended by 14 academic men prominent in the field of voting research in the South. During the conference informal discussions were held which centered around the following themes:

Factors inhibiting southern voting,

Effectiveness of organized and field methods employed to increase registration,

Hypotheses which might be examined in the light of VEP objectives,

Sources for obtaining more accurately and promptly the voting statistics on Negroes and whites in the South,

Ways in which a mutually helpful program of exchange, involving both personnel and data, could be effected between SRC and persons or institutions involved in voting research,

Aspects of project which lend themselves to the use of graduate students, and

Advice to VEP on methods of collecting data.

JAM:jl

PA

Editorial, NYTimes, Apr, 2, 1962

The Right to Vote Is Basic

In a democracy the right to vote is almost the most important right an individual can have, for if he cannot vote he has no easy and peaceable way of defending his other rights. When the Supreme Court decides that reapportionment within the states is a matter of Federal concern, it is also defending the individual whose ballot has been diluted and impoverished. When the Kennedy Administration uses its Executive power, as it has done, to protect civil rights, it deserves credit—and gets it from such organizations as the Southern Regional Council.

The council, which includes white and Negro members, believes that the Administration's work in this field is comparable in importance to the Supreme Court's school decision of 1954. This may be an exaggerated estimate; but there can be no doubt that this Administration has made major advances in civil rights.

The Regional Council is now planning to continue work on its own initiative. It has enlisted several other private organizations in this field and has secured foundation grants totaling $325,000. This money it will use in a concerted registration drive in ten Southern states. In these states, ranging from Virginia to Texas, about 60 per cent of the white inhabitants of voting age are registered, but only 30 per cent of the Negroes.

A candidate running for office in any constituency, North or South, does not willingly offend any recognizable and respectable element in the population. He may be against sin, but he thinks twice before he comes out against any specific race. The Negro will receive more consideration if he registers and takes his opinions and reactions to the polls.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NOTES FROM DAILY FILES, JANUARY-DECEMBER, 1962

Jan. 2: draft on public announcement of VEP, and employment of Wiley A. Branton

letter regarding Mina P. Shaughnessy visit to Washington

Jan. 6: trip to Washington--LWD and JAM

Jan. 9: letter to Mrs. Eddy, re Osborne's idea of conference for administrators of Catholic schools and other institutions later postponed; ever held?

Feb. 3: Speech to Alabama Council--LWD

Feb. 15-16: annual meeting, professional staff of state councils

Feb. 20: executive committee meeting

Jan. 18: letter re memo from N. C. Council and use of excerpts from it by the Governor

Jan. 22: beginning of planning for Notre Dame Conference

Feb. 16: interfaith meeting, "A Facade of Brotherhood" Mrs. Tilly

Jan. 25: first rerun of first Albany study

Jan. 25: outline for revision of Integration North and South

Feb. 9-10: Fellowship of Southern Churchmen meeting (Feb. or March, both months mentioned in letter)

Feb. 7: Jubilee request for SRC board members w/sketch (to be used in magazine I presume. Those sent: Brunini, P. Williams, Sigur, Nelson, Muse.

Feb. LWD, speech at Tuskegee

March 6: LWD, testimony before Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Integration

Feb. 28: Nat'l Council for Community Services to International Visitors: Mrs. Emery Atlanta visit and plans - Pffft?

Feb. 27: discussion of Edwin T. Randall project in Alabama

Feb. 28: LWD review of Proudfoot's Diary of a Sit-in for Negro Educational Review, April 15 issue.

March 25: press release on Executive Support for Civil Rights

April 24-26 LWD speech at Texas Council of Churches meeting.

March 21: suggested names for state advisory committees

March 29: Rilling to Pensacola to consult with group of local civic and business leaders re procedures by which Atlanta and Dallas prepared general community for school desegregation. Invitation from R. B. Orr, Asst. supt. of schools.

March 27: letter re press release on VEP (to be later)

March 28: letter from JAM re discussion with Chattanooga school Supt. (Dr. Benjamin E. Carmichael) and staff re plan for desegregation of schools.

March 1: Dr. Coles visit to Burnsville and Asheville, N.C.

March 16: agreement to co-sponsor Nashville meeting with Southern Churchmen

March 22: tax exemption for VEP received

April 4: letter re conference on VEP; held May 1-2

March 31: autograph party for Lillian Smith at Biltmore

April 12: Plan for developing recommendations for civil rights legislation

April 10: Ira Kaye research on agriculture in S.C.; final plans

May 4: LWD to Commission on Civil Rights annual conference on school desegregation--Washington

April 16: Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare in Washington LWD--no firm date, but March I think)

April 18: third re-run of Albany Report

April: book campaign for Miles College

May 3: Youngblut conference in Mississippi

July 17-18: College of the Bible Fourth Interracial Consultation on Southern Churches and Race Relations. LWD

June 1: S.C. research project (Kaye) underway

June 4: contribution of $600 to Schultz, FSU for Dade County Junior College project "Phased Educational Integration: A Case Study"

June 7: beginning of Jean project through Nat'l Council of Churches under Will Campbell; $10,000 for year.

May 3: Mississippi Council organized

June 21: Houston Housing Forum; request from PR that it be circulated to various councils on human relations

mention of Aaron E. Norman Fund letter as being sufficiently unusual to share with executive committee

June 22: outline for pamphlet w/ADL completed

COPE of AFL-CIO grant of $5,000 for non-partisan voting registration work in New Orleans

letter to ACLU re Alabama Council

June 23: letter re agreement to undertake MIS report w/Potomac

July: first week, NAACP convention in Atlanta

July 2: letters to labor organizations re financial support

July 2: meeting in Washington with John Feild

July: LWD speech at Fisk Race Relations Institute

July 10: letter re visit to South Bend, Ind., and Madison, Wis.

July 11: Boris Shiskin, re SRC undertaking activities and program in labor; meeting SRC July 27 w/ Via, Slaiman, Shiskin, P. Christopher, Barrett

July 13: draft outline for the MIS report

July 20: Personnel Committee approval of appointment of Staige

July 25: contribution of $400 to LIFE Pre -School Preparation Committee in New Orleans

Aug. 17: letter re appointment at College of the Bible

Aug. 16: letter re visit to Tuskegee and speech, previous week (received Aug. 3)

Aug. 15: contract for BM book with Viking Press

Sept. 18: "voting meeting" at Potomac in Washington

Sept. 24, 25, 26, 27: New York trip, LWD

Sept. 21: first status report of VEP

Sept. 28: LWD, speech at Columbia, S.c. to S.C. Council

Oct: Toan Titus film for TV:; "Encounter"

Oct. 28: LWD, Hoey Award for Ben Muse, New York

Nov. 2: resignation Paul Rilling

Nove. 14-16: SB to Nat'l Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. SRC bd members present: Dabbs, Graham, Christopher, Siceloff. Related, Jeans and Spearman.

Nov. 19-20: SRC annual meeting

Dec. 10: appointment of PA to Field Director

Dec. 27-29: Consultation, "The South: The Ethical Demands of Integration", Nashville, Tenn.

SRC PUBLICATIONS ORDERED IN QUANTITY; OR FROM UNUSUAL SOURCES

Jan. 25: 1,000 copies first Albany Report to CURRENT

Feb. 1: Texas Southern University, School of Vocational & Industrial Education (Houston) ordered 200 copies Houston Employment report

April 2: 500 copies Executive Support of Civil Rights to CURRENT

April 4: 1,000 copies Executive Support sent to Wofford, special assistant to the President

✓6	copies to	Housing and Home Finance Agency
✓30	"	U. S. Civil Service Commission
✓40	"	Commission on Civil Rights
✓125	"	U. S. Information Agency, Advisor on Labor & Minorities Affairs
50	"	Nat'l Civil Liberties Clearing House
✓40	"	Post Office Dept.
✓50	"	U. S. Civil Service Commission

April 16: 100 copies Muse, Race and Reason, to James Silver at University of Mississippi

April 30: 23 key people in Durham, N.C. mailed Albany report by request of Opton, NAACP

June 15: copies of Houston and Chattanooga employment studies to National Observer, by their request.

Sept. 18: special mailing of A Hundred Years Later to list of congressmen, senators, members of the National Civil War Centennial Commission and selected people.

Oct. 2: copies of Unequal Badge sent to chairmen of state advisory committees by request.

Oct. 5: 125 copies of "Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations" and A Hundred Years Later to Nat'l Labor Service

Oct. 10: 1,000 copies A Hundred Years Later to CURRENT

Nov. 14: 250 copies L-38, "What Price Violence?" to Guernsey, AFL-CIO Dept. of Education, Washington

Nov. 14: Tuscaloosa Chamber of Commerce requested materials on forming Human Relations Councils

" Laurie Pritchett, Chief of Police in Albany, requested 15 copies of the Albany report

Nov. 27: Nat'l Civil Liberties Clearing House request for 50 copies of Albany report

Dec. 10: SNCC: 500 copies Albany report (a reorder?)

Dec. 1,000 copies Albany (2nd report) sent to CURRENT

MATERIALS ORDERED IN QUANTITY FOR SRC DISTRIBUTION

Jan. 25: 50 copies Tarplee, Racial Prejudice for research (high school distribution)

Feb. 2: 500 copies Creger, This Is What We Found

March 30: 500, Fortune reprint, "The City & the Negro"

June 20: 1,000, Business Week reprints, "The Negro's Force in the Marketplace"

50 Seeds of Southern Change

6 The Desegregated Heart

July 13: 100, Nat'l Labor Service, "Business Citizenship in the Deep South"

april + Nov. } 700 Action Patterns in School Desegregation

REQUESTS FOR REPRINTING NEW SOUTH ARTICLES

Feb. 6: Negro Digest to reprint, "Police, Minoirities and Mobs"
Chief Hale, New South Sept. 1961 date?
Lexington, Ky.

June 18 - Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee of Cincinnati request to reprint New South, Herman Long, "Marginal Man".
April, 1962

BOARD MEMBERS ABROAD

Thos. W. Young to Tanganyika

Mr. and Mrs. Herbert M. Davidson to Europe

Dr. Proctor, Peace Corps in Nigeria

M. A. Wright, around the world

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS: 1962

January 8, 1962: Albany Report (1st), Howard Zinn

January The Unequal Badge, Elliott Rudwick

March 13, 1962: Executive Support of Civil Rights

February: Chattanooga: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South

May: Atlanta: The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South

May: (New South & Mimeographed) Miami: Employment Study

November: Albany Report (2nd), Howard Zinn

September: A Hundred Years Later

Special Reports

November, 1962: Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina

January, 1963: Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

L-Reports

L-31, February: A reprint from Wall Street Journal, "Slipping Segregation: Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South"

L-32, March 9: A refutation of Carleton Putnam's book, Race & Reason: A Yankee View

L-33 March 9: A Statement of Recommended Police Policy Resulting from the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration Conference on: "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive."

L-34, May 30: Desegregation of Southern Parochial Schools

L-35, June 20: State Commissions on Human Relations

L-36, Sept. 12: Richmond Quietly Leads Way in Race Relations reprint

L-37, Oct. 15: Statement on the "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment" Presented to the Joint Economic Committee of Congress in September, 1962 by the Council of Economic Advisers.

L-38, November 1: What Price B Violence?

L-39, December 19: Negroes Pay Rises But Half as Fast

Information
~~RESEARCH~~ SURVEYS UNDERTAKEN

Feb. 3: survey of use of Negro professional personnel in all hospitals connected with medical schools in the South. Plus 1) number of beds; number for Negroes, whites, or integrated. (64)

Hotel survey, questionnaires sent to 11 hotel chains, 30 hotel associations, and cross-checked through councils on human relations, Urban League and/or NAACP in same cities (31 cities; 11 hotel chains)
Cultural facilities; mayors and other contacts in 20 southern cities. Published in New South

Feb. 8: state directors asked to send info on southern TV stations blacking out national programs. Wanted for March 1; info sent to Nat'l Labor Service April 17

Feb. 16: survey of state commissions on Human relations in border states. States surveyed: Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia

June 29: letters requesting information from state councils on movie theatres, drive-in theatres, local and summer theatres, municipal libraries, municipal auditoriums.

Sept. 18: inquiries National Defense Counseling and Guidance Training Institutes: segregated? desegregated?

also, National Defense Language Institutes: same

New South, "Arts and Amusements for Southern Negroes," Sept 1962

Some speeches by staff ~~and board~~

Anthony: Bluefied State College; Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Rilling: mostly annual meetings of state councils

Long: Daytona, "We Shall Overcome" Halifax Area Council
w/Bob Coles to Montgomery on March 29
6/3: speech at Tuskegee

Muse: Nat'l Labor Service, AJC, Conference on preserving the Democratic Process

Moss: speech at Jacksonville NAACP, 6/24
article for Freedomways, "Deseg & Economy in the South"

Mrs. Tilly: 6/11-15 taught class at Lincoln School of Missions
Kentucky State College

EVALUATION OF RESEARCH - PRELIMINARY REPORT
January 10, 1963

I'm not ready yet to make any recommendation; Janet wants to think about it a while and so do I. Also, I would like to see how much difference it makes to have Bettina working part time there.

Janet is working hard, and too many hours for a steady and regular routine. She is here 9 to 6, and sometimes on Saturdays (4 hours last Saturday, filing old clips). She, Joe, and Staige (according to Janet, I did not discuss this with him) are not satisfied with their operations. Janet still thinks that she and Joe can eventually catch up. But they are still way behind. They do file local clips daily; it is the mass of clips from SERS that accumulates and is always not up to date. Janet is not sure she is happy with the filing system and asked me if I had any suggestions. One that I made was that magazine articles should be filed by subject rather than by date with news clips, because it is always difficult to remember when one read the article; they are easier to locate by subject when you need them either to copy or to list as references for information requests. Some of them have been filed in the materials files, but these are so bulky that it makes the articles still difficult to locate.

The pamphlet file badly need reorganizing. Cards have not been made as new ones come in, and so the card file is not very helpful. It should be checked against the pamphlets and be brought up to date. (This is something that Bettina could do)

Nothing has been done about last year's Congressional Records and we will soon be getting them again.

There are three or more stacks of stuff that need going through and filing: materials from Jim Moss' desk, materials I took out of the stuff that had been on my desk and had been dumped in a box (this is one of the first things I did after I came back, and took it in to Janet). There are many clips on boycotts and economic withdrawals that I was accumulating, and had used to answer several requests. There is also another stack on hospitals and medical care that had been in Jane's desk. There may be others.

The Journals are virtually useless; none have been read, noted, or used. It would be most helpful, especially when we begin getting the annual spring requests from graduate students doing theses and dissertations on specific subjects, to have a card catalogue by general subject listing the best articles in these Journals. On some subjects, especially teacher problems due to integration of schools, these Journals are the best and sometimes the only reallly helpful source. (This is another thing Bettina might do.)

The Race Relations Law Reporter is a mystery back there too. I showed Maggie how to find the law,mentioned in a current New South article, re Memphis double school districts.

Janet said she knew she was not getting the information together on the various categories that you had asked her to get; she just doesn't have time. She seems to think she may have, once they get caught up. I doubt this; I think so long as she must spend all her time with the filing she will not be able to function as she was meant to function in her position.

The Research Room will not be able to intelligently and quickly answer requests for specific information and figures on desegregation until

1) filing is up to date
2) information is constantly and regularly recorded in some way (on file cards, or in the "black book")
3) the person in charge has some time to do this

Also, the assistant there should, it seems to me, have some time to be helping to bring information up to date. Joe does not. I think one of the really good ideas that Jim brought to this process was that the research assistants spend half-time filing and half-time doing research projects that can be published in some way: L-Reports or Special Reports.

You will understand that I am somewhat handicapped in this evaluation by having my own idea as to what the Research Room should be and should produce. Perhaps this is not the same as your conception of what you want it to be.

If it is just to file stuff and then find it (hopefully) then I think in a few more months it may function fairly well in this way.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

COPY

JANUARY 16, 1963

MR. W. H. ROHRER
1927 N. DECATUR ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA 7, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. ROHRER:

I AM VERY SORRY ABOUT THE MIX UP OVER THE NEW SOUTH. ALL THESE YEARS BEFORE I BECAME CHAIRMAN AND THEN DIRECTOR OF THE ATLANTA COUNCIL, I HAD THOUGHT THAT ONE JOINED THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND THE GEORGIA AND ATLANTA COUNCILS AND SUBSCRIBED TO THE NEW SOUTH ALL IN ONE OPERATION. AS MRS. KNOX EXPLAINED TO YOU, HOWEVER, THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS NO LONGER A MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATION, AND IT HAS SEEMED SIMPLER TO THEM TO HANDLE THE NEW SOUTH SUBSCRIPTIONS AS A SEPARATE OPERATION.

I AM ENCLOSING A STATEMENT WHICH WE RECENTLY PREPARED DESCRIBING THESE RELATIONSHIPS. IF YOU HAVE ANY SUGGESTIONS ABOUT STREAMLINING THE SET UP, WE WOULD CERTAINLY LIKE TO HAVE THEM. SURELY, THERE MUST BE A BETTER WAY THAN THIS.

SINCERELY,

(MRS) ELIZA PASCHALL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

EP:ES

February 1, 1963

Bennice Cook Montez Albright

Minutes and board list

We need to send out the minutes (annual meeting) and the mimeographed board list to all the board members, plus the following: (this includes the 5 life members)

Ben Muse
C. H. Parrish
J. W. Brewbaker

The board list only goes to the following: (envelopes attached)

H. C. Fleming All state directors
Eddy, Taconic
Hahn, Field
DeVinney, Rockefeller
Eagle, New World
Freeman, Rockefeller Brothers

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY
DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
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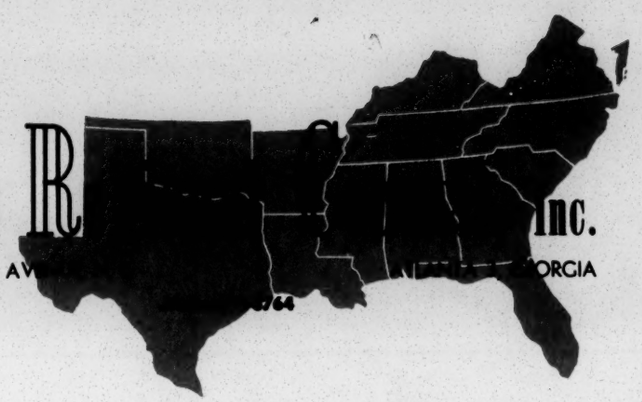
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER



Southern R[illegible] Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 2-7-63

To: LWD ✓ From: MA

Subject: benefits and insurance

When Mr. Floyd Leary, Mutual of New York, was here this morning to see ~~about~~ the travel insurance for Mr. Blackwell, he said that he had previously talked to Anthony about the need for revision and adjustment of benefits and insurance for those staff members who have had raises or promotions with raises during the past two years.

He said it did not seem fair that new people coming in would be getting higher benefits than those who had gone in under the plan two years ago.

I thought you might wish to take this up with the Personnel Committee when it meets on the 19th of this month and is considering salaries, etc.

not necessary
let's fix this up as soon as possible

February 14, 1963

LWD MA

activities in your absence

Les, this is a quick and informal report on some things we have been doing while you were away.

1. On the 12th we had a staff luncheon in the conference room, to observe Emancipation Day. Most of the Negro firms had closed their offices that day, and it seemed appropriate to have some kind of a celebration here. Paul thought it would be all right for the Council to provide the sandwiches, although I had originally meant to ask everyone to bring or send out for a sandwich and make the meeting voluntary, as far as participation went. I bought some cookies, and we got two bottled of wine as your contribution for the strenuous efforts of the 4th and 5th. We had, after the lunch and some general conversation about civil rights, some REAL COMMUNICATION among the staff as to how they personally felt about integration (generally, first, and finally here in the office). It really cleared the air and morale has shot up considerably. I believe from now on we can all discuss our little differences more frankly on a person-to-person basis. Everyone, one at a time, came to me and said how much they had enjoyed it and how helpful they thought it had been (with the exception of one person, Marge); she thought it would have been better to have let it go on in the hopes things would work out ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ in time). There is, in particular, a much better feeling on the part of everyone toward Maggie and Mary. I almost panicked when I found Dr. Coles would not be here, but it went along even better than I'd hoped, without him.

Les, I did this with the full awareness that had I asked you ahead of time you'd have said "no". But I'm glad I did it, and would have taken full responsibility had it not worked out. I had discussed it with Maggie and Paul before calling the meeting, and they both agreed that it was a good idea, although I think Paul had his fingers crossed!

2. It seemed to me that with you gone so long, it behooved us to get going on some things here that could be done while you were away.

I thought if we couldn't there was something wrong with us as a staff.

Usually, after a day or two of catching up on things, people just sit around answering the telephones and talking, except a few that go ahead on their own initiative.

So, I said we'd get out two L-reports (which Staige had been sitting on for more than a week) and we did. I think copies of both are among the stuff on your desk which you will be getting tomorrow.

3. I felt a little unethical about signing the checks, after making them out, but there was nothing else to do. Ruth is still very ill; I'm not at all sure she will be in next week. She worked feeling very ill (sometimes going home at noon) until she got the financial report in shape and then just collapsed with some kind of flu or virus. So I've been making out checks and trying to keep her office going at least part-way too. I guess its a good thing I'm a jack-of-all-trades though master of none!

I hope you are feeling better, but what you really need, I imagine, is about a month away from this office and civil rights. And you need an Associate Director so things can go along when you are not here, and so you won't have ALL the responsibility when you are here. And please don't misunderstand; I'm not a candidate for the job. I know my limitations!

Ward McCready, of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities called from Washington saying he will be in Atlanta Monday and Tuesday and hopes to see you. He will call the office Monday. I told him about the Executive Committee Tuesday and that you would not be able to see him that day.

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

MA - how does it look now?

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[redacted] ORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 15, 1963

To: LWD From: MA

Subject: status report on New South

Mary and I have been going over the current progress on New South subscription reorganization. Progress has been steady, but there is still a lot to be done.

1. We are still getting renewals from people for whom there is no card, but for whom there is a stencil.

2. We are getting renewals for people for whom there is a card, but no stencil (6 at one time, from the New York batch. Also, some of the complimentary subscriptions that we were to correct addresses on had cards, but no stencils).

3. Mrs. Knox continues to find duplicates when she is stuffing for both New South and L-reports. Since she stuffs a small percentage of both, here eagle-eyed observation helps only a little.

Mary and I have come to the reluctant conclusion that the only way to really get this thing straight is to have Bernice run off stencils on the whole New South mailing list, and make up a card file BY ALPHABETIZING ALL NAMES, regardless of state or status or date. In this way, we could; 1) eliminate duplications, of which I think there must be a great many, some due to changing addresses with NS still going to the old address, some due to there simply being two stencils for the name and address. 2) The file would be useful in other ways, too. More often than you would think, people send us new addresses without giving the old one, and we cannot find any old one, so we must conclude it is from another state--but which one? This necessitates writing a letter, or sending a mimeographed form after much searching.

Both the card files and the stencil files are kept by states now,

and I think we must leave them this way, not only for now but for the future. There will always be the need for checking one against the other if we are to keep the mailing list in good order, as it should be. And the stencils somehow seem to get mixed up in the process of addressing.

This will mean that we will continue to need extra help until the alphabetical file of New South is completed and checked for duplications and then checked against the card-file-by-states to separate the people 1) for whom we have stencils but no cards, 2) cards but no stencils, 3) and those that match and are in good order. Then there will be the problem of getting the stencils and cards to match up. All this will be tedious and time-consuming, but I cannot think of any other way.

I had thought we could check Mary's cards against Bernice's stencils, but this is not working out so well, and it does nothing about the duplications.

Les, I'm sorry this continues to be such a headache and a problem; the more we get into it, the more we find that it is even worse then my first pessimistic report.

Bernice is not going to be happy about running off the stencils; I think it would be more acceptable to her if you were to tell her this is necessary. However, if you had rather keep out of it, I will do it. And she does have extra help now.

I think there is going to have to be some kind of directive about mailing out the requests EACH DAY, regardless of other work, except in cases of extreme emergency. They continue to stack up. And even on days when we are rushed with other things, any mailing requests marked "urgent" should go out. As it is, those of us responsible for the urgent ones see that they go out, but this should not be necessary. I believe Roland could and would take responsibility for this. However, this very probably would upset Bernice, since she is in charge.

P.S. Also, some people got bills who were not supposed to, and we don't know how that happened. One poor man (complimentary) has been billed twice & has paid twice without a murmur, and he still happily entertains our foreign visitors.

April 22, 1963

BC MA

Interagency mailing list

Paul Anthony would like to have the Interagency list run off on tape and put on his desk, when you have time.

He wants to check over the names to see if everyone who is on should be on; and if everyone who should be on is on. There have been a number of changes in staff, etc. and there may be some omissions.

August 15, 1963

Staff MA

Ben Muse book: Tarheel Tommy Atkins

Mr. Muse has been kind enough to send us 9 copies of his book at a very special price, in case any member of the staff wishes to purchase it. The book retails for $2.50; the price with Mr. Muse's discount is $1.50 per copy.

Anyone wishing to purchase the book, please see mee, and bring money.

Two staff members have already taken copies, with promise to pay, but no payment has been received! Collection processes will go into effect immediately.

Memo from VERNON E. JORDON, JR.

Montez,

Thanks for the suggestion. I think well of the idea and have talked to Les about it. So we are thinking —.

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 3-6764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 11-1-63

To: Vernon Jordon From: Montez

Subject: adding people to SRC mailing list

Vernon, I need some guidance re adding people to our mailing lists; we have so many now who request to be on it. Whatever happened to the idea of charging $5.00 per year (including New South) or $3.00 without New South for people who wish to receive all our publications?

This has been my general policy so far: for libraries, college professors in political science or social science, ministers, or organizations in our field within the South--to add without any question.

For professors outside the South, also libraries--what should we do? We are having increasingly requests to be added to our mailing list from students and individuals outside the South too. These people would gladly pay for the privilege. If we add everybody who wants to be added, the mailing list will be increased tremendously, and thus our expenses of mailing plus the expense of sending the publications without cost. For many people I have written and suggested they subscribe to New South, and then order those publications which interest them. But this is a poor substitute for what they really want. Also, making out bills for 25¢ for one publication (Henderson, for instance, which is going out at the rate of 25 to 50 per week) would take so much time that it would cost more than the 25¢ we would receive from those who paid the bills. Not all of them ever send the money.

I talked with Paul Anthony and Ben Muse about this, and their suggestion was the $5.00 or $3.00 charge, or putting all these people on a list and sending them a letter (mimeographed) when we put out a publication asking if they want to order it. This latter alternative would also be expensive, but less so than just adding them to the list without charging anything. I favor the flat rate, and it certainly would help with out postage and publications costs. Also, those who continued to pay it each year we would KNOW wanted to receive stuff and were reading and using it.

2-4-64

VJ MA

Vernon, unless the Council prefers that my letters be typped with the fancier type used on the other typewriters, I had just as soon continue to use this one. I already have my mondy invested in it. I did not buy the other kind because I could not afford it; I got the cheapest electric typewriter available. And I don't want the Council to purchase it from me, because after I leave here I will want to have it at home.

Instead of the typewriter, I would like very much to have another of the panels used for semi-privacy to put in front of my desk space. I can then turn my desk sideways and, I believe, have a more efficient arrangement of equipment. If this will detract from the looks of the office as planned, then I can get along without it.

I would also like to have a wastebasket of my very own.

LWD ✓

Memo from MONTEZ ALBRIGHT

April 7, 1964

Vernon Jordon: Re: mailing list charge

If you will check the budget for the amount of postage spent in 1963, both for regular mailings and for New South, and then double it for 1964, it will give you an idea of what the new amount is going to be. Not only postage for mailing has gone up; charges for returns of people who have moved without sending us changes of address is higher too. And there is less and less service available in finding them.

I know enough about bookkeeping to know that combining New South with those people we charge to be on the mailing list will result in more confusion than you can imagine--and we are just now getting New South in a state of some order. Besides, we ought to be charging at least $3.00 per year for New South--this would at least pay postage and cost of envelopes though probably not printing costs and the other costs.

It would take some time to build up the $5.00 per year change list, but it could be done without a lot of confusion by simply marking some cards "complimentary", sending a notice to all others about the new charges, to begin at some future date, and putting all new people who are not really eligible for the free mailing and who WANT to be on our list enough to pay for it in a new category, which could have a number and a separate drawer just as the other categories do. Gradually it would be built up, and the free lists would diminish. And eventually such a plan should reimburse us for ALL postage for mailing out materials--which certainly would help the budget.

May 18, 1964

LWD MA

old voting records, Margaret Price, etc.

Les, when I got the letter from South Carolina I looked back in all the old materials files that I could get into, and I could not find the old records. It may be that in the "junk file room" in the back they are stuck away someplace. If they are, I think we ought to have them where we can get to them.

It is a mistake, I think, to put ANY research material, no matter how old, back so that we cannot get to it. It should be in file cabimets so that the drawers can be pulled out without such tremendous effort and without the danger of their falling all over the place if you pull them out too far. We just can't use files when they are not accessible. However, we do not have room now for the ones we have in use, but have auxiliary pasteboard boxes all over the place that we occasionally have to dig into because the material is not available anywhere else.

Perhaps Joe could get out the Research boxes and put them where I can reach them, and I will go thru them to see if I can find all that old Margaret Price material. I believe we will need it increasingly. As people become more interested in the increase in voting registration and the results of increased registration, they are going to want to compare the present figures with old figures. We need to have them available if we still have them. Paul said we did have tremendous quantities of county-by-county figures that were accumulated before the old reports were written. These should be still around somewhere.

May 25, 1964

MEMO:

To: Pat Watters

From: M. Albright

Pat, sometime in the next few days when you have time I think we had better have a small conference. I have not made any progress on the church thing. I said I would turn it back to you if I had not in another two weeks--that was about three weeks ago.

The next several weeks (perhaps months, tho I hope the crisis will be somewhat resolved in weeks) are going to be particularly difficult for me and if I can get through them without coming p apart at the seams it will be just about all I can manage.

If you do not have the time yourself right now to do the re-writing, then I have a proposal: I will take two weeks leave of absence (I do not have any vacation or sick leave coming; I've used it all) and see what I can do with it if I have nothing else pressing me. I don't deserve this, I am well aware.

If you do have the time right now, I think you should go ahead with it. I know you can do it better than I could, anyhow. The whole thing is now completely out-dated, from the introduction on through. So it has to be redone from the beginning--at least in part.

I'm sorry--and I just don't know what else to do about it.

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

3-11-65

MA

Memo to: Vernon Jordan
Nobbie Morgan

From: MA

In planning distribution from now on, please keep in mind that we have a new category, #19, Paid Subscribers which now has stencils in the back and which is, to date, 22. 35.

They are to receive ALL RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, all things we buy (reprints, etc.) to mail out, and ALL NEWS RELEASES AND STATEMENTS OF THE BOARD OR EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

While there were so few, I have been addressing labels each time, but from now on they will be addressed in the back by stencils. As I add to the list, I will let you know the number.

50
110
160
135
95
50
58

Robbie

Thanks,
Montez,

April 13, 1965

MA

TO: VJ

FROM: MA

Vernon, we haven't had much to mail out to our $5.00 paid publications subscribers this year. Could we consider mailing them NEW SOUTH, unless we are going to have some publications coming out in the near future?

Or could we mail them one each of the things we purchase in quantity? There are now 38 of them, so it would not involve very much mailing.

WOULD ANY CHAPTER OF THE FORTHCOMING BOOK ON VEP be adaptable for a Special Report that could be mailed out to people before the book is published? Everyone seems so eager to know about voting now.

Monte
This is fine
Thanks for
with me.
the suggestion
VJ.

EVALUATION OF NEW SOUTH SUBSCRIPTIONS HANDLING

Maybe I've done this too quickly, but it seemed urgent in view of letters from people who have not received New South since July and are pretty bitter about it, even to wanting their money refunded.

It is still in pretty much of a mess; notices of expiration have not been sent out for January 1962 expirations, and Mary can't begin sending them until she finishes checking all the lists from the state councils, because some of these people have renewed through the councils. She has a good understanding of the system, as Barbara set it up, but she is a month or two of steady work behind, even with the ehlp that Mrs. Knox can give her in typing information on cards.

As I understand it, Barbara worked out a system, and sent corrections on mailing addresses back to Bernice for correcting stencils, and this part was up to date. However, this information was NOT typed or noted on the cards (there is a duplicate system: one set of cards (by states) has name, how subscribed, when, and expiration date; the second set is filed under expiration dates for sending out notices of expiration monthly, only this hasn't been done during the past year so most people will now owe two years when the notices go out).

Since the cards have never been in any way sychronized, whenever Mary gets a change of address or a subscription payment, she has to look three different places to try to find the person's card; sometimes it isn't there, so she checks the stencils and as often as not there is a stencil but no card record. There are also bound to be cards with no stencils, since this has not been cross-checked in about six months to a year, and should be done periodically.

Mary also has a large batch of cards that she doesn't know what to do about. She doesn't know if they got the letter that went out asking if they knew when their subscription expired. Something will have to be decided about this batch of cards. Since it has been almost a year, or perhaps longer, since they've paid anything, their subscriptions are bound to have already expired. My suggestion would be to send them a regular notice, and if they pay, put them in the file and if they don't, discard them.

If Mary had some help to catch up and get this thing in good shape, I think she can handle it all right on a regular basis. Each year when the long lists from the councils come in, it will be rugged and she could certainly use a little temporary help getting that all entered and checked. Both she and Maggie are resigned to the fact that it is going to have to be their responsibility; Mary is beginning to get a little fascinated with the job of straightening the mess out--sort of like a challenge or a peculiarly complicated puzzle.

I do think she needs some help, unless you want this to drag on for several more months. I would be willing to help her a couple of hours a day for a while. Perhaps with that and Mrs. Knox we could soon catch up.

MA

Memo from **VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.**

MA

Montez

This is fine. Good luck!!!

MEMO

TO: VJ

FROM: MA

Vernon, I want to take two weeks off in April, leave-of-absence, without pay because I have not really accumulated any sick leave or any annual leave with the illnesses and the short hours I work.

Also, I want to complicate things by taking it in an odd way, instead of just the last half of the month:

April 5th - because that is the day the cleaning people are coming in to wash windows, woodwook, and wax floors

April 14 through 27 - to cover the most hectic period of the wedding of my daughter and all the entertaining and house guests we will have.

Back to work on April 28, 29 and 30 to make up for April 5, 14, and 15 to make it an even half a month.

Montez

Sue —

Copy for leaflet for publication

The outside I leave to you.

Back cover? —

facsimilies of especially good publications? Not included in inside list?

Albany: A Study in National Responsibility by Howard Zinn (1962)

The Economic Status of Negroes by Virian W. Henderson (1963)

Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, by Robert Coles, M.D. (1963)

Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillan (1960)

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL'S

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Had you been a subscriber in 1963-1964, you would have received the ~~following~~ reports listed below: (See enclosed current publications list for more detailed description and for publications of previous years.)

In addition, you would have received statistical reports from SRC's Voter Education Project on Negro voter registration and statements from the Council's executive committee.

If you are interested in receiving timely and informative publications in the field of civil rights, please ~~send~~ your check to the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. 30303?

fill out the form on the back of this leaflet. Send it and ~~your~~

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Publications Released 1963-1964

Had you been a subscriber during the 1963-64 period, you would have received the following reports. (See enclosed current publications list for more detailed description and for publications of previous years.) In addition, you would have received policy statements by the Southern Regional Council Board of Directors and Executive Committee and several press releases.

DIRECT ACTION IN THE SOUTH
THE QUESTION FROM JACKSONVILLE
A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA
FEDERAL PROGRAMS TO PROMOTE EMPLOYMENT AND DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL COMMUNITIES, by M. Hayes Mizell
MISSISSIPPII: THE CLOSED SOCIETY, by James W. Silver
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, 1944-1964
SERIES OF SPECIAL REPORTS TELLING OF PROGRESS IN RACE RELATIONS: CHARLOTTE; LOUISVILLE; MEMPHIS; BRUNSWICK
LAW ENFORCEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI
THE PRICE WE PAY
WHAT HAPPENED IN THE SOUTH? (Post-election analysis)

If you are interested in receiving timely and informative publications in the field of civil rights, please fill in the attached blank and send with your check to the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia. 30303

Write note of Thanks

STATE PLANNING ORGANIZATIONS

BY

T. D. DAVIS

ANNUAL CONFERENCE MISSISSIPPI BOARD OF DEVELOPMENT

FEBRUARY 23, 1944 Jackson, Miss.

(Reading time 13 minutes)

Mississippi is still a part of the United States, although leadership at home and in Washington, have too often neglected that fact.

The United States is a vital part of a world of interdependent nations in an era of global communication, transportation and economic dependency.

This nation is involved in a grim world war to test whether the basic principle upon which it was founded - The Golden Rule - or the rule of gold, will be the beckoning ideal of the world leadership of tomorrow.

The winning of this grim war of "sweat, blood and tears" is the first business of the nation, and, therefore, the first duty of Mississippians.

A World War II Armistice may mean an end to the waste, brutalities and wholesale murder, but that alone will not mean victory. The armistice of 1918 was only the prelude to the twin nightmares of a paralyzing world depression and War II.

Unless and until the peace is won, the war is lost. The peace will not be won unless there is economic security for the millions now on the firing line and the production line. The chaos caused by lack of jobs in Europe, Asia and America is the primary cause of our present heartaches. We will not win the war unless we win the peace. We will not win the peace unless there are jobs - jobs for workers everywhere, even in Mississippi.

Therefore, a sound program of postwar planning is not inconsistent with all - out war, but a vital part of it.

The Interstate Committee of Postwar Reconstruction and Development has announced the following as general principles for postwar development:

1. That the major postwar problem for which a solution must be found

is the problem of full employment of all who want to work.

2. That the solution of this problem will require the closest cooperation on the part of government at all its levels, industry, labor and agriculture.

3. That the provision of employment in America is and always has been the primary responsibility of private industry and private initiative.

4. That government has a threefold duty with respect to the postwar period.

   (a) To support and implement the efforts of private industry to supply employment for all who are able and willing to work.

   (b) To supplement the job-creating efforts of private enterprise through worthwhile public works when necessary.

   (c) To develop and supply such public facilities and services as may be needed to protect and improve our American standard of living.

5. That state governments -- now -- must recognize the above responsibilities and through new machinery or the adaptation of existing agencies immediately prepare to discharge them.

The idea of full employment - JOBS - is first on this list. The matter of jobs - industry - economy of abundance - markets for farmers, all farmers - a prosperity purchasing power of the people, all the people - was the central thought in the recent report by Bernard Baruch to the President and Congress.

We cannot win the war, we cannot win the peace, we cannot have postwar prosperity, no matter how much we plan, confer and blueprint, unless the 60 people out of 100 now engaged in war activity have jobs at fair wages when it's over "over-there."

Intelligent selfishness, the principle of the Golden Rule and gratitude for the sacrifices of our soldiers, should compel our deepest thoughts and best possible action, but it may be well to remember that millions of men wearing battle scars of a war for peace and security are not going to sell apples on street corners or rot in idleness. It may be well also to remember that the purchasing power, business life, and economic prosperity of a region cannot rise higher than the per capita

income of a majority of its workers and farmers, all workers and all farmers. It may be in the past we did not realize that in our failure to pull a large segment of our people up, we pulled the state, and the Nation, down. It may not be too late, even now, to learn that it is impossible to build a sound economic, or social foundation on submerged classes. As much as it may do violence to an orthodox traditionalism of economic snobbery, we may be forced to accept the fact that you can't hold a man in a ditch without staying in the ditch with him. These observations are neither unduly critical, utopian or socialistic. We can increase our per family income 6 times and then be below the level of some states.

Our first postwar aim should be to root out of our thinking and forever banish from our attitude the "pore-land and pore-people" complex. As much as it reflects upon our past leadership, this poisonous fixation of defeatism, and lack of a dynamic will to break the shackles that have pauperized and enslaved us, is the chief reason for our disgraceful position by comparison with all the other states. It is time we do something about it.

A commonwealth of 2,000,000 people should no longer endure the static and toxic of economic sleeping sickness. Leadership and statesmanship in Mississippi should expand to new horizons; our farmers, all our farmers, should get the vision of new and better ways of living; while <u>all</u> other producers should feel the pull and lift of new wants and desires.

What we need - now - is more truth, less falsehood; more research and fact-finding, less muddleheaded by-guess-and-by-golly; more long-range statesmanship, less short-run demagogy; more courageous action and fighting faith on the home front to justify and compensate, as far as possible, the daring and dying of our sons on distant fields of battle; and more of the spirit of sacrifice and service, less of greed and selfishness.

All the 48 states have some form of state-wide promotional agency except five. State-financed development programs are in operation in all of the 13 southern

states, except Kentucky.

The general objectives of the development programs are to expand industry, attract investors, and increase the market for agricultural products, which is possibly our next greatest need. The major activity of these promotional commissions are:

1. Research, fact-finding, cataloguing and publication of results of research, and the maintenance of industrial files.

2. Advertising of resources and industrial opportunities.

3. Contact work with industrial prospects and direct promotion of new industries.

4. Public education on the value of industry to the state---a great Mississippi need.

5. Supervision of financial inducements to industry after the fashion of the Hugh White BAWI.

May I add here that the industrial development of an area is a long and difficult process which, if it is to be influenced by state action, must be pursued constantly over a period of years with sufficient financial resources and adequately trained personnel. Any worthwhile industrial development program must be a long-range one, and should not be a dumping ground, or political haven, for incompetent political friends. It is not a push-the-button or promote-the-politician process. Of course, if a real creditable job is achieved, due credit will result.

Mississippi, an agricultural state, primarily, with its replaceable raw materials, should seek industries arising from agriculture, or industry of the "native" type. In order to manufacture and process the products of her fields and other resources, and to know exactly what she has to offer the industralists, Texas has established in her colleges four scientific research bureaus. The appropriations for these bureaus for 1943-44 were as follows:

Bureau of engineering research----$15,200.00
Bureau of industrial chemistry---- 40,000.00
Bureau of economic geology-------- 55,920.00

If they don't know, they get the facts---and they are getting the industries in staggering amounts.

The state of Arkansas is operating her Agricultural and Industrial Commission along business and scientific lines, with a Publicity Division, and a Washington Division, and as a result, from 1938-40, they made 193 surveys in seeking war industries, and secured 50. And, in addition, secured 150 general industries and made 36 additions to old plants.

The Division of Commerce and Industry of North Carolina, with $85,000 appropriated for advertising alone, reports that for the three years 1938-40, a total of 376 new industries were located, while 299 additions were made to existing plants.

The Department of Commerce and Industry of Louisiana reported in 1942 that: scores of new industrial plants and important additions to existing plants representing a total investment of $400,000,000, payrolls amounting to $50,000,000 annually, and new jobs for about 35,000 workers.

An example of what can be done in Mississippi by intelligent planning and business-like effort is seen in the transition of Jackson County and Pascagoula under the BAWI from a region of poverty, blight and distress to one of agricultural prosperity and sensational business enterprise. Further evidence is in the fact that with respect to location of war industries we stood, through November 1943, third from bottom place among the 16 Southern states listed in the Blue Book of Southern States. This is most encouraging because in most comparisons we are at the dizzy heights of enjoying first place in poverty, per family income, tenancy, soil erosion, human erosion, illiteracy and crime.

Mississippi is an average state of the Nation in area, and probably more than average in climate, soil and resources.

We have no serious disadvantages except our record of too much dependence upon a one crop economy and the paralyzing attitude that Mississippi has always been a poor state without great numbers of industries and large cities and markets; and therefore our poverty, and rank, is a sacred cow born of the era of our fathers and nothing should be done about it. This attitude of defeatism, or complacency, and acceptance of a low standard of living, has been an opiate which has too long caused

a form of economic paralysis.

The course of industry is toward the South. Manufacturing is no longer anchored to the river bank or harbor front. Transportation and distribution have been liberated from sectional or geographical influences. Power is no longer restricted to the course of rivers.

The era of mass production and long-range and speedy distribution is upon us. Mississippians have proved their mechanical and engineering capabilities, and abilities, in this complex machine age, during this war, and thousands are now getting training in the skills we hope a grateful Mississippi will make possible for them to use at home - and not in competitor states.

We have the railroads, highways and airfields, and the advantages of the Mississippi River. Our transportation facilities are sufficient for the needs of an industrial empire. We have an abundance of replaceable raw material sufficient for an economy of abundance instead of one of scarcity. Management and capital are no longer bound by lines of latitude and longitude. Whereas industry in the past pursued a policy of centralization, the opposite is a definite course now.

The right kind of organized and persistent effort upon the part of our state and local leaders should eventually cause the location of manufacturing plants in a number of Mississippi communities in need of more jobs and greater markets.

Our fathers who pioneered in Mississippi against odds, difficulties and hardships to improve their status had to cut loose from the ills that beset them in their days. With faith, courage, and a will to improve their status, they left the Carolinas and Georgia, moved out and on---conquered a wilderness and created for generations an improved way of life. A mild climate and fertile soils, unmarred by gullies and erosion, responded to the plow and sunshine as if by magic. Nature was gentle and kind to strong men whose faithless sons have faltered and failed in conservation and reforestation.

But time marches on. We of Mississippi, now, in this decade, are at the crossroads. We, too, have our ills. It is either a concerted plan of action by an

aroused and determined people to grasp any and all opportunities, to meet the competitions of other sections, and experience a thriving business in agriculture, livestock and dairy industry; enjoy the benefits of an increase in smokestacks and pay envelopes, or as a result of a policy of complacency, ignorance and drift, go further down the national economic scale to greater depths of poverty as a State to which a majority of our 150,000 soldiers will probably refuse to return and remain.

We, like our fathers, must cut loose from the bonds of wrong attitudes and defeatism, move out and on or endure further poverty, suffer more soil erosion, greater loss of population, less incentive and more privation and humiliation.

Prompted by personal ambition, spurred by state pride and patriotism, and motivated by a determination to make of our commonwealth a place where our sons can return and enjoy equal opportunities compared with other sections; the challenge to our leadership, the appeal to our statesmanship, and the hopes and claims from the far-flung battlefields, demand that we purpose, plan and prosper.

Mississippi's one great need is processing and manufacturing plants. The greater number of industries we have, the greater our purchasing value; the higher our assessment values will be, the more customers our merchants will have for the things the people need.

Our property values for tax purposes are too low with consequent rates that are too high. Jobs for our people are too few. The number of our best and finest young people who have been forced to leave the state for employment and progress is already far too great. As good as our health record is by comparison, the number of our citizens that are in poor physical condition, old men and women at 40, because of lack of work opportunity at fair wages, is appalling.

If Mississippi does not do, now, whatever is necessary to get her share of hundreds of industries which will be located in the South after the war, it will be a tragedy. And if that tragedy is felt in unemployment, blighted hopes, starved ambitions, higher taxes and greater poverty, it will be because of lack of vision, courage and statesmanlike leadership now.

If we pass up the opportunity we now face, it may be fifty or a hundred years before we have another chance the post-war period will afford to make our state what it ought to be---a well balanced agricultural and industrial empire with an increasing demand year by year for skilled employees to serve an ever-expanding industry.

We need to have thousands of houses repaired as soon as the war is over. Multiplied hundreds of new houses should be constructed.

Our per capita income ought to be doubled. The per farm family income should eventually be trebled. The average home in Mississippi is greatly in need of more and better furniture and modern fixtures. The average family requires more food for health, vigor, success and happiness. The average Mississippi child deserves more pride, satisfaction and happiness in his or her home life, and greater educational opportunities. Labor needs more pay checks while the underprivileged farm population needs the markets that can only come from much increased pay envelopes.

Our property values for tax purposes should be doubled by an influx of new capital and the stirring hum and roar of a diversified industry. What an opportunity for an impoverished people! What a challenge to the leadership now intrusted with such grave responsibility!

Governor Bailey has urged a program of crusading action through a revitalized Mississippi State Board of Development supported by a Planning Commission of twenty capable citizens. The need for a definite program of comprehensive development is tremendous. The post-war period will probably afford us the one opportunity of this generation. Now is the time to organize, now is the time to plan and blueprint Mississippi's future. A greater and more prosperous State, the hopes and happiness of thousands, depend upon our present leadership.

FLOYD HUNTER, Executive Director
ROBERT K. TAYLOR, Associate Director

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA

COMMUNITY PLANNING COUNCIL

Room 210, 11 Pryor Street, S. W. Telephone Walnut 4217 Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 30, 1947

RECEIVED
JUL 31 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. G. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

For some years, as you know, there has been considerable planning directed toward the establishment of a two-year graduate School of Social Work here in Georgia, for white students. The proposed School would be accredited by the American Association of Schools of Social Work, affiliated with a recognized university, and would supply needed trained personnel for public and private social welfare organizations in the southeastern region.

While there is little doubt that the graduates of such a School would find positions, a more difficult question is this: Would Georgia, and the southeastern region as a whole, provide the School with a sufficient enrollment? The Community Planning Council is making a careful survey this summer to answer this basic question, and requests your assistance.

The four important considerations are these:

(1) How many of your personnel, who lack degrees in social work, would want to become full-time students at such a School, were it located in Atlanta?
(2) How many of your personnel would want to take part-time work at such a School, were it located in Atlanta?
(3) Would your organization be interested in providing scholarships for personnel wishing to attend such a School: (a) how many, (b) of what amount, and (c) covering how long a period (half an academic year, etc.)?
(4) By what University do you think such a School should be sponsored; and if not in Atlanta, in what other Georgia city do you think it should be located?

Accurate replies to these four questions will be of great value. And any further information or opinions you may wish to offer will be appreciated.

I hope you will give your best attention to this matter, which is of great importance to everybody concerned with social welfare in this area, and reply as soon as possible.

Very sincerely,

Floyd Hunter

Floyd Hunter,
Executive Director

JOINT UNIVERSITIES COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
BY-LAWS

(Approved 4-21-64)

ARTICLE I: NAME

The name of this organization is the JOINT UNIVERSITIES COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.

ARTICLE II: PURPOSE

The purpose of this organization shall be to promote greater social awareness, to work toward the resolution of intergroup tensions, to seek the elimination of unequal practices involving prejudice and discrimination, to advance the cause of human equality, and to advance existing inter-group relationships of a constructive nature.

This organization shall offer to its members a program of education in human relations and civic concerns and shall serve as a catalyst and source of encouragement for responsible and non-violent individual and group action in the community of Nashville.

ARTICLE III: ASSOCIATION AND COOPERATION

Section 1: This organization shall be associated with the Tennessee Council on Human Relations as provided in the TCHR By-Laws. As an associated organization we shall receive the regular publication of the Council and may request program assistance and staff services of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Section 2: This organization shall cooperate with other private and governmental organizations which share the same concerns and goals as set forth in the stated purpose of this organization.

ARTICLE IV: MEMBERSHIP

Section 1: Any persons of the academic community of Nashville, regardless of race, color, or creed, who are in accord with the purposes of this organization will be eligible for membership. A member shall be defined as a person who has signified by his signature and by the payment of the annual dues his decision to abide by the By-Laws of this organization.

Section 2: Annual dues shall be set by the Executive Committee. The dues shall be at present a minimum of one dollar ($1.00) per year.

ARTICLE V: OFFICERS

The officers of this organization shall be a president, a vice president, a secretary, and a treasurer. The officers shall be elected by the members present for elections and shall serve for terms of one year. A nominating committee shall present a slate of officers and committee chairmen. Nominations from the floor shall be accepted provided the person named has agreed to serve if elected. Annual elections for officers and committee chairmen shall be held at a time to be designated by the Executive Committee. Any vacancies occiring between elections shall be filled by a special election.

ARTICLE VI: COMMITTEES

Section 1: Executive Committee. This committee shall formulate policy and direct the organization's activities. All action taken in the name of this organization shall be subject to the approval of this committee in accordance with the stated purposes. The Executive Committee, chaired by the President, shall be composed of the officers and committee chairmen. The Executive Committee is empowered to remove from membership any member acting contrary to the purposes of this organization.

Section 2: Education Committee.* It shall be the duty of this committee to propose programs in the interest of promoting greater social awareness. Subject to the approval of the policy making body, the education committee shall implement the proposed programs and shall maintain a published record of prevailing discrimnatory practices in the city of Nashville.

Section 3: Action Committee.* It shall be the duty of this committee to study possible areas of constructive action in accord with the stated purposes of this organization, to recommend proposals of individual and group action to the policy making body, and to carry out necessary negotiations in the pursuit of improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions.

Section 4: Communications Committee.* It shall be the duty of this committee to provide an organ of communication through which members may be notified of meetings, activities, or programs.

Section 5: Membership Committee.* It shall be the duty of this committee to expand the membership of the organization.

Section 6: Nominating Committee.* It shall be the duty of this committee to prepare a slate of officers and committee chairmen to be submitted to the membership at least one month prior to the election. The President shall appoint two members and the members present at a monthly meeting shall elect three members to serve on this committee.

Section 7: Other Committees. Other committees, permanent or temporary, shall be appointed by the President, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, as the need arises.

ARTICLE VII: MEMBERSHIP MEETINGS

Meetings shall be held monthly, (or more frequently if there are specific matters to be brought before the membership), at a time and place to be decided by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII: AMENDMENTS

These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at the meeting in which it is to be considered. Any proposal for amendment must be submitted in writing to all members one month in advance of the meeting in which it is to be considered.

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*Committee members shall be recruited and appointed by the committee chairman in consultation with the President, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

FINANCIAL SUMMARY OF STATE COUNCILS 1963 and 1st 6 months of 1964

STATE	BUDGET '63	INCOME '63	DISTRIB.	BUDGET ½'64	INCOME ½'64	DISTRIB.	MEMBERS 63	MEMBERS 64
Alabama	21,560	23,275	SRC 6,600 Local 16,675	13,556	14,072	SRC 3,000 Amer.Co.3,000 Unitar. 1,000 Local 7,072	420	
Arkansas	22,415	20,270	SRC 5,400 Brother's8,000 Local 6,870	13,310	14,116	SRC 4,050 Broth Fd.10,000 Local 2,471	503	751
Florida	16,986	18,551	SRC 7,424 Local 11,127	16,000	14,116	SRC 2,700 Local 11 ,416	882 718	1,714 1457
Georgia	31,300	31,300	SRC 6,000 Field Fd.10,000 Local 15,300	19,328	19,328	SRC 3,000 Field Fd. 9,980 Local 6,348	1,023	1,241
Houston	13,221	12,070	SRC 3,931 Local 8,139	15,537	17,198	SRC 1,300 Local 15,898	509	
Mississippi		500					45	196
N. Carolina	16,870	1 5,868	SRC 5,900 Local 8,378	14,000	16,154	SRC 2,950 New Wor10,000 Local 3,204	514	648
S.Carolina	30,454	26,674	SRC 6,300 Field Fd.12,400 Nat.SCr. 1,200 Local 9,914	13,786	10,230	SRC 3,125 Local 10,661	914	
Tennessee	18,693	18,693	SRC 6,300 Fld.Fd. 7,500 Local 4,893	5,679	5,542	SRC 3,000 Local 2,679	676	742
Virginia	35,337	42,671	SRC 7,500 Fld. Fd. 10,000 Whty, Fd. 4,500 Spc.Pr.Ed Fd. 4,500 Local 16,171	29,419	29,550	SRC 3,600 Crav. Pj.4,805 Local 21,155	2,367	2,423
	206,836	209,872		140,615	140,306		7,853	

note: Atlanta and Jacksonville councils are included in Georgia and Florida council figures respectively.

63' Dist. SRC: 55,355 LOCAL: 97,467 FOUND. 58,100 || 1/2 64' SRC: 26,725 LOCAL: 80,904 FOUND. 38,785

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible] 2-8764
LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

November 6, 1964

TO : All State Directors

FROM: Leslie W. Dunbar

The memorandum attached will give you some information from our newly created Development Committee. I think that this committee can be of inestimable benefit to all of us, if it imaginatively and vigorously grows.

In a memorandum which I sent to the Committee before its first meeting I wrote: "I believe that the Committee's concern should be for the council on human relations movement as well as SRC, because the two must share good and bad fortune alike." From the names of the Committee members, you will recognize that they share this conviction.

Please send your suggestions, either to this office or to the Committee member from your state.

THE DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

A new committee has been created by SRC, as authorized by the Executive Committee, and has been given the name "Development Committee." The resolution authorizing its creation reads as follows:

> "That a sub-committee, separate and distinct from the present Finance Committee, be created to assist the staff with fund-raising activities; the size of such sub-committee to be left to the discretion of the chairman of the Executive Committee."

Chairman Wheeler appointed the following, after deciding that at least initially there should be one representative from each of the southern states: Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Georgia (chairman); Herbert Davidson, Daytona Beach, Florida (vice-chairman); Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Little Rock, Arkansas; Mrs. Martin Harvey, Jackson, Mississippi; Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, Houston, Texas; Fred D. Alexander, Charlotte, North Carolina; Paul Christopher, Knoxville, Tennessee; J. M. Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina; Ralph Dreger, Baton Rouge, Louisiana; David Scull, Annandale, Virginia; Lee B. Thomas, Louisville, Kentucky; and Nat Welch, Auburn, Alabama.

The first meeting of the Development Committee was held in Atlanta on September 28. Seven members were present. (Miss Wilkins, Mrs. Rayzor, and Messrs. Alexander, Dabbs, Dreger, Scull, and Thomas.)

Certain general conclusions were reached at this meeting, and it is these which this memorandum recapitulates.

(1) The Committee discussed at length relationships with the state Councils on Human Relations. Although the resolution creating the Committee did not refer to the needs of the state Councils, the Committee recognized that SRC had thus far left the field of southern fund-raising largely to the state Councils. In going into this field, therefore, the interests of the state Councils should be served as well as SRC.

(2) After reviewing SRC's financial condition and prospects, the Committee concluded that the Council will soon need money from new sources, and that a significantly larger proportion of its income should come from the South. This would strengthen SRC in the South and would also enhance its standing with national foundations. It was felt that there should be a sustained effort (a) to reach southern foundations, businesses, and other groups such as fraternal and labor organizations; and, (b) to interest them in both SRC and the state Councils. The Committee took note that the state Councils had as yet gained little support from these particular southern sources.

(3) The Committee will, as set forth in the resolution creating it, advise and assist the staff in reaching these southern sources. The Committee trusts that it will in turn have the full cooperation of SRC members and state Councils. It asks for their suggestions and their advice on names of and approaches to likely southern foundations and businesses. It seeks also their suggestions and advice for soliciting donations and bequests from individuals.

PROPOSED GRANTS-IN-AID SCHEDULE, 1965

Introduction:

The Program Review and Evaluation Report, as approved by the Council, of last year included the following directive: "That if funds are available beyond 1964, staff and Executive Committee put greater weight on program quality in allocating funds." This schedule has been prepared with that instruction in mind.

Condition of grants:

1. All grants to be paid quarterly on January 1, April 1, July 1 and October 1 of 1965 unless otherwise indicated.

2. Grants will not be paid until such time as adequate quarterly program and financial reports have been received by SRC.

3. Grants are contingent on professional staff being maintained by the recipient councils.

4. It is expected that local fund raising will be held at least at the rate of 1964. Should this not be the case, revision during the year will be necessary, unless there are special circumstances. In cases where fund raising falls below 1964 rates, staff will withhold funds pending determination by the Executive Committee.

5. All grants are to be reviewed and likely revised if the performance of the recipient council in all areas, including program and membership, is below realistic expectations. In such case, staff may withhold funds pending a review and decision by the Executive Committee.

Alabama: $6,000

For general support of the Alabama Council program.

Arkansas: $4,800

For general support of the Arkansas Council program.

Florida: $4,800

For general support of the Florida Council program.

Georgia: $4,800

In support of the work being done to develop and assist local councils in Georgia.

Louisiana: $3,200

This sum to be held in reserve to assist the Louisiana Council in its general program as that council becomes a staffed operation successfully reorganized. A portion of this grant (no more than $2,000) may be used, with the concurrence of the Louisiana Council, to support a staffed operation of the New Orleans Community Relations Council.

Mississippi: $5,000

To assist the Mississippi Council in its first year of reorganized staff operation. This grant is to be reviewed and reduced to, at the most, $2,500 to assist special projects, if the Mississippi Council is unable to secure adequate staff.

North Carolina: $4,800

For general support of the North Carolina Council program.

South Carolina: $4,800

To assist the South Carolina Council on Human Relations in expanding its staff so that additional attention can be given to local councils.

Tennessee: $4,800

To assist the Tennessee Council in acquiring a second professional staff person; this grant to be reviewed and reduced if the TCHR does not expand staff.

Texas: $2,000

To assist the educational program of the Houston Council.

Virginia: $5,000

To assist in the continued development of local councils and general membership.

SUMMARY

		1964
Alabama	$6,000	($6,000)
Arkansas	4,800	(5,400)
Florida	4,800	(5,400)
Georgia	4,800	(6,000)
Louisiana	3,200	-
Mississippi	5,000	(2,500)
North Carolina	4,800	(5,900)
South Carolina	4,800	(6,000)
Tennessee	4,800	(6,000)
Virginia	5,000	(7,200)
Houston	2,000	(2,600)
Contingency Fund	2,300	(2,900)
TOTAL:	$52,300	($55,900)
Other: George S. Mitchell Award	500	(1,000)
TOTAL:	$52,800	($56,900)

The following proposal is submitted to the Development Committee just as it was presented on November 19th. Preceding and subsequent discussion altered my thought to some degree. The very reasonable request that the mechanics of implementation must be considered seriously in adopting this, any modification of or alternate to this plan is recognized. But in the very nature of what is presented, modi operandi would have to wait upon the employment of whoever or whatever agency is employed.

Ralph Mason Dreger

Proposed Plan of Support for SRC

I. Present and presently proposed methods are not adequate for long run support
   A. Let us honestly face the situation concerning foundations, labor unions, business organizations, and most benevolent institutions of the South
      1. Most of these have built up funds by conscious or unconscious exploitation of Negroes; therefore, they are not about to support an institution undermining the system of exploitation
      2. Most of these are managed by or dominated by boards or individuals of the most conservative or reactionary leanings
      3. Some few are devoted to principles of democracy; these ought to be cultivated, but only as part of a master plan
   B. Let us recognize that monied individuals in the South are on the whole on the side of reaction--"not many mighty, not many noble are chosen" in this business--the mighty and the noble are like the tick that would rather part his body from his head than lose his hold on the dog
   C. It is utterly unrealistic to think that our staff can be the major agents for raising funds for continued existence of SRC
      1. The South is too wide a region to cover--this is not a matter of traveling to New York or Washington but of covering every major population center in the South
      2. Although the staff should be involved in fund-raising, members of SRC would be shirking responsibility and the staff would be draining off its energies into nonproductive channels if the major burden falls on the staff
      3. The staff can provide invaluable assistance and direction to a master plan of fund-raising which is not solely resting on the staff's services

II. The proposed plan of support has the following major parts to it
   A. Engage a professional fund-raising organization of the same kind used successfully by the churches to direct an annual appeal for support of SRC and the State Councils which wish to participate
      1. Dignified and non-pressure professional fund-raising has proven highly beneficial to church organizations and other

institutions for many years

2. Professional organizations accustomed to using voluntary assistance have developed skills in obtaining the utmost from the grass-roots as well as from professional staffs in raising funds
3. An annual support campaign will keep ongoing support for SRC on a steady base

B. Widen the base of support to include all individuals and organizations who or which believe in the SRC approach to solution of human relations problems

1. Thousands of individuals exist in the South who can be made to recognize that, no matter how many good causes there are to which to contribute, only they are willing to support the human relations movement, while millions are entirely willing to support worthy but non-controversial causes
2. Many relatively small gifts will far exceed what relatively little can be expected to come from the relatively few foundations and other "large givers" willing to underwrite SRC work
3. Such foundations, et. al., as are willing can give on the same annual basis as individuals or as they please

C. State Councils can participate in the over-all plan or not, as they see fit, but it will generally be to their advantage to do so

1. Few of the State Councils are strong enough to stand on their own feet at the present time, so it will be to their advantage to participate
   a. After 1966 SRC cannot, without a master plan such as envisaged here, continue to subsidize State Councils
   b. Before 1965 ends such State Councils will have to draw up plans of their own to underwrite their budgets, unless they participate in a master plan of some kind with SRC and other states
   c. Most State Councils do not have adequate know-how for engaging in sound fund-raising endeavors
   d. Without participating in a plan like the one outlines here, a disproportionate amount of the State Boards' and staff time will go to fund-raising, at the expense, of course, of program
2. Those State Councils which are strong enough to stand on their own feet may also find it advantageous to participate
   a. No matter how good at underwriting their own budgets a Council may be, it can benefit from professional assistance
   b. A strong Council's present fund-raising plans may well gear into the master plan both to strengthen the latter and be strengthened by it
   c. Corollary to the last point, a strong Council may wish to participate on either the basis if the strong should help the weak or we all hang together or we hang separately
3. Budgets for all participating State Councils can be planned as carefully as for SRC itself, and funds allocated on the basis of need much as present grants have been allocated
4. All funds developed under the master plan are to be channeled through SRC, and competing fund drives eliminated

a. Competition for funds would defeat the purposes, both intangible and tangible, of the master plan
b. Appeals for SRC and State Councils combined will be far more telling with the prospective constituency of this effort than with most constituents in the South (or North either, for that matter)
c. More funds will actually be available to most local (State) Councils under the proposed plan than they could obtain by combined grants and local efforts
d. Designation of funds could be permitted under this plan, but compensatory deductions from channeled funds would have to be made

5. Although a State Council is free to participate or not, it must recognize that if it does not, certain disadvantages accrue
   a. Funds from SRC most likely will be available to those Councils primarily which participate
   b. Of necessity, even though local individuals or organizations would not be contacted by SRC in non-participating states, SRC will have to establish direct liasion with organizations not centered in one state alone--and in competition for funds a State Council would not have to appeal to a Southwide or statewide organization that SRC has
6. Staff time would still be allocated to all states on the basis of need, not on the basis of participation in the fund-raising effort
7. No organic union is contemplated under this plan to bind SRC and State Councils together
   a. Voluntary agreements are to be made between SRC and State Councils to effect participation of the State Council in the plan
   b. Specifically, in respect to organic union, this plan is neutral

III. Advantages of this plan at present conceivable, in addition to or amplification of those inhering in the above statements, are

A. The number of persons who become familiar with SRC will multiply a thousandfold
   1. Great as the stature of SRC among sociologically knowledgeable intelligentsia, some government agencies and some information media personnel, the truth is that by and large intelligent and otherwise well-informed persons either do not know SRC exists or are unaware of the magnitude and quality of its work
   2. A campaign reaching to and utilizing the resources of the grass-roots will provide an outlet for SRC data so far beyond even what the New South, excellent as its coverage is, can reach, that SRC's effectiveness will be greatly enhanced
   3. The type of information material a professional fund-raising organization can devise will give the man on the

street basic knowledge of SRC he would not have otherwise--the beautiful materials developed by the staff for use with foundations cannot be used with the average man

4. People usually try to find out about causes they support more than ones in which they do not invest

B. Broader basing of financial support will not preclude or thwart present or contemplated concentrated efforts, but will enhance them

1. Foundations, et. al., both North and South will be more willing to grant funds for special purposes if they know much if not most of the ongoing expenses of SRC are being borne by a host of smaller givers
2. If the regular program is supported on the broad base, special grants for special purposes may be taken on and terminated without endangering SRC's existence

C. Financial efforts of both SRC members and staff will be channeled much more efficiently than they would be otherwise

D. Most State Councils for the first time will have greater financial support than ever before, but at the same time will, as partners rather than donees, be supporting Southwide and nationwide endeavors, as they ought to

March 3, 1966

Mr. C. F. MacLennon
1246 Alcazar Way, South
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Mac:

Congratulations on having won the 1965 Annual Brotherhood Award of the Greater St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations. You so richly deserve it -- you and Ruth. The Council will miss you from its board.

Best wishes in your new venture. If we at Southern Regional Council are able to help with any of the research, we will be glad to do so.

Convey warmest regards of Elenora and I to members of the St. Petersburg Council and to other mutual friends.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
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JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

File

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W[illegible] 30303

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

May 26, 1966

Here Goes Nothing?

Is a "Field Activities Newsletter" a good idea? We've been toying with the notion for some time and decided to try one or two. We don't know for sure what all we want to put in it, who we want to send it to, how often it should be written, or whether it is worth the effort. But from time to time there are bits of news or good ideas or useful information that we would like to pass on,--mostly to the staffs of the state councils on human council presidents, and perhaps to the SRC Board members and maybe state council staffers can let us know if you would like to select a few others to get it--like members of your Board and/or local council presidents.

New Names and Faces in Tennessee

Among the first new staffers to be employed under the expanded grant-in-aid program are Mr. and Mrs. Harry A. Wiersema, who have joined the staff of the Tennessee Council. Actually, they were not "Mr. and Mrs. Wiersema" until after they started working for the TCHR. Baxton Bryant writes, "The Council has already had a wonderful effect on this fine young couple. Their marriage was performed by me in my home last Saturday." That's a wonderful effect, all right!

Mrs. Wiersema was Jerry Jolene Williams, a twenty-seven year old native Tennesseean. She has a B.S. from Middle Tennessee State, where she was in Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges, and lacks her thesis for a Master's in sociology from the University of Tennessee. For the past couple of years she has been working for the Metropolitan Action Commission (Nashville's community action agency) and the State Planning Commission. Her duties included research on poverty in Tennessee, community organization, and preparation of proposals for the poverty program.

Harry was born in Knoxville and is likewise twenty-seven. He holds a B.S. in Mechanical Engineering and also has done work toward a Master's degree in sociology at the university. Before joining the TCHR staff he was Assistant Coordinator of the Neighborhood Youth Corps in Nashville. On the side he is a genius with office equipment and photographic equipment.

Both Harry and Jerry have been active in civil rights,--and there is no denying their commitment. Needless to say, the TCHR could not offer them, finance~~-and-security-wise~~, anything like their combined compensation from their former jobs. We don't think they would mind our quoting from a letter they wrote to the TCHR Board in connection with their application:

> ...For some time we have worked in the war on poverty, and we have been disillusioned with the progress made there and in other areas of human relations.
>
> ****
>
> We have come to see how much progress toward these ideals can be made by one man who is independent, with the help and support from concerned members of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations.

Personnel Changes in Arkansas

Beginning June 1, Nat Griswold, Executive Director of the Arkansas Council from its beginning, will lay down his accustomed duties to write a book about the Little Rock school crisis. After that he will retire to the family farm. He will be succeeded as Executive Director by Ozell Sutton, long-time Associate Director of the Council.

Taking Ozell's place as Associate Director will be the Reverend J. Harold Jackson, presently Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of North Little Rock. Harold was born in New Orleans and holds a B.S. degree from L.S. U. and a B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary in Richmond, Virginia. He has served churches in Jennings, Louisiana, and Helena, Arkansas, besides his present pastorate. He has served for the past year as Moderator of the Synod of Arkansas, Presbyterian Church, U.S. His wife is the former Sarah Wakeman of Baton Rouge. They have three children.

Executive Director for the Louisiana Council

Beginning in June the Louisiana Council will have an Executive Director. The position has been accepted by Mrs. Patricia B. Miller, a resident of Baton Rouge (where the office is to be).

Mrs. Miller grew up in Ohio and did her undergraduate work at West Virginia State College. She took a M.A. degree in Health and Physical Education from the University of Iowa. She has worked for the Urban League in Chicago and as a physical education instructor at Samuel Huston College, West Virginia State, and Southern University. For the past nine years she has operated a real estate and contracting business, building (so we are told) some of the loveliest new homes in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.

But Mrs. Miller wanted to help people in a less impersonal way. So she entered the graduate school of Southern University and in June will receive a M.A. degree in Guidance.

Mrs. Miller strikes one as a poised and quietly determined woman. We predict that she will do an outstanding job as Director of the LCHR. And most certainly we wish her well.

Leadership Conferences in Mississippi

Ken Dean of the MCHR has been the prime convener of a couple of meetings which he hopes will get on some sort of regular basis as a Mississippi Leadership Conference. As we get the picture, this is intended to be a Mississippi version of the Southern Interagency Conference.

After discussing the idea with eight or ten of the more active leaders in the areas of race relations and poverty programs, Ken set a date and invited about twenty-five organizations to send representatives. The list included all major civil rights groups, as well as women's organizations and some of the church groups. About 34 people showed up at the first meeting.

The reaction of participants at the initial meeting was good. Besides the obvious sharing of ideas and problems, Ken sees the Leadership Conference as helping to clear up misunderstandings and giving some of the church groups and women's groups contact with the more active civil rights people. (Ken thinks this aspect of the idea might be even more fruitful in other states.)

"The most difficult part of this type of program," Ken writes, "is to get an open date."

We are not astonished.

Board, Local Council Leaders Meet in Florida

On May 6 and 7, August VandenBosche brought together his Board and the principal officers of each local council for a conference which included briefing on the financial structure and requirements of the council and program at both the state and local level. Paul Anthony and I went down for this meeting, which was held in Orlando. We felt that it was very helpful toward getting all concerned to "understand the situation." It was also a good way to get a lot of program information and ideas across.

The Arkansas Council is planning a similar meeting for June 10.

A Local Council Program We Like

The Augusta (Georgia) Council on Human Relations has established a listing service for open housing. The plan is to list houses available to be bought, sold, or rented on a non-discriminatory basis. They want only to bring buyer and seller together, of course, and will not be serving as brokers.

The group has secured a small office and a telephone. Volunteers man the phone. A small ad is carried in the classified section from time to time. Besides answering the phone, the volunteers call people who advertise in the paper to see if the unit is available on a non-discriminatory basis.

ADL Publication Ordered for State Councils

Countering Extremism, which gives how-to-do-it help on organizing a community to counter increasing influence by radical-right organizations, is soon to be published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. As promised at our last meeting of the state councils' staffs, we have ordered a number of copies sent to each state council. They will find these useful from time to time.

Don't Forget...

...the Community Leadership Development Workshop at the Sheraton-

Emory Inn in Atlanta, July 24-31. Send in your application, if you plan to go. Let me know that you are going to attend, so that we can plan our next state councils' staff meeting accordingly.

Late News Flashes!

Mr. William C. Allred, Jr., will become Executive Director of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations in July. Mr. Allred, a resident of Greensboro, is a graduate of Wake Forest College and next month will receive the M.A. degree from Emory University, Atlanta, in the field of history. His thesis: "The Southern Regional Council, 1943-1961."

For the past four years Mr. Allred has been employed in the actuarial and contract departments of Pilot Life Insurance Company in Greensboro. He is married and has two daughters, ages 6 and 2.

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council will be held on November 16, 17, and 18 this year. Please mark your calendar. Plans are incomplete, of course, but we hope this year to make presentation of state council affairs an integral part of the meeting, --instead of having it before the SRC meeting.

Ed Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

File

RESOLUTION BY THE CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF THE

STATE HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCILS

ATLANTA, June 17-18, 1966

Unanimously adopted

Among many topics, we have been discussing the urgent need for our State Councils to become independent, within the next three years, of financial subsidy for basic operating expenses such as SRC has been channelling to us from National Foundations. We consider this a reasonable goal for some of our councils, though probably impossible of complete achievement for those which have the greatest local obstacles to overcome. We suggest that if several of us can reach this goal, it might pave the way for the remaining councils to obtain some continuing basic assistance for a few more years.

We have agreed that each council should consider membership contributions as the foundation of its financial program, and that only with steady membership growth accompanied by increasing program involvement and level of financial support on the part of our members will we be able to appeal successfully to business and foundations sources for supplemental and special project funds.

In seeking supplemental funds which will be available from year to year for basic operating purposes, we cannot overlook business and (especially from a regional standpoint) the extensive operations in our various states of many of the country's largest corporations. In many cases these companies can most effectively be approached on a regional or national basis, at the top executive level and perhaps with the aid of top level government contacts.

We understand that the SRC, also thinking of regional business as a source of long term assistance, has some time ago given Executive Committee approval to recommendations of the Development Committee for a program to approach such firms. Due to a lack of funds and/or a suitable person, this program is still only in its preliminary stages.

We have also considered that all the councils need extensive consultation and assistance in creating financial development programs within our respective states.

In the light of these considerations, we recommend to SRC:

1) That large business firms operating in several southern states be considered a potential source of long-term financial support for both the SRC and the state Councils, and that at an appropriate time we consult as to an equitable basis for sharing such funds as might be raised together with the costs of raising them.

2) That SRC move to implement its proposed program with a speed and priority matching the urgency with which it is asking the state Councils to build our own financial independence, making this a joint SRC-CHR activity in which we recognize the need for professional fund-raising direction of the highest calibre, working with a committee representing both SRC and the state Councils.

3) That SRC not expect one individual to give the Executive Director the general administrative assistance he needs, and at the same time be able to give to the above program the time, energy, imagination and concentrated effort it requires.

4) That SRC find a way to employ full-time, and to compensate suitably, a man for this work whose contacts, experience, and stature will enable him to meet effectively with top officials of business and government, if necessary seeking special project funds for the purpose.

5) That he also be available to advise and assist the state Councils on their own financial development programs.

File

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[illegible]2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

June 27, 1966

State Council Staff Changes

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations has accepted the resignation of Ozell Sutton with regret, but with understanding. He has accepted a position with the Community Relations Service. Ozell will continue to live in Little Rock, but will travel in Arkansas and surrounding states. His resignation comes less than a month after he was named Executive Director upon Nat Griswold's pre-retirement leave-of-absence and after many years of service as Associate Director. As we understand it, Ozell could not love the Arkansas Council half so much, loved he not the prospect of college-educated children more. (Apologies to Will Shakespeare.) His resignation is effective July 31.

The Alabama Council Board of Directors has named Mr. Jerry Roden, of Auburn, Executive Director. At the same time they acted to retain as Associate Director Robert S. Valder, who has been doing a great job for the Alabama Council under the NAIRO Intern program for the past year. They also voted to move the state council office from Huntsville to Auburn. (New address: P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.)

Jerry Roden was President of the East Alabama Chapter of the Alabama Council during 1965. Under his leadership that group grew from about 100 members to more than 300. (It has since increased to nearly 400.) It also developed vigorous programs, including cultural enrichment programs in several rural schools, work on voter education, an adult education class, a six-week lecture series, and sponsorship of four Head Start Centers.

Jerry, who is a Ph.D. candidate in the English Department at Auburn University, resigned as Editor of the Auburn alumni magazine in order to take up his doctoral studies last year. He had held that position for four years, and before that was a field representative for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. Thus he is very well qualified, and we welcome him into the state council tribe.

The Virginia Council has employed Mr. Bailey Wharton as Assistant to the Director. Mr. Wharton is a graduate of Hampton Institute in Virginia. He has a particular interest in urban problems. In his new position he will be especially concerned with local council organization and program, including efforts at membership enlistment and local fund-raising.

The White House Conference

Most of the state council Executive Directors attended the White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights" on June 1 and 2. Bob Combs, Alice Spearman, August VandenBosche, Frances Pauley, Bob Valder Baxton Bryant, and Ozell Sutton were there -- as well as Paul Anthony, Vernon Jordan, Pat Watters, Emory Via and yours truly from SRC.

Poverty Conference in Mississippi

The Mississippi Council sponsored a conference on poverty in Jackson on June 4th. With a modest assist from SRC the MCHR brought in "grass roots" folks, gave them a chance to speak to federal and state anti-poverty officials, and provided opportunity for an exchange of views -- to put it mildly. The people who are on intimate terms with Poverty seemed to have no trouble communicating, despite the fact that they were not, as one put it, "highly-falooted speakers." To your reporter their story was put in a nutshell by a lady poet who remarked, "I can tell you it's been hard. Sometimes our hearts pack solid."

South Carolina Council Begins "Project SPEED-UP"

The South Carolina Council began "Project SPEED-UP" with a week of orientation for participating college students June 5 through 12. SPEED-UP means "Student Project for Economic and Educational Development -- Utilizing the Poor." With a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity the SCCHR is employing 200 students from South Carolina Schools and Colleges for ten weeks, 40 hours per week, in educational and community organization projects all around the state. Besides the help to communities, the employment will enable the students to continue in college.

Alabama School Desegregation Conference Ends Series

The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights has sponsored a series of state-wide conferences on school desegregation this spring. They were held in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama. After each

conference the American Friends Service Committee, the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Southern Regional Council, the council on human relations in the respective states, and other state groups cooperated in a nuts-and-bolts session designed to guide local leaders in organization to secure student transfers under freedom-of-choice desegregation plans. Attendance at these conferences averaged about 700, with the larger groups in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama.

At the Alabama Conference in Birmingham on June 11 some 1,200 people heard Commissioner Howe of the Office of Education reaffirm strongly that the new desegregation guidelines were legal and would be enforced. He did so in the face of daily machinations by Governor Wallace aimed at having the new guidelines voided and non-compliance by Alabama school boards. William Taylor of the Civil Rights Commission also spoke.

We should note gratefully the dedicated labor of the Civil Rights Commission field staff, under Mr. Samuel Simmons, and of Jean Fairfax, Constance Curry, and Winifred Falls of the AFSC staff in preparing these conferences on an almost-weekly basis. And they have commented often on the splendid cooperation from state councils on human relations. A pat on the back all around!

State Council Presidents Meet

On June 17 and 18 the Southern Regional Council brought together in Atlanta the presidents of the state councils for a day of discussion of purpose and philosophy of human relations councils, common problems, future emphases, staff needs and benefits, and the like. Presidents Walter Clancy of Arkansas, Duncan Gray of Mississippi, C. G. Gomillion of Alabama, Joe Hendricks of Georgia, H. Franklin Williams of Florida, and David Scull of Virginia attended. Treasurers G. J. Tarleton of Tennessee and Emery Rann of North Carolina represented their presidents, Martha Ragland and John R. Taylor, respectively. Mr. Frederick Fleming represented Mr. Henry Groppe of the Houston Council.

This was the first time that the presidents had had a conference without staff members present. They felt that it was helpful and asked that it become an annual affair. (It might also be helpful to have two or three hours of discussion on philosophy and direction at a meeting of each state council Board about once a year.)

Paperback Books Project

The first shipments of paperback books have gone out to projects in Auburn, Alabama, and Nashville, Tennessee. Within the next few

days a shipment will be sent to the Selma (Alabama) Interreligious Project.

Proposals for these experimental projects in book distribution are beginning to come in, but so far we have had very few from local chapters of state councils on human relations. This is a disappointment, since such a project seems a "natural" for local councils. Perhaps some follow-through is needed by state council staffers -- checking with local groups to which you have recommended the project.

Notes on the SRC Special Projects

A Director for SRC's Special Project in Criminal Rehabilitation and Prison Reform has been found. Mr. John O. Boone will join the SRC staff in that capacity in July. Mr. Boone is a graduate of Morehouse College, Atlanta, and has a Master's degree in social work from Atlanta University. For fifteen years he has been employed by the Federal Bureau of Prisons. Currently he is Chief of the Classification and Parole Department of the federal prison at Terre Haute, Indiana. Before transferring to Terre Haute he had worked in the same department of the U. S. Penitentiary in Atlanta.

The Voter Education Project now employs Administrative Assistant Thad Olive and Research and Information Director Marvin Wall and two secretaries (Nobbie Morgan and Pat Franklin) in addition to Director Vernon Jordan. The VEP has funded 61 projects throughout the South. They range from a $200 project by the Lee County (Alabama) League of Women Voters, which taught some 2000 new voters how to use the voting machines, to "umbrella" projects covering several counties and sponsored by groups such as the NAACP in Alabama and the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The break-down by state and number of projects is as follows: Alabama, 13; Arkansas, 3; Florida, 1; Georgia, 13; Louisiana, 4; Mississippi, 3; North Carolina, 4; South Carolina, 10; Tennessee, 4; and Virginia, 6.

Of particular interest to human relations council folks is the fact that voter registration projects are being sponsored by the Arkansas Council and the Knoxville Council. The Arkansas Council project will conduct a registration drive in 16 counties over a twelve-week period, employing a director and three field representatives. The Greater Knoxville Council's project will cover only Knox County. It will run for eight weeks and will employ a director and five area coordinators.

VEP funds have been concentrated on voter registration prior to this year's primary elections -- and general elections, where important, as in Arkansas this year. Later it will be possible to fund more citizenship education projects. Many local human relations councils should be able to sponsor or assist with these.

Al Ulmer, Director of the Community Organization Project, convened a planning conference on Cooperative Training at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, Edwards, Mississippi, on June 9, 10, and 11. Participants generally felt that while cooperatives are useful tools and more of them should be developed, a great deal of educational work needs to be done. They came up with some ambitious and far-reaching ideas about getting the necessary administrative and technical assistance. A summary of the conference is being sent to state council executive directors and is available to others on request.

Al (who says he prefers to stay at least a week in a place and dislikes one-day meetings) plans to spend a week in Lee County, South Carolina, in the near future, working on a possible buying club and credit union. Also in his future is a week in Amelia and Nottaway Counties, in Virginia, where the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee has done some preliminary work on credit unions and a study club on consumer education.

Moreland Smith of the Housing and Urban Planning Project thinks a revision of his report, "Neighborhood Stabilization: A Program," which is now in print will be of interest to the human relations councils. He would appreciate any comments and suggestions. He also would like to know about any efforts at neighborhood stabilization.

A Local Council That We Hope Is As Good As It Looks On Paper

We quote from a summary of the April 30 meeting of the Board of Directors of the North Carolina Council:

"Mr. Thomas Donnelly reported that the CHAPEL HILL-CARRBORO Council is involved in many activities, some of which are equal employment -- informing domestic workers of their rights under the Social Security program, fair working hours, summer vacations, etc.; education -- the youth group conducts a small scale "Operation Head Start" which includes games and reading for the children each Saturday; voter education -- informing new registrants on voting and government; housing -- bringing to the attention of the proper authorities infractions of the housing code, encouraging renters to keep records of their rent payments. Also, they are working to obtain sewers for some areas of the city, and they have organized a legal aid to handle civil hardship cases and to act as a clearing house for other groups."

Unquote.

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible]-8764
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

August 23, 1966

More Staff Changes

It must be the season as well as our expansion on "all fronts". The staff changes, both in the state councils and SRC, are coming so fast that it is getting difficult to keep up!

The Arkansas Council has named Mr. Elijah Coleman to be their Associate Director. (Nat Griswold has been asked to return to his post as Executive Director until his replacement can be found.) Mr. Coleman has been principal of Townsend Park School in Pine Bluff since 1954. From 1959 through 1961 he was President of the Arkansas Teachers Association. He has also served as Chairman of the Pine Bluff Fellowship, an interorganization association of Negro professional workers for community progress. He is a native of Smackover, Arkansas, a graduate of Philander Smith College in Little Rock, and holds a Master of Education degree from the University of Arkansas. Mr. Coleman is married and has a 15-year-old son and a 10-year-old daughter.

Robert Alexander has resigned as Executive Director of the Houston Council on Human Relations. He has returned to Los Angeles. His successor has not yet been named.

Changes at Southern Regional Council

Sam Adams, Director of Research at SRC, has resigned to take up studies at the University of Wisconsin this fall. He is the recipient of a Russell Sage Foundation fellowship.

Edwyn E. Lewis will leave SRC August 19 in order to return to Miami's sun and sand and a management job with the community action agency of Miami's anti-poverty program.

On the additions side we have Miss Susan Bresler, who will work as an associate to Moreland Smith in our special project on

housing and urban planning. Miss Bresler holds a B.S. in City Planning from the University of Illinois. She has worked as an intern in the planning departments of Champaign and Moline, Illinois, and with the Northeastern Illinois Planning Commission. Before coming to SRC she had been employed for a year in the Community Planning Division, Planning and Industrial Development Board, State of Alabama.

As for secretaries, we note the loss of Jerry Gimarc from the Housing and Urban Planning Project and Joan Browning from the Labor Project. Of particular interest to state council folks is the employment of Mrs. Mary Lee McCallister as secretary to the Director of Field Activities. Her experience includes thirteen years as a secretary with General Electric in Atlanta and four years with the American Red Cross in Chamblee.

Books For Equal Education

Books for Equal Education is a joint project of the United States National Student Association and the United State Youth Council. It is a non-profit, charitable organization engaged in distribution of college texts and fiction to unaccredited Negro colleges in the southeastern region. The book distribution office is located in Atlanta.

Many of the books received by BEE are not suitable for use at the college level, but are in good condition and perhaps could be utilized in other areas. These materials include: texts in mathematics, science, English and social studies at both the elementary and secondary levels; juvenile fiction; pre-school reading pamphlets and other similar materials. Suggested uses might be: adult literacy programs, Head Start projects, community libraries, and the like. Those interested in the books for such purposes should be forewarned that many of the texts are out-of-date. However, the books have been "culled," so that the ones offered are in good condition -- and many are definitely "quality" books.

There is NO CHARGE for the books, but the recipient is responsible for transportation of them from Atlanta to their final destination. Interested persons should write for a copy of the BEE guidelines. The address is: Shawn Boles, Southern Director Books for Equal Education, 416 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia, 30303.

Leadership Training Laboratory at Emory

Most of the state council directors took SRC up on an offer to pay tuition for them to attend a week-long leadership training laboratory at Emory University in Atlanta. The dates were July 24-31, and those attending were Pat Miller of Louisiana, Ken Dean of Mississippi, Jerry Roden of Alabama, Alice Spearman of South Carolina, Will Allred of North Carolina, Bob Combs of Virginia, and Ed Stanfield. Baxton Bryant of Tennessee came, but had to leave after only one day because of a death in his family.

The laboratory was sponsored jointly by Emory University and Georgia State College in cooperation with National Training Laboratories. Focusing on the process of group action and the dynamics of interpersonal relations, the laboratory was designed to make participants more aware of the bearing of personal, human problems on group functioning. The week was harrowing (not to say "hairy") at times, as everybody sought to figure out why everybody else behaved so oddly. Folks leveled as well as reveled with one another. One comes away from such an experience with the feeling that he gained something important -- but that only time will tell just what!

Incidentally, the faculty included two mental health men, one psychologist, one social psychologist, and a consultant in human relations. Seems like the weight given to mental health and psychology says something about somebody's conception of the meaning of leadership in southern communities these days!

State Council Directors Meet

The state council directors met in Atlanta on August 9 and 10. Primary purpose of the meeting was to iron out some communication problems we have had in getting local councils informed of the program help now available from SRC. A six-page descriptive catalogue was prepared and discussed and is now being distributed to the state councils in sufficient quantity to promote the programs extensively in each state. In the process the group had opportunity to clarify many points in conference with the special project directors. Next meeting of the directors is scheduled for September 21 and 22.

Random Notes

...On the morning of August 10 a delegation from the Georgia Council on Human Relations had an interview with Governor Carl Sanders. Among other things they urged him to employ a special assistant concerned with civil rights and to establish a civil rights division of the state attorney general's office. They pointed out discriminatory practices of the State Patrol and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. They also reminded the governor and, through press coverage, the public that no Negroes sit on the following state boards: Education, Regents, Corrections, Pardons and Paroles, Game and Fish Commission, Veterans Service, Personnel, Industry and Trade, State Medical Examination, and State Scholarship Commission. There may not be immediate results, but this strikes me as a good piece of work nevertheless. We get so accustomed to the southern landscape that even people of good will do not notice so glaring an injustice as the omission of Negroes from practically every state board and agency. Surely one of the most important tasks of every human relations council is to keep nagging officials and the public about this kind of matter-of-fact outrage.

...Speaking of never-ending tasks, I had occasion not long ago to ask Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner, President of the League of Women

Voters of Georgia, how they managed to get objective studies and reports with volunteer workers. Her reply read, in part: "Most local and state Leagues have regular observers at official boards and commissions--at every open meeting--at budget hearings, etc. It is surprising how much one can learn from regular attendance and careful listening to aid in factual evaluation." It occurred to me that if every local council did nothing else but assign a couple of people to monitor every meeting of (1) their city council, (2) their board of education, (3) their county commission, and (4) their police or recorder's court, their existence would be justified. Why not make this "standard operational procedure"?

...Project SPEED-UP roars on in South Carolina under the leadership of Brad Posten, who is the project director. Brad has completed his year as an Eleanor Roosevelt Intern with the South Carolina Council. He writes, "The project has met with great response from the communities and over 2,000 children and adults are enrolled in the twenty-eight centers."

...We keep finding out about really great things that are being done quietly by human relations councils. Johnny Carlisle of the Youth Council on Human Relations, affiliated with the Palm Beach chapter of the Florida Council, wrote the other day, seeking just $150.00 to buy materials for their second "Summer Tutorial and Enrichment Program." Twenty-two young people, including advanced high school students, high school graduates, and junior college students, are tutoring 91 children, aged 4 to 13, who live in the vicinity of Pleasant Heights Baptist Church, which is their center. They have tutoring classes in reading, math, geography, history, science, arts and crafts, and music. And field trips include the zoo, the Junior Museum of Science, Norton Art Gallery, "and other points of interest." All these young folks needed was a little financial assistance and the continuing interest and advice of the council board. Mrs. R. W. Glasner, chapter president, and Mrs. W. Fred Ellington, work closely with them.

...The Virginia Council is putting major emphasis this year on intercultural (multi-ethnic) textbooks for use in public schools. The Council took cognizance of the fact that Virginia's children, Negro or white, could easily graduate from high school, using the texts approved by the Virginia Board of Education, without knowing that Negroes had made any significant contribution to the life and history of America. Further, they discovered that many textbooks are published in two versions: one with biracial illustrations and another lily white. VCHR has just published an attractive printing of its review of Virginia textbooks, including suggested courses of action, and a catalogue of intercultural texts available.

-- J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. [illegible] 30303
[illegible]2-8764
PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

September 8, 1966

TO: State Council Directors

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Next Meeting of State Council Directors

As you know, our next meeting is to be September 21-22, starting at 2:00 on Wednesday and ending about noon on Thursday. We shall meet in the S. R. C. conference room.

The Southern Interagency Conference will be meeting from 2:00 on the 20th until noon on the 21st, and you are invited to attend that meeting also. It might be of considerable interest to you. Dr. Lewis Killian of the University of Florida will speak on the first afternoon on the role of white liberals in social change in the South. Other features of that meeting will be briefings on the political situation by Vernon Jordan and on school and hospital desegregation by representatives of the regional office of H. E. W. (The latter presentation will be on Wednesday morning, so you might catch that even if you can't come on Tuesday.)

For our own meeting, following the suggestion of some of you, I have invited two men from government agencies here to talk to us about program concerns and the role of their offices. They are Bob Thompson, Special Assistant for Intergroup Relations to the Regional Director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Don Hollowell, Regional Director of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In addition, we may have the H. E. W. representatives stay over from the S. I. C. meeting - in case some of you can't get here early.

As for expenses, let us try the following formula: S. R. C. will pay one-half of your expenses for travel, room and meals, plus all travel cost in excess of $50.00. In this way the distance some have to travel will not be an excessive burden. We can make any adjustments in this formula after trying it once.

I am going to leave it to you to get your own accommodations, so that you can order exactly the room you want. Since most seemed satisfied with the Americana Motor Hotel, let me suggest that one. Perhaps I'll arrange a dinner for us there on the evening of the 21st.

JES:mlm

cc: SRC Project Directors

File

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

September 14, 1966

To: Directors of State Councils on Human Relations

From: Ed Stanfield and Emory Via

Listed below are three suggestions for possible State Council programs which could be run in cooperation with SRC'S Labor Program. Would you look them over and give your reactions or expressions of interest to one of us when you are in Atlanta for the Directors' meeting.

1. A project to assist in the enforcement of the newly amended minimum wage law. The coverage of the law and the benefits it guarantees will be improved. Many workers will not know that they are covered or will not know how to proceed in the enforcement of their rights. Many employers similarly will be slow in realizing the impact of the law on them. This project will have to await the final passage of the law and the preparation of a guideline for action. However, it could be of substantial benefit to low income people. It would be a direct and appreciated service. It could be a program run almost completely by volunteers and might be an excellent project for college youth looking for a beneficial project with tangible results. A briefing conference could be held with SRC arranging for the experts. Basically, such a program sould supplement federal efforts. But it could assume speedy and fair enforcement. It offers advantages in building some meaningful bridges between low income groups and human relations efforts.

2. A project to assist in ending discrimination in apprentice training. We could offer a variety of consultative services. A determination needs to be made of actual local practice and how many Negroes are involved in apprentice training. Similarly, some assessment is needed how the main institutional elements in apprentice training will respond to a project encouraging Negro entry into their programs. Remember, of course, that a good bit of law and administrative regulation is on the side of fairness. Thirdly, Negro youngsters who are qualified by age and education need to be located and motivated to participate in such training. A major part of such a program is to provide realistic, preparatory training so the youngsters (approximately 18 - 25) can score well on entry tests. A good bit of experience on this is available. Again, this is a program that can be carried out, with some expert advice, by volunteers. Not too many. They need to be qualified people. The main element in this proposal is the location-training-motivation component. The other determinations (extent of Negro participation and attitude of the institutions involved) are for background purposes. Assistance can be offered in developing that information, too.

   A specific proposal would be to convene a small working conference of people from one metropolitan area. It should include those knowledgeable in apprentice problems and training as well as persons from your organization and others who would be expected to take the lead in program execution. Emory Via would want to consult with you in detail prior to invitations being extended. SRC would provide the expert consultants for such a meeting and assist or cover the other costs for a one or two day program. We would not envision travel or room costs since the meeting would be restricted to one city.

3. An off-the-record conference between civil rights leaders and labor leaders. In some cases selected other leaders would also be involved. The format and invitees will have to be agreed on in advance between the Labor Program and the State Council. Such a conference would encourage individuals and their organizations to get acquainted on a serious level. It would uncover mutual, practical interests. It would air, constructively, the differences and misunderstandings that may have developed between civil rights advocates and the labor movement. The conference could be area or statewide. SRC would (a) advise on program, (b) work to secure labor participation, (c) provide outside expertise, and (d) underwrite much of the related costs to the meeting.

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

September 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Council Directors and SRC Staff

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: CHANGES OF ADDRESS

Your attention is called to certain changes which have occurred since we issued a new state council directory in August:

Elijah Coleman has been made Acting Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Nat Griswold has resumed his leave of absence.

The Louisiana Council has opened their new office. Materials should now be sent to 7986 Scenic Highway, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Telephone (504) 775-8048.

The North Carolina Council has moved its office to Greensboro. The address is 233-1/2 Greene Street, Greensboro, Telephone (919) 275-6589.

The Houston Council has named Mrs. Frances Dukler Acting Director, pending employment of a new executive director.

October 17, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Ed Stanfield

SUBJECT: Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils--Meeting on September 27, 1966

The Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils met in the SRC conference room on September 27, 1966. Those attending were Joe Hendricks, Franklin Williams (Florida), and The Reverend Hubert Beckwith, in addition to John Pecoul and I of the SRC staff.

To place our discussion in context, I read the statement which had been drafted by the state council directors and presented to the Executive Committee of SRC on June 3, 1965, and the action taken by the Executive Committee, including setting up the present special committee. (See attached copies.) Hendricks and Williams mentioned the meeting of state council presidents which was held in June of this year, said that some of the concerns expressed at that meeting were also pertinent to our subject, and expressed agreement that every effort must be made to put the state councils on a self-sustaining basis for their minimal general operations. Someone commented to the effect that the children should not only be weaned, but also should be set up as full partners.

The committee then proceeded to list the following objectives which they felt the relationship, whatever it might be, should be designed to pursue:

(1) A regional identity for the state councils and their memberships.

(2) A sizeable and representative membership body for both the state councils and SRC.

(3) Expanded and refined programs for the state councils; more technical skills on the state council staffs and available to them.

(4) Coordination of programs within SRC and between SRC and the state councils. This would mean better communication, but also consultation on program planning. The comment was made, "Something is being said in the fact that the SRC program money for state and local councils is not being gobbled up."

(5) Representation and participation for membership, including training for members to enable them to participate effectively.

Several ideas about specific steps toward these objectives were discussed. The principal ones were an expanded field department at SRC, a department of development, and a more integral relationship between SRC and the councils on human relations.

The committee felt that the Department of Field Activities needs to be greatly expanded, whether or not the formal relationship of the organizations changes. It should include a staff of specialists in the needs of state and local councils. (I took this to mean, for example, a specialist to help local councils organize and sustain affiliated student organizations; or someone who could stay for an extended period in a city to organize a fair housing effort; etc.) The committee mentioned the need for an advisory group for the field department.

In connection with field activities, the committee was concerned about the problem suggested in point four above, i.e., that there are many programs in the field not coordinated with "field activities." It was observed that the state councils were originally conceived as the agents for SRC's field activities; that the rapid growth and strength presupposed by this conception had not proven possible; and that, consequently, they are now--in effect--one of several SRC projects, all of which are field activities. It was felt that the state councils need more expert attention to enable them to attain strength to handle such needs as SRC must deal with, at present, through the special project apparatuses, although they are properly the concern of the state councils as well as SRC.

On the subject of mutual fund-raising, the committee felt the need for something like a "department of development" within SRC. It was stressed that they were not talking about a professional fund-raiser, but rather the need for one or more individuals, committed to the over-all purpose of SRC, who would develop programs as well as support for them and for the agency's general operations. "A department of development," someone summed up, "which is an integral part of the program--not a fund raiser."

A considerable amount of time was devoted to the need for a more integral relationship between SRC and the state councils, in order to achieve the objectives outlined above. One possibility would be to have each state council elect one SRC Board member each year, which would mean an eventual total of 40 out of the 100 Board members. Someone recalled a phrase Les Dunbar often used, "the SRC-human relations council movement." The committee felt that if there is indeed a movement, it needs to be structured and given leadership. They felt that the times and circumstances call for "a movement that is large, public, and regional." "In some way SRC ought to be connected with a membership--a large constituency."

The committee felt that their discussion tended to point up the interpretation that SRC has gone through constant evolution as re-evaluation and restructuring was required by circumstances. They felt that they were not really suggesting a new departure, but only a return--or partial return--to the original concept. They asked me to describe their deliberations and wanted to have placed in the context of them a set of propositions drafted by H. Franklin Williams and unanimously agreed upon:

SRC and the councils on human relations should share a regional identity.

Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.

Members of the councils on human relations must feel that they participate in SRC.

SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of council on human relations membership as one of its objectives.

To this end its field service should be built up with an eye to offering training and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and to suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.

There should be no interruption in other projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved, where possible.

The committee agreed that these propositions were not to be construed as conclusions to be proposed to the SRC Executive Committee, but rather to be submitted to the Executive Director for his response and comment. They asked that these comments be communicated to the special committee members. If it seems advisable, they will meet before or during the annual meeting to draft definite proposals.

Pat Watters

File

October 24, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The Special Committee to Study the Relationship between SRC and the State Councils

FROM: Paul Anthony

Ed Stanfield has shared with me the report on your meeting of September 27. I regret that I was unable to attend at least a portion of that meeting. We do appreciate the time you have devoted to this matter and hope that we can ask you to continue serving on this important committee. I particularly appreciate your decision to submit your recommendations to me to give us an opportunity for continued discussion and comment. I think this is a very sound approach to these deliberations and that we can hope for the greatest amount of progress at this point by following such a plan.

At the outset, let me assure you (although I hope it isn't necessary) that I have a deep commitment to the existence of the state councils and their growth. This is commitment which is shared without question by the Executive Committee and staff of SRC. I am certain that SRC can perform a valuable and essential service to the state councils through its regional operation. This ranges from services to the state councils and providing programs and specialists to continued regional and national fund raising efforts on behalf of the state councils. In turn, I feel it is essential for the operation of SRC to have this outreach into the whole region, this structure, this identity with and information from the "grass-roots." It would be the most serious mistake, in my opinion, if we did not continue the closest possible partnership, insofar as we at the Southern Regional Council are concerned. We would hope the members of the Special Committee would always consider their worth in the context of not whether or not there should be a continued close relationship but on how the partnership can be most effectively continued. Your recommendations reflect that we are of the same mind on this.

Specific comments on your recommendations follow:

1. SRC and the councils on human relationships should share a regional identity.

I quite agree with this. To a substantial measure this is already the case, but I think it is something we should be positively aware of and work toward increasing. As a part of this recommendation, I think more thought has to be given to an idea which the state council directors have discussed for several years. This is the possibility of the state councils forming at least a more formal confederation which can on occasion speak as one voice or plan special programs for the entire region. The leadership of several of the state councils have expressed considerable enthusiasm

for this idea. The leadership of several other councils have expressed some reservation about the extent to which this removes policy and program planning from the policy leadership to the state councils' staff. Since there is some remaining question about this, I think the committee should give thought to it and request that state council presidents and directors continue to think about it, preferably when they meet together. Incidentally, as a part of this regional identity I believe that the councils on human relations should consider themselves in a position to have a constant and strong voice in the planning of future SRC programs and projects. To a reasonable degree, we here consider this now the case but I think there is room for more emphasis on this. Certainly, we will be very responsive to the requests for needs, services, programs and direction from the state council leadership.

2. Representative membership of active people is needed for the ends of both SRC and the state councils.

Here again we are in complete agreement. Several years ago the members of SRC at an annual meeting voted that one of the considerations to be taken into account on the election of new members was the involvement of the persons under consideration in the council on human relations from their state. This policy has been followed regularly and each year. A majority of those persons nominated have been actively involved in the state council. This consideration will continue to be a part of the deliberations of future members of future nominating committees. It is unlikely at this point that the Executive Committee of SRC would look with favor on any proposal that would automatically give to the state councils the election of a certain number of SRC members. This procedure was deliberately abandoned in 1957 when the councils became autonomous, and at this time the Executive Committee strongly supports the concept of autonomy.

3. Members of the Councils on Human Relations must feel that they participate in SRC.

4. SRC should regard the maintenance and extension of Council on Human Relations Membership as one of its objectives.

Again we are in complete agreement. For the past several years we have attempted to emphasize this and, for instance, toward that end the George Mitchell Award was instituted. (Incidentally this award with a cash value of $1,000 a year is a pretty heavy burden on SRC, but was deliberately chosen in that amount to be a real inducement.) In the future, I would like to see us give particular emphasis to suggestions, program assistance and financial resources, which will help to maintain membership and the involvement of Council members in the programs of the several state councils.

5. To this end its field services should be built with the idea of offering trained and professional advice to the staffs of the councils and in suggesting projects which involve members in active and significant participation.

Again we are in complete agreement. There is quite frankly a limit to which we can expand the field services but certainly they are inadequate at this time. I feel that Ed Stanfield is doing a remarkable job as Field Director and particularly in assisting the state councils. Quite obviously this is a job which one man, no matter how good, cannot adequately fill.

6. There should be no interruption of the projects of SRC, but a real effort to keep the councils on human relations informed about them and involved where possible.

All of the statements made heretofore in this memorandum refer to this. They do, of course, reflect complete agreement with you again. We have not done as good a job as possible in keeping the state councils informed about SRC projects and a real effort is underway here to improve that. Beyond that I would place more emphasis perhaps than this Committee has on the matter of involving state and local councils in SRC projects. It would be my hope that with rare exception there would be considerable involvement in SRC projects on the part of state and local councils and as mentioned before, indeed, substantial planning in them before they are initiated.

Beyond the above response to your several recommendations it might be good if you knew more of some of our thinking here as we go through what is in effect a period of significant transition for the Southern Regional Council. In the past year we have grown tremendously. (Incidentally, for the first time the rate of growth of our financial assistance to the state councils has been proportionate to the remainder of our growth.) While that opinion might well change because of the changing conditions, it is my strong opinion at this point that we have reached the "saturation point." I believe for a substantial further growth on the part of the Southern Regional Council in terms of number of staff, number of projects, or of money available would be very questionable. We are not here interested in building an empire and the relatively modest staff and budget in comparison with the results gained over the past fifteen years gives me considerable pause before we undertake any additional substantial expansion. Quite frankly, I would hope the trend is in the other direction. That to a gentle and gradual degree we begin to slowly cut back to a point where we are perhaps twenty percent smaller in staff and budget than we are at this time. You should know that in part I reached this opinion because in oversize fashion we share a particular problem with the state councils. Namely, we have great difficulty in finding adequate support for our general operations and we, like the state councils, must give this first priority and must be concerned that at no time do we over-extend ourselves.

Further, we here at SRC are not anxious to become over-extended in field programs. There are certain functions such as our Voter Education Project which we have no choice but to undertake. These are, however, specific functions for a limited amount of time and they are not seen as a permanent part of the agency. In general, we feel state councils particularly, but other agencies as well,

are in a far better position to undertake program work on the local level. Our unique function is on an entirely different level and I believe it would be a mistake not to recognize that uniqueness and the danger of considerable duplication if we become too involved in programs.

I hope it will be possible for this Committee to meet before or during the Annual Meeting and should you wish there will certainly be an opportunity for the Committee to report to the members of the Council on your thinking and deliberation at this point.

The Council now has a number of special committees at work on future SRC policies and programs. I am certain I speak for the full Council in expressing the opinion that this Committee is one of the most important. This will be dicussed with the Executive Committee of SRC. I personally hope this Committee will continue to function indefinitely and that each of you will continue to be agreeable to serve.

We look forward to seeing you on November 16.

PA/cl

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PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

December 27, 1966

New SRC Publications

Our mail room is a study in creative disarray these days as the Southern Regional Council is issuing a rash of new publications.

Our Voter Education Project has recently put out a county-by-county list of registration figures covering the whole South, with figures for the white voting age population, Negro voting-age population, number of each group registered, and percentages registered. They have also published an eight-page mimeographed analysis of the November election results, focusing on participation of Negroes and its effect, titled "What Happened in the South, 1966." (The VEP has been responsible for programs through which 100,000 voters have been registered during the past year.)

"School Desegregation 1966: The Slow Undoing" is just off the press. A "Special Report," it tells the dismal story of the South's all-too-successful efforts to avoid significant integration of its school systems. It estimates that ten to twelve percent of Negro students in the South are in schools with whites, with figures like 2% for Mississippi, 2.9% for Louisiana, and 2.4% for Alabama offset by 34.6% in Texas and 21.9% in Tennessee.

"Public Assistance in the South," another Special Report, points out that 21.8% of all expenditures for public assistance payments occurred in the South, reflecting the South's 25.9% of the population. But nearly half of the poor people of the nation are in the South. Another fact brought out is far more is spent in the South on aid to the aged than on aid to dependent children -- despite the fact that there are many more impoverished children than impoverished elderly people. This reflects the political utility of aid to the voting elderly. This report is

loaded with information. For instance, although I suppose I knew it all along, it came as a bit of a shock to me to see from one of the tables provided that, among 50 states and the District of Columbia, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas, and Mississippi rank 42nd, 43rd, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, and 51st, respectively, in per capita income! That's what I like about the South -- we're consistent.

And then there is the excellent publication of our Special Project in Housing and Urban Planning, "A Home of Our Own: A Guide for Home Buyers." (In the light of those per capita income figures, that title almost sounds like a cruelty joke!) It has a chapter on the advantages and disadvantages of buying a home, one on what to look for in shopping for a home, another on "Closing the Deal," and a chapter on breaking racial barriers. There is a glossary of terms and a list of helpful pamphlets and articles.

"State Councils' Dinner" at the SRC Annual Meeting

For the benefit of readers who were not there, I want to tell briefly about the "State Councils' Dinner" which was a feature of the Southern Regional Council's Annual Meeting in November. All of the executive directors and the president or vice-president of each state council were present and seated at the head tables. The program was quite simple, consisting of presentation of the George Mitchell Award (for largest percentage increase in membership) to the Arkansas Council by Mr. Marion Wright and the field activities report. A few statistics from the latter:

"...Membership now stands at approximately 11,500, and increase of some 23% over last year. Percentage increases ranged from five percent in Virginia, which is the largest of the councils, to ninety-five percent in Arkansas, which heretofore had been one of the smallest. The Alabama Council, which won the Mitchell Award last year, increased its membership another ten percent this year. Tennessee registers a thirteen percent increase and South Carolina a jump of twenty-three percent. The North Carolina Council shows a 57% increase. And Georgia deserves special commendation for raising its membership enrollment by 53%, although starting from a relatively large base of more than a thousand members."

"At the height of their strength the state councils had this year 26 full-time professional employees, an increase of 18% over last year. Part-time and clerical staffs have increased proportionately."

"The councils have raised about $120,000 from their members and friends -- an increase of 20%. At the same time the total of their operating budgets has passed $400,00 -- a leap of more than 25%."

December 27, 1966

The Paperback Books Project

It took a little while for the word to get out, apparently, but during the past couple of months we have had a tremendous increase in the number of inquiries about our Paperback Books Project and requests for books. In fact, the demand has been so great that it is necessary to delay further orders until the backlog is diminished and we can assess the situation. It is our hope that the proposals we are receiving, even if we are not able to answer them affirmatively at this time, will help us to secure funds for a renewed and enlarged program in 1967.

Notes on the State Councils

I have let so much time elapse since my last newsletter, and the state councils have been doing so much meanwhile, that I cannot begin to do them all justice. I'll have to mention only a few items of particular interest.

The Arkansas Council has secured a Research Assistant, Mr. Paul Williams, who joined their staff on September 26. Mr. Williams was born and raised in Fort Smith. He recently was graduated from Hendrix College in Conway, where he majored in history and political science. He did the research for the Arkansas Council's "Background Report on Arkansas Prisons" and is working with a penal reform group which the Council helped to set up. He is also working with students and local councils.

I don't ordinarily like to receive unsigned letters, but a recent one was a pleasure. Signed only "A(rkansas)CHR," it said only, "It appears that Human Relations are improving in Arkansas. What about Georgia?" Enclosed was a newspaper clipping about the appointment of Negro lawyer Christopher C. Mercer, Jr., as deputy prosecuting attorney for Pulaski and Perry Counties. Prosecuting Attorney-elect Richard B. Adkisson, in making the announcement, said that Mercer would be the first Negro deputy prosecuting attorney in history for the two counties and that he probably would be the first Negro deputy prosecutor in the South in modern times. Among other distinctions, Mr. Mercer worked for two years on the staff of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

The Tennessee Council continues to have the luck of the Irish (viz. Baxton Bryant) in their staffing. Not long ago the Inter-County Improvement Association, an organization of approximately 200 Negroes with headquarters in Ripley, made an unusual proposal to the TCHR. They asked to become a chapter and offered to put up $3,000 (cash!) if the Council would find another $6,000 and hire a man to work full-time in rural west Tennessee. The Council

appealed successfully to the Field Foundation and has hired The Reverend Isaac Richmond, Jr., for the job. Mr. Richmond, 28, is a graduate of Lane College, Jackson, Tennessee, with an A.B. in history and sociology. He also has a Master of Religious Education degree from ITC in Atlanta. He has long been active in civil rights efforts.

The Virginia Council instigated and did most of the administrative work for the Conference on People, Religion and a Changing Virginia which was held at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond on November 28-29. 1,075 people registered for the conference, which was sponsored by all of the major religious groups of the state. Speakers included Dr. George D. Kelsey, professor of Christian Ethics, Drew University; Dr. John F. Cronin, assistant director, Department of Social Action, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta; Warren H. Turner, vice-president, Protestant Episcopal Executive Council, New York; and Dr. Samuel Proctor, president of the Institute for Services to Education, Washington.

Annual Meetings of the Florida, South Carolina, and Georgia Council

All three of the above councils have had excellent annual meetings recently. I won't try to go into detail about each of the programs, but will risk a generalization based on my subjective impressions from attending the South Carolina and Florida meetings and a reading of the minutes of the Georgia one (which, regrettably, I missed). At all three there were reports from local councils that indicate an increasing amount of involvement and important work on the part of their members. How do you measure interest and enthusiasm, except subjectively? But I came away from the meetings greatly encouraged, with the feeling that there are great many people -- white people and Negroes, poor people and economically comfortable people -- who are willing (yearning, even to work together on the problems of community where they live. If that is so, it bodes well for the state councils on human relations, for, as far as I am concerned, that's what they are all about.

And a Bit of Humor

I guess I got a kick out of this story because of the way Yankee liberals have been hanging back on civil rights lately. (This is a slightly adapted version.)

December 27, 1966

It seems that a white southerner moved to Chicago and was determined to get along with the natives. He walked into a local bar, struck up a conversation with the guy on the next stool, and in due course observed, "If you ask me, all Ku Klux Klansmen are S.O.B.'s." His new acquaintance got up, slugged him, and stomped out.

The southerner rubbed his chin and turned to the guy on the other side. "Man, what a character. But I still say all members of the KKK are S.O.B.'s." Whereupon he also flattens him and walks out.

He picked himself up, ordered another drink, and observed to the bartender, "I wouldn't have thought this was Ku Klux Klan territory."

And the bartender replied, "Who said it was? This is S.O.B. country!"

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

CROSS REFERENCE

RE:

LTRS TO STATE COUNCIL DIRECTORS RE ARTICLES FOR NEW SOUTH
(ltrs dated 11/19/65 and 2/21/66)

SEE:

NEW SOUTH: CORRESPONDENCE RE ARTICLES

CROSS REFERENCE

For memorandum from Ed Stanfield to Paul Anthony (confidential) re field trip to Alabama, and special notation from PA to PW re special report on aftermath in cities which have been scenes of direct action campaigns,

SEE:

Publications - Correspondence and Vouchers RE Studies for memorandum from PW to PA about Bob Coles and book review on this subject.

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1320 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Father Albert Foley, Dept of Soc., Spring Hill College
Mobile
Dan Thompson
Howard Hunter
Floyd Hunter
U. of NC

March 11, 1963

Mr. S. D. Blackford
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

As I indicated in our brief conversation on March 7, we have talked for some time about the possibility of research into the leadership of Little Rock. Who makes decisions? What is the chain of command or influence? How is it related to state leadership? To politics or business? We also discussed some evidence that the leadership pattern is changing, particularly since the reelection of Mr. Faubus and Mr. Fulbright. The economics of the central city may also be influencing the rise of new persons to leadership.

Decision to make such a study with our own resources of course depends on funds not now in sight. If such a decision is made could you answer affirmatively the following questions: 1. Are schedules for interviewers available? Could your office help refine these to our purposes? 2. Could literate laymen and graduate students be trained to do interviews? Could you assist in this?

Of course you may have a prior question: Would the research be of value? We hear conflicting views as to who makes decisions here. We do know that the years since 1957 have been years of decisions. We think the study would be extremely interesting to say the least.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

July 9, 1963

Mrs. Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth:

It was a real pleasure to meet you at the Race Relations Institute in Nashville last week. I was extremely impressed with your interest and vigor in the area of human relations. Our several discussions were very helpful to me in understanding a lot of things.

As promised, be assured that I will be of every possible assistance to you and the Arkansas Council in any way that I can.

Again, it was a delightful treat to meet you and to fellowship with you though very briefly. Please extend my very best wishes to Nat and Ozell.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:Jr/nm

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

September 25, 1963

Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Jordan
c/o Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Jordan:

I still remember with a warm pleasure and slight watering of the mouth our dinner together in Atlanta. It was the effort "beyond the call of duty" on the part of both of you for which I am deeply grateful. Thank your daughter for letting her parents out for this event.

My bus trip to Washington and return was instructive and not so exhausting as one might imagine. Talked with ten parties during the two days there, from five different public agencies and two private. All encouraged me in our proposed "local liaison" program. Now, I must knuckle down to final draft and appeals.

We still look forward to your first visit to these parts, Mr. Jordan, and hope it will not be too long.

Again thanks to you all.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS-MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF-NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

VJ

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

Vol. 8, No. 3 NEWSLETTER SEPTEMBER 1963

BOARD CHANGES

Since the 1963 Annual Meeting ACHR has lost three Board Members and one member of the Advisory Council - John Thompson to Miami, Florida; Worth Long to the staff of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Atlanta; Don Franks to Paine College in Augusta, Georgia; and Dr. Lewis Long to Washington, D. C.

Replacing the three Directors will be Fr. Walter B. Clancy, The Reverend Negail Riley, and The Reverend A. M. Robert, Jr.

***

LITTLE ROCK to HAVE ITS ANNUAL "BRIDGES" MEETING -

Members of the Committee for Better Education, the organization of Negro parents with children in desegregated schools, their families, ACHR members, and their families will meet together at the Dunbar Community Center, Monday evening, September 23, at 7:30 p.m.

Purpose of the meeting is to establish communication between Negro parents and ACHR members, to share common concerns, to make help in solving problems available, to provide an opportunity for fellowship for young and old -- so BRING THE CHILDREN.

****

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

Membership dues met the (now) pessimistic expectations of the 1963 budget by the end of the first six-months, for the first time bringing the total non-delinquent membership to the 500 mark. One-hundred and sixty of these are new this year.

In the light of "new days" in race relations our membership tally remains pathetic. It is not unreasonable to have a membership expectation of 2000. Memberships do not come in automatically. They come as the result of a present member making a personal contact with those in sympathy with the purposes of ACHR. How many contacts have you made?

****

What Can I As An Individual Do?

The march on Washington underscores the upsurge toward civil rights by Negro Americans. No less impressive are the vigorous actions to meet this challenge to show that "race has no place in American life and law."

News of these commitments and appeals appear daily in our press. They come from federal officials, church bodies, corporations, civic organizations, and professional groups.

How has your community responded to these commitments and appeals? Your church? The organizations to which you belong? The company for which you work? You can be effective if you determine what the national policy is and bring it to the attention of the various public and private units of which you are a member.

National policies yet to be effected locally have come down from such groups as the Junior Chamber of Commerce, YWCA, National Council of Jewish Women, League of Women Voters. (Hot Springs YWCA and Fayetteville LWV have acted.) There are many others.

President Kennedy has made appeals to mayors, lawyers, and women's groups. These need to be followed up.

Practically every member of ACHR is qualified to have a creative conference with the town mayor about an interracial commission (requested by JFK) or with the head of the local Junior Chamber of Commerce about helping with job opportunities for Negroes as requested by the national JC president.

Doors are opening. Alert people can find plenty that "I can do."

****

FINANCE DRIVE

Membership contributions are abreast of the year - two-thirds of the amount budgeted was contributed during the first two-thirds of the year. BUT...we are cautious with our optimism. As in most drives the larger contributions come in early. And if we rest on our oars now, we won't reach our goal. Won't you translate your good intentions into action - if you haven't already done so --- NOW!

****

The Directors Travel

Nat Griswold was privileged to see the wheels go round in the Fayetteville Council on Community Relations this summer. Two emergency meetings of the Services Committee planned for peacable opening of the swimming pool. Mission was accomplished on July 29 according to chairman, Lyell Thompson. The Education Committee planned with enthusiasm and realism for the closing of the Negro elementary school by September 1964. Three measures, with progressive militancy, were planned to influence the Board of Education.

While at Fayetteville the Director had a number of doors for service opened by ACHR members: Preached at First Christian Church; spoke to inter-church college group; spoke at a meeting of forty leaders in Fort Smith (in company with some Fayetteville members) promoted by Mrs. Peters of the United Lutheran Church. (continued - OVER)

(continued from other side)
The directors were both among the more than 18 Arkansans participating in the Regional Community Leaders Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity, June 26, under the sponsorship of the President's Committee and heard Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson in one of his most convincing speeches on civil rights in which he called on all the conferees to "take an inventory of your souls, catalogue your goals" and assured them that the job of ending racial discrimination will be done "in our generation."
Mr. Griswold and Mr. George Henry of the Little Rock Urban League participated on panels at the conference.

Mr. Griswold was luncheon speaker at the Crossett Rotary Club meeting in August. He also had several conferences with persons involved in the desegregation of Pine Bluff. Mr. Sutton spoke at a mass meeting of the Pine Bluff Movement.

****

FISK INSTITUTE ON RACE RELATIONS

Staff Secretary, Ruth Arnold, attended the 2nd week of the 20th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University in July. Under the theme, "Human Rights - The New Century," participants including inter-group workers, ministers and laymen, church women, educators, and students, heard civil rights leaders, inter-group professionals, church leaders and representatives of federal agencies. Speeches were augmented by group discussions, informal "bull sessions" as well as fellowship and fun.

Most participants reflected a mood of "too little - too late" in their discussions with representatives of federal agencies and only those from the Civil Rights Commission seemed fully to appreciate this mood and its significance.

There was also reflected a growing conviction that direct action is "the last hope" for the removal of racial discrimination. (continued next column)

The Institute was a stimulating and valuable experience for all of its enthusiastic members. Anyone who may be interested in attending next year should contact ACHR. Details will be sent as soon as available.

****

The Don Franks Announce Birth of Daughter

The Don Franks, formerly with the Wesley Foundation at Arkansas State College at Jonesboro, announce the birth of their first child, Alice Evelyn, on July 16. Don is now in the physical education department of Paine College. Elizabeth, Don, and Alice Evelyn are at home at 2264 Wrightsboro Road, Augusta, Georgia.

ARKANSAS SCORE CARD*

Completely desegregated schools (no Negro teachers)	Hoxie, Charleston, Mansfield
Completely Desegregated Secondary Schools (No Negro teachers)	Alma, Fayetteville, Van Buren
Desegregated Schools for Children of Army Personnel	Gosnell, Jacksonville, Pulaski Co.
Tokenly Desegregated Schools	Pine Bluff, Hot Springs, Dollarway, Little Rock, Fort Smith
Municipal Facilities	Fayetteville
Municipal Facilities (swimming pool excepted)	Little Rock, Pine Bluff
Theaters	Fayetteville, Little Rock, Pine Bluff
Drive-Ins	Fayetteville, Little Rock, Pine Bluff, Benton, Conway
Hotels	Little Rock, Fayetteville
Some Motels	Fayetteville, Fort Smith
Downtown Lunch Counters	Little Rock, Fayetteville, Ft. Smith Pine Bluff
Department Store Restrooms & Water Fountains	Little Rock
Restaurants, Hotel Dining Rooms for Non-Guests, and Bath Houses	Hot Springs

*Corrections and/or additions will be appreciated & acknowledged in the next Newsletter.

As One of the Concerned Persons in Little Rock

you are urged to join in . . .

AN INTERFAITH DISCUSSION

on

The Inner Life of the Church and Synagogue

An analysis of the problems of racial integration

within the Church and Synagogue

Panel Analysis Group Discussion

Recommendations for Action

Place: Student Union Building
Philander Smith College

Time: Tuesday, September 17, 7:30-9:00 P. M.

Sponsored by: The Greater Little Rock Conference of Religion and Human Relations

March 10, 1964

Mrs. Ruth Arnold
Secretary and Program Assistant
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth:

It has been a long time since a party has been given in my honor, and I am delighted beyond words that you saw fit to do so. I enjoyed my party tremendously and shall be ever grateful to you for your thoughtfulness.

It was good seeing you and I look forward to seeing you when you come to Atlanta. My regards to all of the guys who came to the party and also to your very charming daughter.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

March 10, 1964

Mr. Ozell Sutton
Associate Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ozell:

Just a note to express my appreciation for your warm hospitality during my recent visit in Little Rock. It was a delight meeting your family; especially Detrie Joe, who reminded me so much of my little Vickee.

Thank you again for your many courtesies.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

March 10, 1964

Mr. Nat Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

It was certainly a pleasure to see and talk with you, Ozell and Ruth, and to visit the offices of the Arkansas Council. I look forward to coming back to Arkansas again.

Of the many things that we discussed, I feel a sense of duty to respond to one item in particular, and that is your assertion that Les failed to respond, or ignored your request for his assistance in securing funds from Taconic for your Proposed Project. This comes not as a defense but rather as a clarification of the facts in the matter.

On October 23, 1963, you wrote to Les and expressed fear that Taconic may reject your proposal "summarily on the basis of policy, not merit." You also requested Les' help in this "dilemma." You asked specifically , "Before Taconic receives and rejects the proposal, could you explore Taconic's preference in making the grant through SRC for ACHR?"

On November 1, 1963, Les replied. After making some suggestions relative to your proposal, he concluded his letter with the following paragraph.

"I discussed your question regarding submission to Taconic in a general way with the Taconic office, and without identifying you. My understanding is that there has been no change in Taconic's policy about direct applications from the state councils. I am sending Harold a

copy of this letter, but unless you hear from him to the contrary my thought would be that you should not send it to Taconic. I think that Field might be a likely place. Why not try, also, the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation: Mr. Hyman Bookbinder, Empire State Building, New York City. I don't think they are set up yet to make grants, but you might let them hold on to it for a while."

Nat, the foregoing I think, dissipates the assertion that you asked for help and did not get it, and I feel it my duty to you and to the Council to clarify the matter.

I have discussed with Les and Paul your grave concern with the present situation of the Arkansas Council. As I observed while conversing with you, and as substantiated to some extent by Ozell and Ruth, the Arkansas Council is experiencing 'growing pains' and I am not certain that this is not healthy. By the same token, it is difficult for one who is not on the scene for a long period of time, to objectively evaluate a given set of circumstances. I hope that you will keep your faith in people and the ACHR; that same faith, which must have sustained you over the years as you have worked with people and with the problems of our society.

I enjoyed very much our fellowship on last Thursday morning, and I look forward to such an occasion again.

My regards to Ruth and Ozell.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

LWD ✓
file

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 13, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon Jordan:

I appreciate your effort at "clarification of the facts" that were the basis for my expressed disappointment over the response from SRC to my request last Fall.

My sense of duty overcomes my natural reluctance and impels me to let you know your effort was unsuccessful. I had both letters before me when we talked here and should have had you read them so we could have talked over our understandings of their meaning.

Never mind now. Self justification, ACHR's or SRC's, helps maintain the ego but seldom furthers agreement. More important to us is our current question: What can we do now to get adequate funds for strenghtening our staff so we can enter doors now opening? About this we are completely confused at the moment.

You will be interested to know that we believe we can implement in some measure your suggestion in regard to educating business leaders as to how to live with the up coming civil rights legislation. (If you read Senator McClellan's blasts you know education is needed!)

Next time you come we expect you to bring your "brief" case and stay.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS—MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

File council on H.R.

Arkansas Gazette.

Monday, June 1, 1964.

Arkansas Council on Human Relations Looks Back on Long, Difficult Decade

By BILL LEWIS
Of the Gazette Staff

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is approaching its 10th anniversary financially and numerically stronger than it has ever been, but faced with a job that is not as dramatic but far more difficult than before.

"The operation now is harder," said Ozell Sutton, associate director. "We have moved from outright defiance to circumvention, which is more difficult to deal with."

Despite difficulties, the Council can look back to a record of achievements — often without fanfare or credit — that probably is unequaled by any other private, non-profit organization with a minimum staff and funds.

The Council came into being as the result of efforts of the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, which dates from the end of World War I, to stimulate groups in the Southern states that would help prepare the way for desegregation of the schools, which by the early 1950s had begun to appear an inevitability.

1955 Incorporation

The Arkansas Council, then as now affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, organized a Board in December 1954, obtained a staff in April 1955 and set up its office the next month. It was incorporated under Arkansas law as a non-profit organization in July 1955, with Fred K. Darragh Jr., Harry S. Ashmore and Rev. Charles C. Walker as incorporators.

"At that time," recalled Nat R. Griswold, the executive director, "the Council realized that Southern communities, in complying with the Supreme Court's desegregation decree, would need all of the advice they could get." But the feeling generally was that the communities would accept the ruling in good faith and comply.

The byword has long since become "transition without tragedy." In those days, he said, "we didn't think there would be tragedy. And up until 1956, things were pretty relaxed."

In Griswold's retrospective view, the Southern Manifesto quickly changed everything. It seemed to say that "maybe we don't have to desegregate after all." Governor Faubus, in answers to questions by a New York Times reporter in 1956, disclosed his own viewpoint, which essentially was one of local option compliance, and he offered the services of his administration to help carry out that viewpoint.

The fears of desegregation began to evolve, and the Council, which previously had operated quite openly, began to take less direct approaches, even in approaching officials. From that time on through the turbulent crisis years, Griswold said, the Council racked up "a long record of failures" in which many things were attempted with few achieved.

In the summer of 1957, it brought to Arkansas some education consultants from Missouri and Oklahoma to meet the school superintendents at Russellville ("It has just now desegregated," Griswold noted), Clarksville, Danville, Ola and other communities along the Arkansas River.

The object was for the superintendents who had experienced desegregation to tell those facing it what they might expect and how to go about it. As the Little Rock controversy mounted, the upriver superintendents became less willing, and their answer eventually was, "We can do it, but we won't do it without a court order."

Another Try Falis

The Council also tried at Little Rock and North Little Rock to organize conferences of teachers at which staff members from the College of Education at the University of Arkansas or other experts could offer direction on dealing with problems that would accompany the admission of Negroes to white schools. "We were always stopped at the superintendent's office," Griswold said.

While the Council advocated good-faith compliance with school desegregation orders, Griswold said, the Little Rock school administration, personified by the superintendent then, Virgil T. Blossom, was planning minimum compliance.

"Blossom was the author of the doctrine of avoidance of court defiance without the admission of Negro children in any significant numbers," he said.

The Council's most successful early effort was at Hoxie. There, the School Board, motivated more by economics than human concern, desegregated voluntarily, and after a few weeks this stirred up a hornet's nest of segregationist opposition. Board members and school officials were threatened, their homes stoned. The Board was on the verge of resigning under the pressure when the Council moved in.

"We were able also to bolster the resolution of the principal and the School Board members," Griswold said. The Board took the initiative in court and won a federal court ruling that the School Board, which administratively found it possible to desegregate but did not do that, was liable to the parents of children who were damaged by segregation. The court also enjoined the distractors from continued molestation.

Little Rock Effort

The Council was thwarted in its every effort to smooth the school desegregation path at Little Rock, Griswold said. Blossom would attend meetings but always confined his contribution to an explanation of what the Board was doing.

"When we made suggestions, he became very defensive, aggravated and disturbed," said Griswold. "He was the only one allowed to talk on this subject."

Throughout, the Council's "weapon" has been the conference table. "We have been committed from the beginning to the view that the majority and the minority could solve any problems in any community without rancor, and do it fairly," Griswold said.

An example is Pine Bluff, which he said had made considerable progress in desegregating its public accommodations largely through the Council, which established liaison between opposing factions.

At Pine Bluff, Griswold said, the Council has reached the point in public confidence where its staff talks publicly with the police chief.

Explanatory Work

From time to time, the Council also has issued statements it feels are needed to counterbalance or put in perspective pronouncements on court opinions or whatever by various groups and individuals.

Griswold and Sutton say they approach desegregation problems not from the Negro's side alone but from the standpoint of what the South — white and Negro—has lost and is losing through continuance of segregation.

"The Negro has less to lose because he doesn't have anything," said Sutton. "The South itself has everything to gain."

Sutton said the difficulties lie in the fact that Southern — and Little Rock — school and public officials have never accepted desegregation as progress" but only as "something that might have to be done."

"They're always looking for a place to stop," said Griswold.

Both agree that desegregation will come, whether now or tomorrow or another day, and that segregation continues only in the acquiescense of Negroes.

The Council tries to achieve the "transition without tragedy," and also to bring the full community into the realization of the value of harmonious living. It does this now by trying to interpret to the communities in which it operates all developments in the race relations area and to get white and Negro persons involved in projects so that by working together they get to know each other — the most effective way to integration.

Griswold thinks this will come to urban areas much more quickly than to rural communities, but it tries to tackle the rural problems as well, by holding meetings for people from rural crossroads.

What Are Goals?

What is the Council's present goal?

It might be summarized this way: "Opening doors."

The Council particularly is concerned with opening doors for job opportunities for Negroes, including urging industrial plants to declare and publish an "open" policy of employment. It also is finding itself the liaison in efforts to extend Negro opportunities in federal jobs in line with national policy.

Sutton said the Council provided a real service to industrialists who do not know where to start, who to see or what to do when they wish to begin hiring Negroes. It answers employers' questions about employe reaction to Negro co-workers. (Those with federal contracts, for example, stand in threat of losing them—and thus having to lay off white workers —unless they follow a non-discrimination hiring policy.)

Many of the approaches are through the pocketbook.

"It would be good to have the heart converted," said Sutton, "but if that doesn't work, we try something else."

Civil Rights Bill

Another area in which the Council is now at work is on public and business acceptance of the civil rights bill, which it expects to be passed.

"We're doing what we can to see that businesses will not defy the act," said Griswold. Under the law, if passed, Negroes would have a right to go wherever they wished and to be served as whites are, and Griswold said this involved a possibility of trouble.

Both the Council and business leaders want to avoid trouble, he said. Often the Council works indirectly through businessmen, who might be able to approach a small businessman whom the Council staff itself could not.

From whom does the Council draw its strength?

Always interracial, it has a 14-member executive board, with state-wide representation. Its staff includes the director, associate director and secretary. Its membership is at times "pretty low" but now numbers more than 600, and it operates in 24 communities of Arkansas.

"We have not claimed to be a mass movement or force or power and have never attempted to be," Griswold said.

Its funds come from foundation grants and from members and donations. Its budget this year is $26,000. Until last year, Griswold said, only about one-fourth of the budget had been raised locally. This increased last year to 40 per cent, representing, he thinks, a change of climate in the business community of the state.

N. W. - file

August 11, 1964

Miss Ruth Arnold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Ruth:

Just a note to confirm that Shirley and I will be in Little Rock August 21 and 22 for the Lawyers' Seminar. Our plans are to drive, leaving here early Thursday morning and arriving in Little Rock Thursday evening. Would you be kind enough to make reservations for us at the Downtowner Motel?

Looking forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Director

VEJ/mmj

October 15, 1964

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Bill Becker, Little Rock
Rev. Robert Brown, Little Rock
Fred Darragh, Little Rock
A. L. Fletcher, Little Rock
Steel Hays, Little Rock
Paul McCain, Batesville
C. H. Murphy, El. Dorado
Hugh B. Patterson, Jr., Littler Rock
James H. Penick, Sr. Little Rock
Pratt Remmel, Little Rock
Wayne Stone, Pine Bluff
Carl R. Stout, Little Rock
H. E. William, Walnut Ridge

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 28, 1964

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by members of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

EXTRA

Sent Check 1-22-65 M.M.

READ ALL ABOUT IT! READ ALL ABOUT THE ANNUAL MEETING!

Friday, January 29, 3:30 P.M. to

Saturday, January 30, 3:30 P.M.

ACHR'S TENTH ANNIVERSARY

How about these speakers!

MR. HAROLD FLEMING

Executive Vice President, Potomac Institute, Washington; former Director of Southern Regional Council; recently loaned as assistant to LeRoy Collins in organizing the national Community Relations Service established by the Civil Rights Act of 1964; member of Board of Taconic Foundation, Washington; a Harvard man!

Mr. Fleming will be dinner speaker, 7:30 p.m., Friday at Philander Smith.

DR. SAMUEL SHEPHARD, JR.

Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Schools (Banneker District) St. Louis Schools; has won national acclaim for his methods in raising achievement levels of culturally deprived school children; supervises 16 principals and 500 teachers.

RECOGNITIONS AND AWARDS: "Citizen of the Year" awarded by St. Louis Chapter of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, 1962; "Page One Award" St. Louis Newspaper Guild, 1960; Community Service Award in Education, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, 1964; Distinguished Leadership Award, Maryville College of the Sacred Heart, 1964.

ARTICLES ABOUT HIS WORK: Time Magazine, June 8, 1959; Southern School News, January and June, 1959; Education, U.S.A., December 15, 1960 (NEA); Look Magazine, September 16, 1961; Life Magazine, January 26, 1962; Fortune Magazine, March, 1962; Saturday Evening Post, April 14, 1962 and September 14, 1963; Redbook, October, 1963; Readers' Digest, March, 1964.

Dr. Shephard will be the luncheon speaker Saturday, Albert Pike Hotel.

MARK THE DATES

SEND IN YOUR RESERVATION

MORE DETAILS WILL BE SENT LATER

PA ✓
LWD ✓

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

January 15, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon Jordan:

We are pleased that you can be here for the annual meeting. Bring along your Solomonic wisdom and your Marshallian (John's or Thurgood's) judgement.

At a number of places in the program you can be very helpful. On Saturday morning in workshop sessions we will hammer out final drafts of our annual resolutions. These proved useful last year. They will focus on various provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Economic Opportunities Act. In this activity your analysis and insights will be needed.

In short we expect you to work when you get here, justifying your travel expense!

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS-MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REVEREND GEORGE W. GUNN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF-NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

February 2, 1965

Mr. Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Just a note to commend you, Ozell, and Ruth on a very fine annual meeting. I was much impressed by it, and appreciated having a small part in it.

May I suggest that next year, you give some promotion to New South subscriptions. I think that New South is important, not only to the Arkansas Council, but certainly to its membership and friends, and though subscriptions are handled directly through SRC, promotion at the annual meeting is quite proper, I think. For example, had there been a table exhibiting New South, and someone there to take subscriptions at the dinner and at the luncheon, I am confident that many persons would have subscribed.

Please don't misunderstand me. The fact that New South was not promoted at the meeting did not in any way take or detract from its success.

Les and Paul were very pleased that you had such a good meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ,Jr:js

LWD ✓
PA ✓
nm

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

February 4, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon Jordan:

We were very glad that you came to our annual meeting. We have a slight pang of conscience that we took your $3.50. You actually earned your "supper"! That is to say you were helpfully present at the sessions.

We will be seeing you again February 23-24. Maybe the matter of our responsibility for New South subscriptions can be on the agenda. As you may know ACHR has always included the subscription in dues. We have contended this was mutually profitable. So, we have no experience in selling NS subscriptions.

Till we see you, be intelligently good.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

Nat R. Griswold

NRG:ra

OFFICERS – MRS. JOE R. BREWER, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN • FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, VICE-CHAIRMAN • DR. G. P. FREEMAN, TREASURER • MRS. W. E. MORRIS, SECRETARY
STAFF – NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • RUTH ARNOLD, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

LWD
PAV } fyi
NM - file

25 May 1965

Mr. Lloyd Elliott
Staff Economist
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Elliott:

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations owes and sends its appreciation for the tremendous job you did in our workshop. May I add my personal thanks to you?

Your "purview" was timely and to the point. It was everything we could have hoped for and served effectively to get our concerns before the workshop participants.

I apologize for the switch in your assignment which resulted when we moved from a two day to a one day conference. The change had been made by the time we knew you were coming. You were excellent in the role and we are pleased that it turned out that way.

Again, our thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ozell

Ozell Sutton

OS:cit

OFFICERS - FATHER WALTER B. CLANCY, CHAIRMAN • DR. W. H. TOWNSEND, VICE-CHAIRMAN
REVEREND A. M. ROBERTS, JR., TREASURER • MRS. FRANK N. GORDON, SECRETARY
STAFF - NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • OZELL SUTTON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

File:
Ark. C. H. R.

May 23, 1967

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on
Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

I think you have done a good job of setting up your book in these three chapters. If I would have any suggestion (beyond nitpicking I've put in the margins), it would be maybe to condense some of the background material, especially the material that is quoted or based on previous journalistic pieces.

What is most interesting and most valuable is your own first-hand information and insights into what happened, and from what you tell of the coming chapters, these will be foremost from here on out.

Publishing in my humble and probably distorted view of it is kind of like the weather -- not much sense to what happens and nothing you can do to influence it. You might want to try Chapter III on the Saturday Evening Post. Bill Emerson, their editor, I think he is, is an old Southerner; I'd send it straight to him. For books, I just don't know. A Mrs. Beck from Atlantic-Little Brown (8 Arlington Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116) has been looking for southern material. Why don't you send her your first chapter and a brief outline, and see what comes of it?

Thank you for letting me look at this. Lord knows I appreciate all the hard labor behind getting as far as you have. Good luck with it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl. - 1.

PS: The lady's full name is Emily Morison Beck, and she is the associate editor.

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

April 21, 1967

Dear Pat Watters:

Ed Stanfield conveyed your kind offer to look over what I have written and possibly, to advise on publication and pre-publication use.

The manuscript is being sent as it is, the first typed draft. My wife suggests that, psychologically, Chapter III had better be Chapter I! I had thought the Saturday Evening Post might be interested in Chapter III. It published Virgil Blossom's account of the crisis in Central High in 1958.

Some materials with greater public interest are in process, e.g. "Arkansas SNCC and Black Power", role of Arkansas politicians (Fulbright, Mills, Hays, McClellan, and the state gang), and personal motivations of the principals (Faubus, Blossom, Jimmy Karam) much of it needs dehydrating without making it dry. You can help judge whether I have anything. Thanks!

Nat

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

January 16, 1968

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human
Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Our editor at Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., (not McGraw-Hill) is William Goodman. If you plan to call on him, it might be well to write or call in advance. He's a nice guy. Beyond,that, I don't know of anyone to recommend. Les should have some ideas, and Goodman himself.

Good luck with it. If you should decide to go to a university press, one that strikes me as very good on southern material is the LSU Press.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

P. S. Harcourt's address is 757 Third Avenue, New York, New York 10017; telephone, 572-5000.

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR ~~4-4521~~
4-9758

January 11, 1968

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat Watters:

We were pleased that McGraw-Hill published your book. The contents certainly fill a great gap in current knowledge.

In regard to my manuscript which is in the last stages, I think, I have not approached other publishers. You know that Mrs. Beck urged me to go to a university press. I still would like to try other publishers of trade books.

I write now because I expect to be in Philadelphia January 25-26 and New York January 27-31. Do you have any suggestions of persons there who could help and whom I might see? This trip came up suddenly in connection with Little Rock's Opportunities Industrialization Center.

Am writing Les Dunbar and hope to see him.

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold

NG:mg

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

CROSS REFERENCE

RE: cc of letter from Nat Griswold to Edwin Stanfield sent to Robert Anderson regarding NEW SOUTH reprint in Arkansas Council's publication.

SEE: ~~[illegible]~~
Correspondence re Articles and Manuscripts: Copyrights.

This letter to:

Norman Jimerson, Alabama Council
Lou Mitchell, Florida Council
Frances Pauley, Georgia Council
Alice Spearman, South Carolina Council
Kay Jones, Tennessee Council
Happy Lee, Virginia Council

December 4, 1963

Mr. Lou Mitchell
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Lou:

We are forwarding to you under separate cover several copies of the report of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces. Please make whatever use of these you deem appropriate for your area. We received a very limited number; however if you need additional copies, I am reasonably certain that you can get them directly from the President's Committee.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr., Assistant
to the Executive Director

VEJ/rh

"...to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership."

Florida Council on Human Relations

P. O. Box 8292 / Jacksonville 11, Florida

April 12, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Ernie Lent said that you would be willing to make intercession with Ralph McGill on our behalf, to come as the speaker for our fund-raising dinner. I have just written to him.

If you can call him, or see him, and tell him how much we need Ernie's services, and how much, seeing that without Ernie our group was able to do before he came, the city needs him, it will be of tremendous help.

It was good to see you the other weekend. I hope our paths cross often.

Sincerely

Ralph

Ralph Mason Dreger, Ph.D.
Chairman, Human Relations
Council of Greater Jacksonville

RMD:s

October 15, 1964

Mr. Ed. Louis
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
356 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Henry Arrington, Miami
William Baggs, Miami
Dr. James Bass, Fort Lauderdale
Bishop Coleman F. Carroll, Miami
Dr. Ira P. Davis, Miami
Cody Fowler, Tampa
Mayor Herman Goldner, St. Petersburg
Robert Brask Mann, Tampa
Edward B. Moylan, Jr., Miami
Dr. W. W. Schall, Jacksonville
L. E. Singer, Miami
Edward F. Swenson, Miami
Lou Wolfson, Jackson
Mitchell Wolfson, Miami

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

CROSS REFERENCE

RE: August VandenBosche's ltr of 1/24/66 to SA
on the Housing seminar at the Florida state convention.

SEE:

Personnel: Samuel L. Adams; speaking engagements

CROSS REFERENCE

August VandenBoshe (Florida Council on HR) letter of May 1, 1967, re workshop and requesting NEW SOUTH materials.

SEE: **New South**, 1967, general.

STATEMENT TO
RURAL DEVELOPMENT SUB-COMMITTEE
OF THE
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

Submitted by

August H. VandenBosche
5225 Ponce de Leon Blvd.
Coral Gables, Florida 33146

June 27, 1967

STATEMENT CONCERNING AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN FLORIDA
Presented by
August H. VandenBosche
for the
Florida Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers
and the
Florida Council on Human Relations

My name is August H. VandenBosche. I am the Executive Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, a private, non-profit membership organization of some 2500 members in twenty chapters in all areas of Florida. The purpose of the Florida Council is to devise, develop, and publicize techniques and programs of youth and adult education to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, nationality or ethnic group membership.

Also, I serve as the chairman of the Florida Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers, a coalition of organizations dedicated to assisting farm workers secure their basic rights and dignity. The Coordinating Committee is composed of the following groups:

The American Friends Service Committee
The Community Action Fund
The Diocese of Miami Human Relations Board
The Florida Christian Migrant Ministry
The Florida Citizens Committee on Agrigultural Labor
The Florida Council on Human Relations
Industrial Union Dept., AFL-CIO
N.A.A.C.P.-State Conference of Branches

I would like to submit the following statement on behalf of the Coordinating Committee for Farm Workers and the Florida Council on Human Relations.

I. The Condition of Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Workers in Florida.

In Florida, over 100,000 seasonal farm workers and migrants pick and pack the fruits and vegetables which symbolize the "abundant harvest" of present American affluence. Yet, as strangers and sojourners, many workers live in substandard shacks with inadequate water and bad sanitation, are clad in cast-offs, and travel from place to place in rickety, unsafe cars, trucks and buses. They are underfed, under-educated, overworked, and often deprived of medical care and welfare services. For the most part, migrant workers in agriculture are un-organized and usually have no minimum-wage protections, workmen's compensation, or unemployment insurance. At the end of the season "up the road" they return to their home base in Florida with little or nothing saved from their precarious, low-paid and back-breaking jobs. This is so even though wives and children in may cases also work in the fields.

The condition of these farm workers in Florida is morally,economically, physically and socially intolerable, exhibiting the following characteristics:

A. Wages:

If figured by Social Security records:	(Annual)	$ 1,055.00
If figured by Statistical Analysis of the United States:	(Annual)	500.00
If figured by Dept. of Agriculture:	(Annual)	$698--1,379.00

Figured anyway, it is miserable!

B. Health Conditions:

1. Farm workers continue to exhibit high rates of disease and sickness incomprehensible in Modern 20th Century America. For example, in one of Florida's smallest counties 100% of all migrant children between the ages of 0 and 15 years have parasitic diseases, 43% of these also have skin diseases and 96% of them under 5 years suffer from diarrhea.
2. The above figures only apply to those who have been examined. Authorities estimate that only 1/6 of the Florida farm workers have had a physical examination in the last ten years, if at all.

3. Disabling work-related accidents(among those reported) total just under 10% of the total number of workers, and in the reported number of work-related fatalities the figures are 4½ times the number reported in the mining industry.
4. Infant mortality is significantly higher. In one area over one third of the migrant births reported were delivered by midwives outside of hospitals, and without a physician present. Of the numbers of unreported births, many occur in buses, trucks, or at "the end of the row." A farm worker's infant has a very poor chance to live and enjoy life.

C. Education:

Studies demonstrate the pathetic state of education among the farm workers, where the average adult has an educational level of less than 6 years. Fewer than 1% of farm workers finish high school, and it is the rare individual who has ever entered college.

D. Housing:

Housing conditions are in such a deplorable state that "new"1966 farm family housing is an 8 x 16 wooden shack without electricity or toilet facilities, and other housing is inadequate, dirty, unsafe, and expensive ($10 to $15 per week is the most frequent rate). Collier County (Immokalee) last July adopted a progressive standard for migrant housing stating that no quarters can be smaller than 8 x 8, and that all units must have electricity. Still, there is no provision for individual toilet and bathing facilities, and only a "portable water supply," which means a faucet from which the farm worker can fill a pail and carry it to the house. Collier County is the County where last year alone, fires destroyed 175 beds in 7 camps with 4 deaths and the destruction of 13 buildings.

E. Sanitation:

Sanitation conditinns are so basically deplorable that privies are almost totally lacking in the fields, and drinking water is contaminated by sewage. The Florida Health Project Reports state that in one county there were more health violations than privies. One can only imagine the alternatives available to the field worker who must labor from dawn to dusk where there are neither toilet facilities or facilities for hand-washing.

F. Morality:

The morals of the farm worker andhis family are daily undermined by the almost total lack of privacy in their housing and toilet facilities, the almost total lack or recreational facilities, and the easy access to cheap alcohol and narcotics.

G. Legislation:

Protective laws of the State, including Social Security laws, Child Labor Laws, School Attendance laws, and others, are most often unenforced with reference to the Farm Workers. Unemployment Insurance coverage, unemployment disability insurance coverage, workman's compensation, fair employment coverage, and Social Security coverage are either non-existent or inadequate. CCFW member staff personnel know and have observed children, some as young as five--seven years old, working in the fields; and they are aware that at the cry of "it sure looks like rain," the children disappear.

H. Economic Exploitation:

Economic exploitation in the form of "company stores" and exhorbitant interest rates is the pattern among the Farm Workers.

I. Child Care:

Mothers with young infants and young school children are forced to work to subsist (there are 1.4 wage workers ,on the average, per farm family, and in Florida this more frequently represents a mother-child work force as opposed to a husband-wife work force). There are so few places where children of farm worker mothers can be left with safety, that these young children are either left on their own, cared for by other school age children, or in the hands of the "grannies" who although well-intentioned, are incapable of providing sanitary and desireable day care for infants and young children.

J. Citizenship:

Because of their necessary mobility and extreme poverty, the agricultural worker rarely is registered to vote and excersizes precious few responsibilities of citizenship in local government and community affairs. Instead, he is considered an intruder whenever he makes any attempt to participate in decisions which affect his very life, health, safety and economic position.

K. Automation:

In 1965, the foreign work force in Florida was reduced from over 50,000 workers to slightly under 10,000 workers. Even with this reduction, there remained a net "jobs available" loss of about 32,000, and a new increase of jobs for domestic workers of only about 1800. (USDL)

II. Current O.E.O. and Other Federally Aided Programs.

The programs which are now actively funded by O.E.O. and other Federal Agencies should receive high praise. The Community Action Fund, Migrant Legal Services, South West Florida Self Help Housing, Inc., The Special Education and Training Program for Adult Migrant and Seasonal Agricultural Workers. However, all of these programs lack the massiveness that the situation demands. Many of the programs have been curtailed or limited in scope because of political interference by those in the agri-business world and on the Florida political scene who see every attempt to raise the economic and educational level of the migrant worker only in terms of the increase in per unit cost of the beans or okra. Unfortunately, most of the specific anti-poverty projects, the health and welfare and the educational programs must depend upon the approval of those who see agricultural workers in such an economic light rather than in terms of human need.

III. Areas of Need:

1. Inclusion under an unemployment or workmen's compensation program.
2. Coverage by minimum wage laws.
3. Inclusion under the National Labor Relations Act.
4. Programs and implementing legislation in housing, health standards, safety codes, sanitation, and improved crew leader registration.
5. Increased programs to meet the needs of agricultural workers in housing, manpower development and basic education in a massive, imaginative and comprehensive manner.
6. Availability of Federal Loan Programs in areas of need.
7. Inclusion of agricultural workers in the voting processes.
8. Inclusion of agricultural workers under social security and old age assistance programs.
9. A long range plan based upon the predictable removal of migrant and seasonal farm workers from this type of employment because of mechanization and automation.

IV. Conclusion:

I would like to conlude that the needs of agricultural workers constitute an immediate and national emergency. I would further suggest that this emergency demands new and imaginative approches. It seems that this must be done through the development of a concept of comprehensive human development of the agricultural worker and his family. Such a concept would demand a unique and creative all-out approach to the multiple problems of farm workers in America. It would coordinate the traditional "piecemeal" attempts and would unite effectively the private and governmental resources at all levels to effect positive change in the lives of disadvantaged persons.

Such an approach must bring together in a practieable and meaningful way the many segments of community life--employers, schools, health and welfare agencies, civic and professional groups, unions, civil rights groups, social action groups, religious groups, to work cooperatively in programs to meet the needs of the farm workers.

Built into this concept of comprehensive human development must be a basic principle of the right and dignity of self-determination on the part of the agricultural worker. It is a matter of human right that the agricultural workers must participate in every area and decision in which his life is affected. Such a principle would deal realistically with the paternalistic approach of nearly all existing and traditional programs.

FLORIDA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1221 N. W. 43rd Street Miami, Florida 33142
Phone: 633-7261

Executive Director
EMILY Y. BAREFIELD

File

June 17, 1969

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Pensacola.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Yesterday I talked with Sister Mary Anthony, who has been the Secretary of the John XXIII Council on Human Relations for some years. She has been transferred recently to Baltimore, whence she returned my call.

Early in March they started, not a boycott but a selective buying campaign in downtown Pensacola. A list of stores to be patronized was provided to interested people, rather than a list to be avoided. The stores with which they did not trade were those guilty of non-employment of negroes in positions of higher responsibility. The campaign was continued through April until about May 20th. Sister Mary felt that it was most successful, and the down town stores were gradually added to the list.

A similar campaign is now planned for the Town and Country Plaza Shopping Center. The merchants in this center have promised to meet with representatives of the Human Relations Council and of the NAACP Youth Council, but have failed to do so. Hence, the selective buying campaign is about to be put in effect.

The Chairman of the John XXIII Council is Mr. Ernest Herring, who may be reached at Catholic High School in Pensacola - P.O. Box ~~32502~~ 1329, 32502. The NAACP Youth Council is headed by the Rev. H. K. Matthews, who works at the Florida State Employment Office, Garden Street, Pensacola, 32501.

The situation seems to be well in hand. My Executive Committee meets here this Saturday. If they or you all feel it is indicated, shall be happy to go to Pensacola next week. I see no emergency.

Regards,

Emily Y. Barefield, Exec. Dir.

8/22/69
Change of address to.
4300 N.W. 12th Ave
Miami 33127

D R A F T for LWD

Dear Mr. Evans:

Your letter of December 26 is acknowledged.

We are pleased to have an opportunity to give the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee a true and accurate account of the Southern Regional Council per se and our relationship with the Florida Council on Human Relations. The utterly false and inaccurate information about the Council that your successor Mr. H. J. Strickland apparently disseminated is so inconsistent with fairness and truth that we feel an obligation to the Committee and the people of Florida to set the record straight. And it is our hope that the Committee, once armed with the real facts concerning the both organizations, will report them to the general public.

The Southern Regional Council, incorporated under the laws of Georgia in 1944, is an organization to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. Ninety distinguished Negro and white Southerners from the major religious faiths make up our non-profit non-political, and non-sectarian organization. The Council's predecessor was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a group of the South's leading church men and women which formed in 1919.

The Council seeks through research and education to help the South find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. We are not an action group in the sense of picketing, selective buying compaigns and demonstrations.

Our finances come from individuals, churches, labor, foundations, and subscriptions to our monthly magazine, New South. We are a tax-exempt organization under state and federal regulations.

Seven Florida citizens serve on our Board. They are: Mr. I. H. Burney, Jacksonville; Mr. Herbert M, Davidson, Daytona Beach; Rev. Claxton Doggett, Lakeland; Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, Miami; Dr. John A. Griffin, Tallahassee; Mrs. Austin Kimball, Gainesville; Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables.

Our activities in Florida are, for the most part, in copperation with the Florida Council on Human Relations. As indicated in my letter of December 11, the Florida Council was established under our suspices, but since 1957 has been legally and organizationally autonomous.

Ltr., Mr. Evans
January 4, 1964

We exchange with the Florida Council data and information relating to social change and human relations in Florida and the South as well. We assist the Florida Council financially with a quarterly grant-in-aid upon receipt of quarterly reports of its human relations activities. These grant-in-aid funds have been specifically and trusted in our care for state Councils on Human Relations throughout the South by a prominent national foundation. We also help the Florida Council Board in the recruitment of staff personnel in the event of staff vacancy. Despite this limited assistance from us the Florida Council determines its own policy and modus operandi and we make no attempt to influence these decisions.

With the foregoing information, Mr. Evans, it is our sincere hope that the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee is better informed about the Southern Regional Council and its relation to the Florida Council on Human Relations. We trust that you will make these facts available to the people of Florida consistent with the mandate from the Florida Legislature.

Sincrely yours,

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, retiring Madam Acting Executive Director, and Mr. Executive Director....

There are people in Atlanta, notably my superiors at the Southern Regional Council, who are developing a serious doubt about the frequency with which I come to Daytona Beach. Recently, the Executive Director of SRC was heard to mutter, "There can't be any groups left in Daytona to which he hasn't spoken." This is not quite true, but it is the second time this year that I have addressed the Florida Council. On the last occasion it was as a last minute substitute when nothing was expected and one was appreciated for trying. That is by far the most favorable circumstance for a speaker.

By contrast, today, in addition to having been forewarned, I am very impressed by the importance of this occasion. In a sense this is the rebirth of the Florida Council on Human Relations. Ralph and Georgia Dreger have done a magnificent job and we cannot commend them too highly. They hand to us and to Lou Mitchell a strong infant.

Thinking of the Florida Council as an infant is both a pleasant and a frightening thought. Pleasant, because it gives us an opportunity to look at the new day and the new future unencumbered by too much of the past. Frightening, because we are on the verge of a new day in race relations in the South and in the nation. There is a new future, so new that prudent men are very cautious in their predictions about it.

Recently, on a Sunday morning, one of the nation's most competent newspaper reporters was speaking on the phone from a cluttered hotel room in Birmingham to a high government official in Washington. The reporter had spent the night covering the tragic riots of that city and he described the night's events in detail. At the end of the conversation the official in Washington asked, "What does it mean?" In all seriousness, the reporter replied, "Go back and read James Baldwin again. This is the fire next time."

This is, as of the last few weeks, a fire next time if not "the" fire. I speak of it cautiously not only because there is definitely such a thing as self-fulfilling prophesy, but because none of us--no individual in this country -- knows what it means at this moment.

But, it does mean something. It means something for human relations councils; for the whole concept of the interracial, non-violent approach to change. It especially means something to the new Florida Council.

To look very gently and very cautiously into the near future I should like to make a prediction and then--probably foolishly--to wander around with the implications of that prediction--if it is a correct one.

I predict the Negro has begun a process which will--rather quickly--make the race problem in the United States the country's number one domestic problem.

This may not sound like a very bold prediction. After all, any number of people have been saying for years that the race problem was our number one problem. But saying this has not made it so. It has been a "convenient" number one problem, remembered with an occasional intense drawing room vogue; fine campaign oratory, excellent platform promise. But manipulated callously in public life and pushed aside in private life when it became boring or distasteful. Until now our "number one" problem has been such that drawing room drapes could shut out the sights and smells--and even the screams--of black slums. Our "number one" problem has--until now--been the kind that could, for the sake of expediency, be shunted aside for votes of unity on wheat and harbors and public debts and all manner of immediately vital issues.

This kind of convenience is not that of a number one problem--and this, if the signs are correct, is just what the Negro in America is about to change.

The sights and smells and all of the screams of the slums and the ghetto are beginning to come downtown. The drawing room drape is no match for this. I wish every person in this country could have toured a small area in downtown Birmingham on a recent sunny Sunday. The ashes of burned buildings were still smoking, pieces of brick and broken bottles were everywhere, as were pieces of automobiles and fire hoses. State patrolemen directed traffic with shotguns under their arms. Every street was blocked by two cars and eight to twenty exaggeratedly armed men. And around it and through it all, the dark, silent, sullen faces of the people who lived there. On those faces there was the blank, expressionless nothing; the highly developed defense of the Negro living in the white man's slums. In those eyes however, there was a hatred which threatened even the usual defense of the blank face. There was almost a promise in those eyes: every week has one Saturday night.

Perhaps I am exaggerating this. I think not. I think the slumbering giant was awakened in Birmingham. I think no man and no group of men controlled that giant. I think pure hate--the kind of pure race hate that Klansmen know as they castrate a helpless, nameless Negro--filled those people and overflowed into ghetto streets against white policemen. When the uneasy quiet settles--that uneasy quiet where the slum dweller knows he has won nothing, when all the uptown white men send the Negro spokesmen back to the ghetto empty handed--and then go on TV to apologize for even having brushed a few crumbs off the table--then there is nothing left but an opportunity to hate. Maybe the "downtrodden" Negro had the dignity of protest for one instant; maybe the school child had the exhilaration of "I'm not gonna take it, I'm gonna change it now!"; maybe the poolhall drunk one night lashed out against the despised blue uniform instead of at himself--but after all this when the quiet settles in, when the deep, segregated, tokenism, third-class citizenship quiet settles in --hate settles in with it. And, when hate leaves the slums and smashes in the drawing room window, it will be one of the reasons why the race problem has become number one.

There are other reasons.

If such a thing is possible, responsible Negro "leaders" have perhaps been betrayed even more than have the Negro masses. The responsible Negro leader has tried to lead according to the rules established by the orthodox white society. Even when the facts said otherwise, he has placed faith in good will, in good intent, in public battles and private promises. For the effort, all too often these people have found themselves betrayed by the whites and denounced by their Negro neighbors. In the Negro communities of this country, yesterday's"aggressive, militant leaders are--not always but too often--today's tired discards.

Some of these leaders grope with exasperation. Recently a Negro "leader" sat in his office and talked to a man--not The Man--but a man in the White House. The leader had spent most of two days urging people not to use violence, to wait. He was worried and his call to Washington was the last gambit. This man was a dignified, brilliant, deeply religious person, a college president. The voice from the White House was patient, quiet, reasoning--of another world where one's family did not sleep in the basement to avoid bombs. Finally, the Negro leader changed from the informal first name speech to the formal and from dignity to exasperation. "Mr. Blank, I'm tired. I'm tired of trying, tired of begging my people not to shoot, tired of too little too late. I'm tired, Mr. Blank. My ass is tired." Click. End of conversation and perhaps end of an era.

Or another telephone conversation reported to have taken place between the South and Washington. "Thank you, Mr. Attorney General, but I don't want to call you Bobby. I want to call you Mr. Attorney General because I want to speak to the Attorney General of the United States."

This is another reason why the number one problem is becoming a reality. Recently, just very recently, Negroes have been speaking to Washington the way no people have been speaking to the capital before. The new speech has nothing to do with the recent old pattern of manipulation, persuasion, pressure, and compromise. The new message is "Go to the devil." The Attorney General--the official civil rights man of the administration--is suddenly being spoken to as no Attorney General has ever been addressed before. (Certainly as no Kennedy has ever been spoken to before.)

In politics the number one problem becomes reality because all the civil rights political gambits are becoming topsey turvey. Anything can happen hereafter, and that which could blueprint election victories last year could be 18th Century political strategy by 1964.

There is one other group we have to mention in this new scene, the young people mostly college related. This is the group who as recently as February, 1960 in Greensboro used the then revolutionary sit-in technique in the South. At that time the new movement was rightfully interpreted as a sign of the growing impatience of the young with the slow rate of change.

This is part of the group now starting something new. It is too early to describe it implicitly, but a part of the technique is

the mass demonstration, the mass arrest, the bodily mass protest, with no particular apparent loyalty to "non-violence" as a philosophy or a technique. It is also too early to say why this new protest has come into being, but there are some clues. There seems to be a disappointment, a deep sense of exasperation, at the practical arguments --the idea of change for the sake of "good business," for instance. After all, what could be more insulting to the human spirit than to say, "All right, you can eat here, but only because it creates a better climate for industrial growth." Some of the recent statements --rather radical ones for their time--from Chambers of Commerce in Charlotte, Raleigh, Durham, and Atlanta seem to begin showing a little awareness of this. Pleas for change are a little broader than "good business." But, there still is so little, such a small clamor of voices saying "It is right," that one wonders what this loud silence is doing to the human spirit of these injured people.

These young people also show evidence of having added a new pride in doing for themselves, without legal maneuvering, without adult leaders; perhaps finally capturing a feeling of dignity--so long denied--out of the simple act of doing.

Recently the national administration indicated that strong support would be given to federal legislation requiring all public businesses to serve the public. This is a radical political gesture. Yet, in these cities where masses of young people are pushing for just those results, this announcement has caused barely a ripple. Even so radical a political move--one which would have been greeted enthusiastically a very short time ago--seems now to be a little late for these people. The answer in lack of excitement seems not only to be "Go to the devil," but "Don't bother-- we'll do it and we would prefer to."

Interestingly, all of these elements of the new order are jumbled together. The slum dweller, the young--educated and uneducated --, the leader--indigenous and outsider--are all jumbled together in a complex pattern that has only one certain characteristic: unity. The unity is not always automatic. In fact, the new struggles are often particularly marked by disunity at first. But, unity is inevitably the result after the first clashes with the enemy.

The white society has shown great reluctance, indeed has refused, to see individuals who are dark skinned. Only Negro has been seen. Governments have not appointed individuals, they have appointed Negro. The majority society has lectured, "Pull yourself up by your own bootstraps." When the individual has done just that, the same bland society looks impersonally right through him and says "Negro."

To the extent that it existed, white politics created the "Negro block vote." The block vote was a reaction and a defense of people who were given no choice. Now, to the extent that it exists--and it is beginning to exist predominantly--white society is creating the Negro en masse. Behind the mask of color there is beginning to exist the hard, insoluble grouping--Negro. White society has willed it, without alternative, and it is becoming so.

This, above all else, is why "our race problem" genuinely is becoming our number one problem.

Ironically, this is happening at a time, for the South at least, when there are signs that the white majority has learned a great deal. All of us have been so concerned with statistics and numbers, in itself a legitimate concern with dreary conclusions, that we have sometimes overlooked the tremendous process of education going on in the region. In many parts of the South masses of white people have accepted the inevitability of change and a growing minority of whites has seen the rightness of it. Political structures that promoted the old order have been overthrown. In a few instances the new politicians have even given some indication of supporting positive measures. Business men and community leaders who have already gotten credit for leading have, in some situations, actually begun to lead.

These groups and these people will probably find it the hardest to understand the new mood and the new era. Cities with a so-called record of good race relations--Raleigh, Nashville, Atlanta, Charlotte, for instance--are and will be stunned to find themselves the centers of renewed controversy and potential violence. "Why pick on us, look what we've done," will be the naive, confused, and sincere response.

Very much the same response will come from government officials, local, state, and federal. The sound of the wounded innocent will probably be particularly loud among the functionaries on the national level.

These situations represent real danger in terms of human relations.

With the Negro community, the much touted patience is obviously wearing very thin and is giving way to black nationalism. We have watched the phenomenon of the Black Muslims, have understood it, and deplored it. This form of extremism is not yet a mass movement and is not, therefore, a major threat. In commenting on them a minister once said: "If the Black Muslims could somehow put Christ in the movement they would explode overnight." In a sense this is what is now threatened: not that a Christ will be put into a formal movement, but that a black nationalism will be put into the whole of Negro society.

It is understandable that a seemingly patient people would now become publicly very impatient, and no nonesense about it. It is understandable that open anti-white feeling would dominate some of the recent mass meetings in Birmingham and elsewhere. It is understandable that some of the predominantly Negro civil rights groups would feel compelled to seek out the most dramatic situations without particular regard for all the factors involved. These things are understandable and at present they are manageable. But, if they go much further, as they threaten to do, the job of building a society of unity will be considerably more difficult.

In this regard Negro leaders, white leaders, politicians,

private agencies concerned with human relations, all of us must be especially aware of the new dynamite with which we are playing.

The new push is a very human thing made up of very human people. There seems to be no alternative but for an injured people to turn to hate after they have been immediately and personally rebuffed. When a mass of people begin a movement, powerful forces come into play. People are called on to make superhuman sacrifices and they do just that. All of the tragic pent-up rebellion comes out and for just an instant people not only make superhuman sacrifices, they become superhuman.

It is dangerous , indeed I would venture to say it is cruel, to play with the emotions of these people, to make promises which are not to be fulfilled, to lead without being able to deliver. This is a caution which I would direct to no one in particular but to everyone in general, from Washington to Atlanta.

With the general white community there are concerns of an equally serious nature. With the well meaning moderate--moderate individual and moderate city--the rather remarkable education of the last decade has got to be greatly accelerated. These people and these places must come to understand that for all our progress we have just begun and can no longer enjoy the luxury of time we have had in great abundance. To do otherwise will be to lose what little progress we have made.

For the determined status quo--individual and city--the real tragedy is in the making. The Negro has become the irresistable force and if whites insist on becoming the immovable object a frighteningly high price of bitter disunity will be the cost. Jackson, Mississippi, now shows signs of reaching this kind of situation. In Jackson and elsewhere, wide sweeping change toward genuine unity will come or the status quo will strangle itself by the very strength of the hold it has to maintain on itself. And we will have in an increasing number of cities what we now have, for instance, in Albany and in Montgomery: a wide gulf across which angry whites and bitter Negroes stare at each other. Cities, places where people live, literally and medically sick with hate.

If this prediction and these observations are correct, this is not a very pretty world for the infant Florida Council. On first reaction the loyal workers and supporters might wonder why they've bothered, Lou Mitchell might go look for a new parish even before he gets here, and we might all go home to await the horrible day of doom.

Actually, the world we have just described is one which especially needs a Florida Council. A council of good people, good ideas, and most importantly, good will. A council without illusion as to the seriousness of the problems with which we deal. One with the ability to have a real sense of urgency without panic. And one to have a real purpose with courage and without apology.

On an immediate and practical basis what can we do?

1. With an understanding that even mile by mile within the state, conditions vary a great deal, we must appraise our situation and know it in considerable detail. Where real dangers exist, immediately, we must concentrate our resources. From here on, fire-fighting will be an important part of our program.

So too we must know where real potential for change exists. Where it does we must take every advantage of that potential and deliver as much of decent and orderly change as we possibly can. We must do it not as white delivering to Negro or as Negro taking from white but as people together freeing themselves from a thing which is harmful to all of us.

2. We must try to explain this new sense of urgency to the people of Florida. In our publications, our conversations, our programs, our conferences we must interpret what is really happening all over the nation. We have to try to expose the myth of "It can't happen here!" The Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi, only last week boasted of their good race relations. Not too long ago the people of Albany--when they still had a bus system, parks, and swimming pools, and seats in their library--would have told you how happy their colored people were. Just a few weeks ago, before the very dangerous violence, the Mayor of Nashville could have truthfully given you a long list of the good changes that had taken place there.

Beyond the myth of "It can't happen here" we must try to explain why "moderate gains are not enough." This will be extremely difficult, but the key to trying is the fact that we are dealing with people. If we are very skillful and if the people with whom we deal are basically decent, then perhaps they can understand "person" and "individual" where they cannot understand "Negro" or "integration." We must explain that to a person, half-free is no better than half-well. That we are trapped not so much by having to create a better industrial climate, though that does enter the picture, as we are trapped by our religious and political heritage.

We must explain too, honestly and with some pride, that we have good things here in the South. Some very good traditions as well as some very bad ones. That there is still--thank goodness--some real good will and affection among our people. That we are, and no corn pone nonesense about it, all Southerners, all living in and loving our region. We must explain that we want to avoid that cold and impersonal ghettoed eastern industrial society that has been the source of all the new intellectual bitterness.

Hopefully, we have even honor in large enough measure to do something really good.

3. We must get over the last vestiges of our own feelings of being a "little band of good people." We are good people and have been a little band. Knowing very well our recent history, it may sound foolish to talk in terms of a Florida Council of thousands of members but I don't think it is. A Council of 5,000 or 10,000 members must be a possibility.

Surely there are many times that number of people in this state who believe as we do. Surely, if in Mississippi, with less population, if a group of racist-anti-democratic bigots can boast of a membership of 80,000, we can talk in terms of 10,000. We must.

And, we must be more than just good. This is especially true of the standards we place on ourselves, our council, and our council staff. You must be more than just well-meaning. Especially, your director Lou Mitchell must be more than just well-meaning.

Help this man, help to educate him, support him. Judge him by the most exacting standards, the kind of standards our day and our concerns demand. I think he is a good man; so do you. And, thank goodness, so does he. If he is good, give him the full measure of your support. If he is not, make no nonsense about it, dismiss him.

Having left that pleasant little thought, welcome Lou and Betsy Mitchell--and good luck.

I've used a lot of words here today, certainly enough and likely a great deal too many. By only yesterday's history some of the things said here--the dire descriptions and the high hopes--would have been absurd. I don't think either is absurd today. There is a great deal to be done, an almost impossible amount of unbelievably difficult tasks. But, where better to turn than to where mankind has always had to turn in difficult times: to the people, good people of good will.

Therefore, good luck to you too, Florida Council.

SEMI-ANNUAL BOARD MEETING

October 14, 1959

AGENDA

1. Invocation

2. Lunch

3. Minutes

4. Reports

   a. Executive Director

   b. Chairmen of local Councils
      Atlanta, Macon, Augusta, Columbus, Cobb

   c. Finance Committee
      Budget, plans for campaign, etc.

5. Discussion of program for coming year
   Telecasts, workshops, study groups

6. Report of Nominating Committee

7. By-law revision
   Appointment of committee

Mrs Kney

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Nov. 16th

1. First Baptist Church
   Ray McClain Mrs Hugh Owen

2. Red Cross

3. Lutheran Church of
   Redeemer

4. Congregational Church
   W. Anderson

5. Hall of Bishops (Episc.)
   or M. Sneed - ~~Lutheran~~ Rittry St.

Cahill
222-9887 -

GACHR – Bylaws –
Greater Atl Council Report
Ga Council Report

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Chairman; Dr. Richard Hocking, 1st Vice-Chairman; Rev. Lucius Pitts, 2nd Vice-Chairman; Secretary, Mrs. Philip Hammer; Treasurer, Mr. Don Hollowell.

25 to 50 members

Terms expire October 1959	Terms expire October 1960	Terms expire October 1961
✓ Suzette Crank		
✓ Rev. Judson Jackson 604 Lincoln Street La Grange	Dr. W. L. Graham Paine College Augusta	Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean Morehouse College Atlanta
? Rates, Spelman X Dr. A. E. Manley, Pres. Spelman College Atlanta	Rev. M. L. King, Sr. 407 Auburn Avenue Atlanta	Mrs. W. W. Weatherspool 1475 Ezra Church Drive Atlanta
X Mrs. B. E. Mays 820 Fair Street Atlanta	Mrs. F. P. Drake 452 West Parkwood Road Decatur	Mr. L. D. Milton 212 Auburn Avenue Atlanta
✓ Rev. Lamar Clements Atlanta Christian Council Atlanta	Mrs. Fred Patterson 2959 Andrews Drive Atlanta	Dr. F. D. Funderburg Monticello
X Rev. Samuel Williams 863½ Fair Street Atlanta	Mrs. Carlton Binns 229 B olling Road Atlanta	Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun Paine College Augusta
X Rev. W. D. Kent Statesboro	Mrs. M. E. Tilly 63 Auburn Avenue Atlanta	Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon ex of also 2039 13th Street Columbus
✓ Dr. Dow Kirkpatrick 781 Peachtree Street Atlanta	Mr. W. C. Ervin Paine College Augusta	Dr. Guy Wells Statesboro
Mr. Frank Hutchings 557 Monroe Street Macon	Dr. Lester Rumble 63 Auburn Avenue Atlanta	Mrs. T. W. Timm resigned 2332 Kingsley Drive + gone Macon
X Dr. Monroe F. Swilley 2715 Peachtree Road Atlanta	Rev. Lucius Pitts 201 Ashby Street Atlanta	Dr. Carl Bennett resigned Wesleyan College + gone Macon
X Dr. George E. Clary, Sr. 63 Auburn Avenue Atlanta	Rabbi Jacob Rothschild 1589 Peachtree Road Atlanta	Mr. Gus Kaufman ex officio also 590 Eldorado Drive + Jenkins Macon Co-Chm. ex officio Chm. & Co-Chm. of local Councils Cahill Hinson Kangerson
? Dr. Frank Cunningham, Pres. Morris Brown College Atlanta, Ga.	Dr. Harry Richardson Gammon Theological Seminary Atlanta	
✓ Father James Bayce		

Bishop P. Randolph Shy

Dr. Frank Cunningham

Father James Boyce

Rev. Jessie Cook
Marietta

Rev. Chas. Demarec (Episc. minister)
Marietta

Mrs. N. S. Evans
Augusta

P. Bertsche (Quaker)

✓ Albert W. Thompson (N) lawyer
Columbus

✓ David Shapiro (Presby minister)
Columbus

✓ Mrs. Fischer Mozley
Macon

✓ Mrs. Spain Willingham
Macon

J. H. Anderson
Albany (Dis. N)

Carson Pritchard
Carrollton

12. Executive Bd. members

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

ANNUAL REPORT OF EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
October 1, 1959

For the past forty years the work of interracial cooperation in Georgia has been promoted by concerned and dedicated citizens who were interested in building a better Georgia for all her citizens.

The Southern Interracial Commission, organized in 1919, was the first organized group. Out of this group have come the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Council on Human Relations. Ours is the only group that includes all religious faiths and minority groups and all races: truly interracial and ecumenical.

During this period substantial progress in race relations has been made. Lynching has been abolished; greater justice has been meted out to Negroes in our courts, Negro schools have been improved, both in buildings and in salaries of teachers; higher standards for teachers have been introduced and transportation facilities provided. Discrimination in public carriers has been all but eliminated. While we rejoice in the progress in human relations that has been registered, we are far from satisfied with our present status in this field of human endeavor. We shall not be satisfied until all our citizens are recognized as human beings, worthy of proper respect and dignity, and so treated under the laws of our Federal Constitution.

Since the historic decision of the Supreme Court in May 1954, ruling against segregation in public schools, the issues of human rights on all fronts have come alive with new meaning and significance. Our Georgia Council on Human Relations proudly stands for full rights for all our citizens without discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin. To this end we carry on the work of fruitful communication between all our people with the hope of a better understanding and fellowship between all Georgia citizens.

. . . . . .

During the past year your director has been busy in various parts of the state having interviews with key citizens in five of the larger urban communities as well as in smaller cities. He has sought from these persons expressions of opinion relative to the most effective strategy to be followed in promoting better relations among all people. He has met with genuine interest among many fellow citizens. A majority of people, it would appear, wants better relations among all groups. Many are deeply concerned that our public schools be kept open.

Last October we set up goals for the year. One of these goals was to double our membership. Our records indicate that we have added 158 new members, but it is difficult to keep an accurate count of the total membership since, unfortunately, we lose members also. We now have 371 paid-up members. If we include all persons dues at least once since May 1954 our total membership is 666.

We have added two interracial groups during the year to the state Council: Columbus and Cobb County Human Relations Councils. In addition to these are the much older ones in Atlanta, Macon and Augusta.

At our last annual meeting we adopted a budget of $17,000. We have received from the Southern Regional Council $6350.00 From membership dues we have raised $1,652.50. From contributions, both from individuals and groups like churches and the GTEA, we have obtained $2,372.25. Certain small miscellaneous amounts added to these made a grand total of $11,785.70 for the year. We fell short of the amount in the budget. One of the pressing needs before this body is to find a way to underwrite an adequate amount to promote this interracial fellowship in our state.

We have strengthened our local groups by newsletters at regular intervals, keeping the members informed about events occurring in other areas of the state and the south. From our office much material has been forwarded, not only to the local councils, but also to a selected list of business men, many of whom are not members of this group, but who welcome such information.

Our state council has also sought to work with other agencies in our field of activities; such as, HOPE, Atlanta Christian Council, Georgia Council of Churches, United Church Women, Catholic Women, Council of Jewish Women and the Anti-Defamation League. These organizations, and others similarly motivated, merit your interest and support.

We joined the Atlanta Council on Human Relations in a city-wide workshop in April of this year in which more than 200 persons enrolled. It was one of the most fruitful ever held in the state.

Our Executive Committee, Dr. J. McDowell Richards, chairman, and Dr. Richard Hocking, vice-chairman, has met in regular monthly sessions which has greatly aided our work on the whole. A small but faithful membership of this committee has done magnificently in their efforts to promote the aims of the state Council.

Perhaps the most constructive work during the year has been our TELECAST program. Mrs. Philip Hammer has done excellent work in arranging for these broadcasts, securing the guest speakers and carrying out the details of these programs. So far, three notable educators have been brought to our city and state over WAGA-TV. They were Dr. John Fischer, Superintendent of Baltimore Public Schools; Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Supterintendent of Washington, D. C., Public Schools; and Dr. Omar Carmichael, Superintendent of the city schools of Louisville, Kentucky. Each of them told the story of the desegregation of the schools under his administration. Many people have listened to their stories and we trust great good has been accomplished for the cause of public education.

Need we point out, as a state Council on Human Relations, we are in the center today of dramatic events that may well determine the course we shall take as a society for a generation to come? In view of the continued suspicion among our people and a sustained tension over the outcome for public schools in our state, let us plan wisely our strategy for the new year. Let each Board member, indeed each member, feel himself responsible for this, our common enterprise of communicating across all barriers in our midst more effectively than we have ever done before.

Respectfully submitted
Walter C. Cowart

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

October 1, 1958-September 30, 1959

Balance on hand September 30, 1958		$ 121.46
INCOME:		
SRC (grant-in-aid, TV programs, special grant)	$7,370.00	
Memberships	1,652.50	
Contributions	2,372.25	
New South subscriptions	240.00	
Miscellaneous (workshop, reimbursements) . . .	150.95	
Total income	$11,785.70	11,785.70
TOTAL		$11,907.16
EXPENDITURES:		
Salaries	$5,640.64	
Travel and expenses	1,121.96	
Rent	483.00	
Phone	300.42	
Postage	362.50	
Office supplies	335.68	
Printing	196.62	
Refunds to local councils	396.00	
New South subscriptions	238.00	
Withholding and F.I.C.A.	665.83	
Grant to Atlanta Council	500.00	
TV programs	1,020.00	
Audit	15.00	
Subscription to Petal Paper	5.00	
NAIRO	15.00	
Expenses of Board meeting in April, 1959 . . .	48.19	
Miscellaneous (Fisk scholarships, flowers, labor)	177.09	
Total expenditures	$11,520.93	11,520.93
BALANCE		$ 386.23

MINUTES
GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Wednesday, October 14, 1959
Atlanta, Georgia

The regular Fall meeting of the Board of Directors of the Georgia Council of Human Relations was called to order at 1:00 p. m. by the vice-chairman (?) Dr. Richard Hocking.

Announcement was made that the secretary, Mrs. Jane Hammer, was unable to attend because of a broken knee., and that Mrs. Montez Albright, of the Southern Regional Council staff, would be acting secretary for this meeting.

A motion was made, seconded and voted that in absence of corrections, the minutes of the previous meeting (mailed out to all board members before the meeting) be accepted as written.

Mr. Hocking called on the executive director, the Rev. Cowart, for his report. Mr. Cowart called attention to his written report, and said that he would not take time to read it but would lift out of his report a few of the year's accomplishments. He said that the executive committee had held regular monthly meetings, receiving reports and defining the strategy month by month. As executive director, he had sought to place responsibility for the Council's program upon the executive committee as representatives of the Board of Directors. He hoped that more and more the Board and the Executive committee would feel responsibility for carrying the program, with the executive director and the executive secretary as their servants in coordinating the work.

Mr. Cowart stated that the new SRC field director was Paul Rilling, and that he would be working with the Council.

He mentioned the three TV programs sponsored by the Council, each a 30 minute broadcast by Fischer, Hanson, and Carmichael telling us not what to do but what they had done in desegregating the schools in their cities, in the hope that their experiences might be of help to us here. he thinks facing our problems. This communication in mass media is new and has proven to be very effective.

Another project of the Georgia Council has been the establishment of a small lending library in the office. He felt that the state organization has a major responsibility of informing its membership. He hoped that people would borrow the books for information and guidance in the field of human relations, and hoped, too, that members would donate books they themselves had bought and liked so that the Council could circulate them.

He expressed pride in the local chapters and their representatives, and especially the two newly organized chapters in Columbus and Marietta, which make a total of five city chapters within the state organization. He noted that a representative from LaGrange was present and that there had once been a local chapter there and hoped that it would be possible to organize a chapter in LaGrange soon.

Mr. Cowart called attention to the annual meeting, to be held Wednesday, October 28, in Macon, Ga. at Christ Episcopal Church. Three outstanding speakers have been obtained: Sylvan Meyer, who will speak on civil rights at 3:00 p. m., Dr. Lucius Pitts, who will speak on education at 4:00 p. m., and Rev. Kyle Haselden, author of Race Relations in the Christian Perspective, who will speak at 8:00

Reports from Chairmen of Local Councils

ATLANTA - report given by Rev. Ed. Cahill, chairman. Our board has met regularly each month during the past year, with the exception of September. Part of our report was included in the Director's report of the all-day ~~workshop~~ institute and workshop, which was planned and put on in cooperation with the Georgia Council. This year we concentrated on the school problem: Dr. Benjamin Mays was our main speaker for the morning session; the afternoon workshops included 1) Legal Aspects of School Desegregation, 2) Economic Consequences of School Closing; 3) Community ~~Relations~~ Education. The turn-out was above our expectations--over 200. Also, we not only met all expenses but made money on it.

Our efforts during the past year were mainly concentrated on project work--we got some signs taken down at the Atlanta airport. One sign is still up, but we have been assured that when the new airport facilities are opened there will be no discrimination. This assurance is not in writing, and we intend to be alert to ~~xxx~~ check on it. We worked on desegregating the public library for one and a half years. At the beginning of last year we evaluated our strategy. Up to this point we had been playing ball with the library board, and had met with evasion. We sent out a notice to all our members and our additonal mailing list informing them of what had been done and of our failure. This report contained a veiled hint to other organizations (who had been holding back from more direct action) that "persuasion" had not accomplished our purpose, ~~This xxxxxxxx~~ and that perhaps more forceful action was needed. This proved sufficient to alert the library board, and after consultation with the Mayor, the public announcement was made that the library would be open to all citizens of Greater Atlanta. The desegregation was done under threat, in a sense, but not our threat. We believe that the ~~xxxx~~ background of persuasion was helpful in the final outcome. We are not in process of investigating a report that the library board has not desegregated ~~the~~ meeting facilities. at the public library.

We are planning our annual meeting for November and at that time will try a new experiment in program: an international panel of students--the concepts and values ~~which~~ they bring out of their culture in human relations and inter-group relations. The first trial run will be at our meeting, and if this is successful we will offer it to churches in the local area. It is not pitched at race per se, but in the area of inter-group relations. This is the only new thing in terms of program that we have planned. The next thing in line in our actitivies is planning a series of meetings where people of both races can come together to talk about matters of mutual concern. We have in mind such groups as ministers, social workers, lawyers, teachers. We had hoped to begin with a seminar of ministers and then branch out into the other groups.

During the question period, Mr. Cahill was asked if the restaurant at the airport is desegregated. Mr. Cahill answered that the Atlanta Council is making every effort to see that it is. The policy now is ambiguous, ~~and there is no consistent policy.~~ Mr. Hollowell said that a Mr. Coke of Birmingham, Ala. has a suit pending here. ~~motion or a hearing on the merits~~ He expects that there will be a hearing on the merits of the case during the ~~next~~ last week in November, or the first week in December. The situation findings in this case may clear up the Atlanta airport restaurant, and set a precedent for other leased facilities.

Mr. Cahill continued his report: we are planning to publish a small pamphlet listing all the facilities in Atlanta which are now desegregated, and all the organizations which have desegregated programs and make this available as the entrance piece for a program among the Negroes (through the churches) so they will know where they are welcome.

~~all restaurant~~ 200 ~~members~~. Our membership is now around 200.

AUGUSTA: (Rev. James Budd is chairman, but was not present. Report given by Mr. Dr. Clayton Dr. Calhoun and Dr. W. L. Graham.

During the past year we had two main projects. (1) The first was providing lunches for school children. ~~The project was then taken up by our group without any reference to race.~~ The list of children came to us with the number of children going without lunch listed by white and colored schools. After we began it, the project was taken out of our hands by the enthusiasm of the community. We did not wish to administer the large funds that came in, and so we turned the funds and the project over to the committee ~~from the city~~. The problem was first presented to us from the Negro school, but we would not attack it as a problem other than as a community problem. The group that is now dealing with this project is a non-segregated group which draws in a great deal of community leadership. (2) Our other project was a study of the process of desegregation with the purpose of having an informed local neucleus to be available for consultation. We also hoped to bring both information and pressure. We have studied local situations in other communities where things have gone very well. We are ready to be available when and where we can get invitations to speak before community groups. Much of the work that is done by our council is not done by an organization but by the individuals who make up the group. We have about 40 to 50 members, and we are growing. Ours is the oldest human relations group in Macon. The director of our group has recently been appointed to the hospital authority--the first Negro to be on it. We are not quite as well aware as we would like to be of other agencies in the community who carry on their programs without segregation. This will be one of our projects this year--to discover these agencies and organizations. Our council is not as well known as a council as it should be. We do not have enough meetings off the campus and in the city as we should. Some of our meetings are now being held in homes in the city. We are not moving as fast as we should in Augusta. We met with the Mayor and have been moving in cooperation with the ministers' group to get ~~has been working on~~ nursing training for Negro young women. There used to be such training available, but this is no longer true. There is a dormitory with 100 beds designed for Negro nurses at the Talmadge Hospital, but no program has begun. As a result of our work, there will be training eventually. We wanted a program set up on three bases: practical nurse, registered nurse and a degree program for graduate nurses. The practical nurse training is now available, and the registered nurse training will be, we hope, by next September. The graduate nurse program depends on Payne College, as there is no other degree program in Georgia for Negro nurses.

The previous program disappeared because the standards were set too low in order to get the nurses out in a hurry during World War II. It got so we were not getting but two or three nurses per year. ~~as students~~. The University Hospital discontinued its program because it was anticipated that Talmadge Hospital would have such a program. We did not want to announce the first program for practical nurses until the second and third could be announced.

We have tried to make the Augusta Chapter really a committee on Human Relations--we have white, Negro and Chinese members. (There are about 500 Chinese in Augusta.)

Mr. Hollowell, commenting on the report, said that he thought the local chapters would be wise to put their main efforts on community projects that affect the general community, not necessarily involving race, and that people of both races working together for the betterment of the community would lead to acceptances of the organization by the community and give the group more opportunities to point out the more glaring inequities. When Georgia finds itself in the same position as Virginia, it is still going to be hard for the diehards to come to grip with these issues. An organization in the community that can, and has been, getting people together to discuss issues will be most valuable.

A question was raised as to a Negro member of the Housing authority. Mr. said that there was no effort to get a Negro member appointed, because at that time appointments had to clear through the governor's office and the city board, and it was not thought wise to do this.

Mrs. Knox announced that tapes are available of the Hanson and Carmichael TV programs. These rent for $1.00, but the Georgia Council will send them free if any group will use them.

As an example of the community feeling in Augusta, Mr. told of the incident of the basketball team. It was a good team, and ~~trips were being planned~~ out of the state. Local objection arose, because if the team went out of the area they would be playing against ~~Negro and~~ teams with Negro players and this would "break down our traditions". Contributions were started for the trip, and ~~this~~ got so large that they were not only able to make the trip but ~~they~~ had enough for an endowment for future trips. The local newspaper handled it almost entirely in letters to the editor. At the present time, the editorial line of the newspapers is softening somewhat.

had an opportunity to play with the people

defeated

Left blank

County
Cobb/and Marietta ; Reported by Mr. Orr and Rev. Cook

Our chapter continued our meetings through the summer. We lost all of our ministerial support when we affiliated with the Georgia Council on Human Relations. (Group had formerly met as an interracial ministers group). In an effort to overcome this, we sent out a memo and included a copy of the by-laws of the Council to an extensive list in Marietta. We are trying to get the only palyground in Marietta desegregated, ~~There are two Negroes~~ and two Negroes added to the police force. We have asked Margaret Long to be our speaker for a meeting, and to review ~~the~~ Lillian Smith's new book, One Hour. This meeting will be held at the St. James Episcopal Church.

At our meeting ~~last~~ next Monday night we will ~~take up~~ report these items we have heard today.

Mr. Cook noted that the group had not lost all its ministerial support--he was still with them and he is a minister.

Mr. Orr continued by saying that the group is new and really in an oritentation period--that there was a tremendous task of educating ~~the~~ people to a movement of this kind, and the group needs much direction. Two months ago we adopted some objectives, after almost a year of discussion to arrive at some concrete objectives. We felt that the hiring of Negro policement would be the ~~next~~ least irritating project. Our second project will be the desegregation of the park and playground (federally subsidized)--also for maintenance and improvement). This could be an very easy matter. The park can now be obtained by Negros for entertainment for Negroes, but we cannot use the facilities as citizens.

Chief of Police Sanders will address the group Monday. He has stated that we do not have in Marietta a totally Negro area to which he could assign policemen.

Mr. Hocking inquired about Lockheed, and wondered what would happen if the group interested itself in union practices. He also inquired as to employment practices. Mr. Orr replied that these were generally good. However three Negro secretaries were employed recentsly and they had to use separate rest room facilities.

Portion of minutes of meeting of Board of Directors, Georgia Council on Human Relations, Wednesday, Oct. 14, 1959 (rough copy, to be re-typed)

Report of the Finance Committee: Mr. Hollowell, chairman, deferred to Mr. Cahill, member of the committee, for the report.

We reviewed the financial situation of the previous year and then decided to go at the problem from two levels. We approved two budgets: one ~~of which~~ is a realistic budget, based on our expectations (as of last year) and our expenses (as of last year); and the second is a target budget which would include a full-time director.

Income we could expect from same sources:	$3,500.	SRC
Memberships, etc.	2,500.	
	$7,000.	

This leaves a balance of $10,000. to be raised, and it can be raised in two ways--memberships and special gifts. The committee recommends that the $10,000 be raised in the following way: the state groups (outside Atlanta) $4,000; the Atlanta ~~group each~~ chapter ~~will raise~~ $6,000. To raise the $10,000 we need to go into full-scale, full-time operation. We suggest to our entire board that each board member take the responsibility of raising $200. from whatever sources he has. With 50 board members raising $200 each, the $10,000 goal can be attained. The day is past when good will will be accomplished by miracles. It must be accomplished with resources to develop a program. If we have the money to get a good program going this year, we can build up an organization that will support a $25,000 per year program.

Motion: that we adopt a target budget of $17,000, including the employment of a full time director.

And that we send a copy of the minutes, drawing attention to the budget proposal, to all absent board members.

The motion was seconded and passed unanimously after discussion.

LaGrange: Rev. Judson Jackson, reporting.

There has been some hardening of public opinion, and yet some softening too. There has been a very definite effort to push the Negro into a Negro ghetto. The Negroes and the liberal group in LaGrange used to have the cooperation of LaGrange College. It was the moving spirit of our organization in LaGrange. But back of the college is a wide street that was unsurfaced. The property was bought up and the Negro houses torn down and Negroes forced into ~~the~~-segregated housing. Calloway Mills was back of that both politically and financially, and is very strong for segregation.

The ministers have been scared, ~~to~~ but are now speaking more frankly. We have had some interracial meetings of ministers as a fellowship group. On Mondays at noon, with about 50 - 50 representation. About 25 ministers. there is a possibility of organizing into an association. I would rather that we organized with more lay people instead of just ministers. Unfortunately, we have not been able to interest the Negro laymen. Tried to interest a doctor, but did not get too much response.

We have been talking about the public school situation, and the importance of keeping them open. We have one deacon who does not like it, but he has not helped himself by his attitude. Many have told me that they feel I am right about it. I believe that the People in LaGrange are not in favor of closing our public schools. Last year the Baptist group was afraid to put anything in their report about public schools; this year they came out in favor of keeping them open.

Finance Committee: see green sheet

Harold Fleming:

I bring you greetings from the staff and officers of the Southern Regional Council. I wish that Paul Rilling were here, though I am glad that I am here. He is trying to make the rounds of all the state groups. He is very able and very energetic man whos advice and help on program I think you will find very useful. Wish he had been here to hear very interesting report.

We are concerned in the SRC that we are in danger of the time running away with us--in other words, that "they ~~will integrate~~ are going to integrate without us". The forces of change is running these days--"creeping realism".--in the South. There are many examples of new ways of thinking in these days. I think we have to be very much on our toes and very imaginative to keep re-thinking our ~~program~~- programs and our approaches as the situation changes and not fall into a rut. I have to check myself up very frequently that what used to make sense does not make sense today. In Georgia, with the school issue coming to its conclusion and with the whole state affected--and we want to stress that the whole state will be affected and that it is coming a good deal faster than ~~any~~-people like to believe. This whole organization is among the many very few repositories with any insight in this field. I think you might become almost before you realize it, a "sellers market" rather than a "buyers market". All of a sudden when people need information the doors will open and the problem is to be ready.

With the series of TV programs we were breaking new ground--no groups in the South had used TV. Our hope was that this would show what could be done. There are a great many other things that we could be initiating and experimenting with.

over

I think Mr. Cahill gave an excellent bugle call on the need ~~to raise~~ for raising a more significant budget. SRC wants to continue to give as much help as we can to the state groups. It is difficult to raise money locally. Yet the groups who give SRC money always ask: how much of this money is being raised locally? They measure the progress and worthiness of our movement by the local support it has. Local support ought now to begin to increase rather than decrease. This new attitude of the South should ~~make~~ be reflected in finances. This would be a mighty asset to us in securing funds--it would show that the state councils arewinning support locally.

Report of the Nominating Committee: Mrs. Wm. Pauley, chairman, Rev. Cahill, Mrs. Ed. Albright and Rev. Murray Branch. Since Mrs. Pauley was unable to be present, she had given her report to Mr. Cahill and asked him to read it.

Nominations for the Board of Directors

etc.

Suggestions for Executive Committee:

Mr. Cahill ~~offered a motion: --that~~ moved the election of board members and executive committee as read.

seconded and voted unanimously

Mr. Cahill also presented ~~the~~ a recommendation to the Board from the Nominating Committee: "for all practical and legal purposes, under the present bylaws this board is solely responsible for election of board members and conducting all business. However, in practice the board members have been elected at the annual meeting. ~~The Nomina~~ This committee recommends that the Board act to bring the by-laws more in accord with present practices, and further that the membership be responsible for electing officers and board members, approving the budget, approving the policies and program of the Council.

Motion: that the Board of Directors adopt the recommendations of the Nominating Committee. ~~and that at~~ at the annual meeting a committee be appointed for ~~re-~~working the by-laws and

seconded and voted unanimously.

Motion: that a committee be appointed ~~at the annual meeting~~ to look into the by-laws. ~~and~~

seconded and voted unanimously

The meeting was adjourned, and those who could were invited to stay to listen to the tape of the TV program featuring Superintendent Omer Carmichael of the Louisville Schools.

Pauley
Ga. Council

March 6, 1962

Frances,

This might be helpful to distribute in all Negro high schools, if it has not yet been done.

Jim

PLEASE READ AND CONSIDER

"I THINK THE COUNCIL DOES A FINE JOB. I'M GLAD TO BE A MEMBER. IT'S ONE OF THE FEW ORGANIZATIONS I CAN JOIN WHERE I CAN MEET WITH ANYONE...REPEAT, ANYONE...WHO SHARES MY CONCERN OVER HUMAN RELATIONS IN THE ATLANTA COMMUNITY. THERE ARE TOO FEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES AND WHITES TO MEET TOGETHER AND BECOME FRIENDS...

"HERE IS MY $5 MEMBERSHIP. I'M SORRY I CAN'T HELP THE COUNCIL AS MUCH AS I'D LIKE TO. I WORK AND ALSO AM INVOLVED WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS."

THIS QUOTE MOVED YOUR CHAIRMAN TO WRITE THE FOLLOWING:

DEAR NEW (AND OLD) MEMBER:

WE ARE HAPPY THAT YOU HAVE JOINED THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, AND WE LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

TOO BUSY TO HELP? NO, YOU'RE NOT. THERE ARE MANY WAYS:

1. IN DAILY CONTACTS YOU CAN RECRUIT NEW MEMBERS FOR US BY TELLING YOUR FRIENDS ABOUT THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL. (DO YOU READ YOUR MAIL?) WHETHER YOU ARE A UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR, AN IMPORTANT COG IN THE WHEELS OF A GIVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENT, A CLERK IN AN OFFICE, AN ACTIVE VOLUNTEER IN CIVIC AFFAIRS, A HOUSEWIFE AND HOME-MAKER, YOU CAN ENLIST THE SUPPORT OF NEW MEMBERS. (TAKE THEIR MEMBERSHIP DUES AND SEND IT IN FOR THEM; GIVE THEM OUR ADDRESS OR GIVE US THEIRS.) THIS TAKES LITTLE EFFORT ON YOUR PART BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL.

DO YOU BELONG TO A CLUB THAT CONTRIBUTES TO CIVIC CAUSES, THAT HAS A "SOCIAL ACTION" COMMITTEE, THAT WOULD TAKE A CLUB MEMBERSHIP? DITTO..

2. YOU CAN ENCOURAGE - BY EXAMPLE, WE HOPE - FINANCIAL SUPPORT BEYOND THE $5 OR $9 MEMBERSHIP. YOU CAN URGE INDIVIDUALS TO BE GENEROUS AND YOU CAN SUGGEST THAT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH YOU BELONG SEND CONTRIBUTIONS. ONE CHURCH SENDS $500 A YEAR, OTHERS $100.. MANY CHURCHES DON'T EVEN KNOW WE EXIST. DON'T SAY "SOMEBODY SHOULD ASK THEM" - YOU ASK THEM AND MAIL US THE CHECK! THERE'S NOBODY ELSE TO ASK THEM EXCEPT ANOTHER BUSY MEMBER LIKE YOURSELF.

3. BY LETTER OR CONVERSATION YOU CAN EXPRESS YOUR CONCERNS TO CIVIC OFFICIALS AND LEADERS, AND TO THE PUBLIC AT LARGE THROUGH LETTERS TO THE EDITOR COLUMNS. OUR NEWSLETTER FREQUENTLY SUGGESTS THAT MEMBERS COMMENT ON MATTERS AFFECTING THE COMMUNITY (E.G., STATUS OF NEGRO POLICE, GRADY HOSPITAL POLICIES, MAYOR ALLEN'S WELCOME AT MISS DOBBS' CONCERT). CAN YOU IMAGINE WHAT A DIFFERENCE 100, 200, 400 COMMUNICATIONS WOULD MAKE IN THE SOLUTION OF SOME OF OUR COMMUNITY PROBLEMS? INDIVIDUAL LETTERS, CARDS, PHONE CALLS ARE IMPORTANT.

4. COME, LEARN AND ENJOY YOURSELF, AT OUR MONTHLY LUNCHEON ON THE LAST TUESDAY OF EACH MONTH, YMCA, LUCKIE STREET, 12:15, $1.75. MEET YOUR FELLOW COUNCIL MEMBERS AND WHAT THEY ARE DOING IN YOUR NAME.

5. VISIT COUNCIL BOARD MEETINGS IF YOU CAN, FIRST THURSDAY, COUNCIL OFFICE, 2-4 P.M.

6. IF YOU POSSIBLY CAN, GIVE US SOME HELP IN THE OFFICE. WE'RE STILL OPERATING WITH 1½ DAY A WEEK SECRETARIAL STAFF. WE HAVE SOME WONDERFUL AND FAITHFUL VOLUNTEER HELP, BUT IT WOULD BE A BOON TO CIVIL RIGHTS IF WE COULD COUNT REGULARLY ON SOME MORE LETTER FOLDERS AND STUFFERS AND STAMP LICKERS.

7. GIVE US INFORMATION THAT YOU PICK UP THROUGH YOUR OWN ASSOCIATIONS. MANY LITTLE PIECES WHICH SEEM UNIMPORTANT IN THEMSELVES HELP TO MAKE UP A BIG PICTURE. IF YOU LIKE TO RUN DOWN RUMORS AND COLLECT ASSORTED BITS OF INFORMATION, WE ALWAYS HAVE SOME INTERESTING LEADS.

8. IF YOU HAVE AN IDEA, SPEAK UP - DON'T BE BASHFUL.

WE'RE GLAD YOU JOINED. WE KNOW YOU'RE INTERESTED. NOW ALLOW YOURSELF TO BECOME PERSONALLY INVOLVED. WE NEED YOU.

HOPEFULLY,

Katherine Hoffman

MRS. CLIFTON HOFFMAN
CHAIRMAN

ENCLOSURES: REPORT OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE ON PAST YEAR
FACT SHEET ON HOSPITALS
ANNOUNCEMENT OF MEETING ON SCHOOLS, APRIL 15.
INFORMATION SHEETS ON COUNCIL

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

SUNDAY, APRIL 15, 3:00 - 5:00 P. M.
6:00 - 8:00 P. M.

DEAN SAGE AUDITORIUM

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

SUBJECT: "Evaluation of the First Year of School Desegregation And Prospects for the Future."

SPEAKERS: Dr. Rual Stephens, Deputy Superintendent of Atlanta Schools
Mr. Oby Brewer, Chairman Atlanta School Board.

Discussion

SAME DAY, 6 P. M., at Frazier's Cafe Society Restaurant
880 Hunter Street, S.W.
Supper ($1.75), and A TALK ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

BY

MR. WILL CAMPBELL

Nashville, Tennessee
National Council on Churches

PLEASE PHONE OR SEND IN SUPPER RESERVATION TO THE COUNCIL OFFICE BY

FRIDAY, APRIL 13, 1962

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL COMMITTEE ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

As we approach the second year of school desegregation in Atlanta, how shall we evaluate the first year? What shall we consider our goals and how can we make progress toward them? Eliza Paschall, Director of the Council, has written as follows her impressions of the first year's "success:"

WANTED - A YARDSTICK

Perhaps the day will come when there will be a standard unit of measurement for progress just as there is now for distance, time, weight, radioactivity, and our year-end statistics will include a count of the number of units of progress which can then be compared to last year's and used to predict next year's progress.

Until that day does come, we must cope with the fact that there is no unit of measurement for progress and that in the field of human relations particularly this is true. Even those factors which we do measure, such as rate of births, incidence of crime and school attendance, are of no absolute value. Does an increase in the birth rate represent progress, and if so, how much increase represents how much progress? Does an increase in school attendance represent progress and if so, how much increase equals how much progress?

Besides not having a standard unit of measurement of a scale against which we can place a specific event and mark it plus or minus, we use the same terms to refer to very different assumptions, from which follow logically very different sets of events leading to very different goals.

Any attempt to evaluate Atlanta's progress in the field of school desegregation runs right smack into all these difficulties. First, the definition of the term. "School Desegregation", does school desegregation mean the admission of one child of a second race to one school whose students had previously been all of another race? Does it mean the physical presence of certain students in certain buildings? Does it mean the removal of restrictions on certain assignments?

Second, the assumptions involved. One can assume that desegregation, by whichever definition, is undesirable and tolerable only as an alternative to a greater catastrophe. Or one can assume that desegregation is not only good as an alternative, but a positive good something desirable in itself, that produces a better educational environment than segregation.

Third, the events. Those following from the first assumption would be of a nature to discourage desegregation whereas the second assumption would lead to events designed to encourage the process.

The goals and therefore the measures of success would differ accordingly. Results which would be termed success for one might be termed failure for the other.

The history of Atlanta's school desegregation indicates that this community accepted as a definition of "school desegregation" the assignment of no-matter-how few students of one race to no-matter-how-few schools whose students had until that time been all of another race. Atlanta obviously assumed that school desegregation is not desirable since it took no steps to bring it about except as an alternative to the catastrophe of no schools, and since methods accepted both by the school system and the community were such as to discourage and slow down the process.

(The school board took no action to comply with the Supreme Court decision until sued, it contested the suit, and adopted a desegregation plan only when ordered to by the federal court. Community support was for "open schools" and "law and order." The issue of desegregation was minimized.)

It was publicly stated by school board spokesmen that the plan was instituted in the 12th and 11th grades because they thought most high school seniors and juniors would be very reluctant to transfer to a new school. In the second place, the fact that the method of placing those students who were to accomplish the desegregation differed from the method of placing other students would--seem to increase rather than decrease the role of race in the whole matter. It is a bit reminiscent of the Cicero technique of "I pass over the fact that..." or as the students involved were tagged with a placard saying "be sure to forget that these students are different."

In the third place, regardless of whether this was the desired result, the application of the plan permitted a result involving only 9 students out of more than 200 who wanted to be involved and the thousands who might have been just in the 11th and 12th grades and only 4 schools out of a possible 25 high schools. If Atlanta's desegregation has been a success thus far, obviously widespread desegregation is not one of the units of measurement of success. If the application of the plan had resulted in only 2 assignments, or only 1, would that have been successful? If not students had applied for transfer or none of the applicants had been acceptable according to the standards set, would "desegregation" have been accomplished?

If one accepts the Supreme Court's assumption that the use of race as a factor in school placement violates our basic laws and even beyond that, that it threatens our democratic environment and waters down our educational opportunities, then it is difficult to mark such limited desegregation as "successful", or as "progress" towards the goal of the placement of students according to educational needs and the utilization of facilities according to maximum efficiency. Any plan which places the whole burden of the initiative on the individual student can hardly be expected to bring about any widespread change throughout an entire school system.

But given the 9 students in the 4 schools. What here constituted "success?" Again Atlanta seemed pretty well agreed that it would be measured in terms of physical acts - no bombs, no boycotts, no mobs and in those terms, there can be no doubt as to the degree of success. School desegregation was pinpointed to one definite act in time and space - i.e., the physical presence of x students at x schools on x morning, and success was defined as good discipline outside the schools by the police authorities, and in those terms, the occasion was certainly a success. Success could not really be defined as "situation normal", because there was nothing normal about the police protection of the schools and the students or the inter-national publicity given to every event of the day. When the day was over, "it" was over. . .The Story was old. The community turned its attention to other matters, putting down S for success by "school desegregation."

It is perhaps significant that the community effort in this area took the name of Organizations Assisting Schools in September, rather than Assisting Students. There has been little interest in assisting students, before, during or since September. Having assigned them to the schools under the most abnormal of circumstances and after a most complicated procedure, the school officials have taken "normalcy" as their watchword in the treatment of these particular students, with some rather unnatural results.

No doubt there are other junior and senior transfer students in the Atlanta schools who started school without having met any of their classmates. (Some of these students did meet one or two thru arrangements by individuals and a few church and community organizations, but the only school sponsored association was a passing introduction the week before school started.) There may be others who do not eat lunch with their classmates. There may be other who have never had a lab partner in science. There may be others who have had various articles, including food, thrown at them. There may be others who have had unfriendly notes left in their lockers and received unfriendly telephone calls. There may be others who cannot recall a single instance of association with a classmate outside of school and who list as friendliness "a smile" and "a general relaxing around us." There may be others who have "thought up things to say when people speak to me" but never had a chance to say them. There may be others who have been given permission by the superintendent to transfer from one school to another in mid-year, without referral to the schools involved or to the department of psychological services of the school system. There may be others who have been discouraged from taking part in extra-curricular activities. We do not happen to know about them. If there are such, we would measure such instances as failures in human relations and hope that someone with special responsibility for such would take action designed to correct them. But how do we count such instances in terms of The Transfer Students, who form such a special category that there is never any doubt in any Atlanta audience as to who The Transfer Students are? How much should a student "take" before objecting to school officials, who have given no staff person any responsibility for initiating any reports as to "how they are getting along"? What is the measure of "how they are getting along"? Is the fact that the student who returned to her former school was attending the school which by all accounts, including those of the students, was the most "friendly" significant? If so, what does it mean? Does it go in the "success" or "failure" column? And whose success or failure? Is it significant that this student asked to and was permitted to transfer from a school with a 20% decrease in this year's enrollment to one with a 40% increase, with an enrollment almost double its intended capacity? Was this the only alternative to the "threat to her health" which attendance at the other school constituted?

If the goal is to have as little desegregation as possible, the measure will be different from what it will be if the goal is to bring about an atmosphere friendly to desegregation.

There have been, of course, some instances of friendliness and acceptance to a degree, but the question is how important are the instances of unfriendliness? When do they reach the proportion of "trouble"? with these or any other students, even in terms of discipline? What is the school's responsibility for forstalling overt acts and preventing their repetition? How long can a teenager be expected to survive in such circumstances? Does the school have any special responsibility to The Transfer Student?

With few exceptions, youth serving agencies outside the schools seem to have taken the same attitude, of acting simply as if these students were not there and they have ended up in a kind of splendid isolation. This may be the most that can be expected from a community which, too busy to hate, is perhaps also too busy to love.

Measured in units of open schools, no bombs and no boycotts, Atlanta school desegregation is an unqualified success. Measured in units of steps towards the elimination of race as a factor in pupil placement, of efficient use of school facilities or improvement in human relations, there might be some question. Who would hazard a prediction for next year?

RECORD

May 17, 1954: Supreme Court of the United States ruled unconstitutional the practice of racial segregation in public schools. " Separate Educational Facilities Are Inherently Unequal .... Such Segregation Is A Denial Of The Equal Protection Of The Laws."

Jan.,1958: Group of Atlanta Negro parents filed suit in the U.S. District Court asking for desegregation of Atlanta public schools.

June 5, 1959: Case heard.

July 7, 1959: U.S. District Judge Frank Hooper ordered Atlanta Board of Education to present plan for desegregation by Dec. 1, 1959.

Nov. 30, 1959: Atlanta Board adopted plan. (The plan lists 18 factors to be considered "in order to insure orderly procedures of uniform application for pupil assignment, transfer and/or placement, and to enable the continuing improvement of the educational advantages offered makes the plan effective one grade at a time beginning with 12th grade, provides that the "City Superintendent of Schools will administer these provisions," provides that "applications for admission, assignment, or transfer and/or placement shall be"made between May 1 and May 15, with a separate form, notarized, filed for each child.)

May, 1960: Judge Hooper granted year's delay in the implementation of Atlanta plan, primarily to give Georgia legislature time to repeal then existing laws which would have required state funds to be cut off from desegregated schools and could have resulted in at least temporary closing of public schools in Atlanta, if not the state; provided that when Plan was put into effect in 1961, it should apply to 11th and 12th grades.)

Jan. 1961: Georgia legislature responded to special message from Governor and passed bills to permit schools to stay open though ordered desegregated. 'This followed the admission of 2 Negro students to the U. of Ga., upon order of the U.S. Court.)

April 24, 1961: Atlanta Board of Education announced administrative regulations for implementing Pupil Placement Plan.

May 15, 1961: Approximately 200 Negro students (10 and 11th graders) went to the City Hall, to the office of the Board of Education and signed receipts for transfer blanks.

133 of the 200 completed the blanks and submitted them

47 of the 133, when given national achievement tests, made scores equal to or higher than the nationalnorm norm.

18 of the 47 were interviewed after the 47 had taken scholastic aptitude tests.

10 of the 18 were approved for transfer. 1 of the 10 decided to enter college on an advanced placement program.

ug. 30, 1961: 9 Negro students entered 4 previously all-white schools. Of these 9, 4 lived closer to their new school than the old ones. Scholastic records show 7 out of the 9 had averages above that of the new school. Reason given for wanting to transfer included progress of the race, overcrowded conditions of former school, special subjects not offered at former school, proximity to new school.

all, 1961: The 38 who were eliminated after the aptitude tests and interviews appealed to the Ga. Board of Education which directed the Atlanta Board to say why their applications had not been accepted. Of the 38, 12 lived closer to schools to which they were applying but their scores on the various tests given compared with the average scores of those schools made it seem unlikely that they would succeed academically: one was absent when certain of the tests were given and one gave "no valid reason" for wanting to transfer. In one case, the student's score was higher on the achievement test but lower on the school test, and because of the discrepancy between the 2 tests his application was denied and also the lack of a valid reason. Another whose scores were acceptable had "no valid reason" and lived closer to his old school, and several others were absent from school when certain of the tests were administered.

Nov. 1961: One of the 9 requested permission to return to former school, granted.

Feb. 1962: Eight students and 4 schools, out of enrollment of more than 110,000 in 150 schools directly affected by Pupil Placement Plan. There are 2 Negro students in schools with student bodies of 1259 (Brown), 1448 (Grady), 1065 (Murphy), and 961 (Northside) respectively.

he original suit is still under the jurisdiction of the U. S. District Court. ttorneys estimate suit will "cost" $30,000 to $40,000 before it is settled.

Enrollment at the 5 Negro high schools* and largest 5 predominately white schools:

	1957	1961
*Washington	2398	2826
Murphy	1614	1065
*Howard	1970	2559
Grady	1600	1448
*Price	1632	2256
Northside	1468	961
*Turner	1215	2193
North Fulton	1406	1114
*Archer	1046	1396
Southwest	1377	1234

THE COUNCIL AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Jan - Sept.:	Council worked with other civic groups, informally at first and as a member of Oasis when it was organized. The Council was represented on the Steering Committee and various other committees.
Jan. 1961:	Meeting for members and interested persons to discuss Atlanta plan. Deputy Supt. explained details of plan, answered questions.
	Council representatives went to Brown High School to discuss Honor Code with members of Student Council, circulated copies of same to other student groups.
March:	Membership workshop, following up Jan. meeting group discussions of desegregation from view-points of students, parents, teachers, using imaginary case studies as basis for discussions.
April 4:	Letter to Supt. asking for information on procedure for implementation of plan and pointing out need for community education.
April 17:	Letter to each member of School Board asking for information about program and policies pursuant to Court order.
April 24:	Council representatives attended meeting of Board of Education, asked permission before meeting to ask questions which had been raised in letters, to which there had been no replies.
April 30:	Letter to NAACP meeting, pledging support in efforts to carry out desegregation of Atlanta schools.
May 1-15:	Council members helped with transportation of students to City Hall.
May 1:	Council urged Supt. and President of Board of Education to allow students to obtain blanks through schools and not to require signatures of those obtaining blanks.
	Letter to Pres. of Board thanking him for ruling not publish names of students obtaining blanks.
May 8:	Letter to Pres. of Board repeating request for answers to questions concerning publication of names of students who apply for transfer, asking reasons for names and addresses of parents' employers, having form notarized, and question of race on transfer application blank.
July:	Letter to 133 who applied for transfer acknowledging their courage and expressing regret that the burden of initiating such a momentous change should be placed on them.

June, July, Aug.:	Council cooperated with other groups to bring together transfer students with students in their new schools, helped arrange meetings with transfer students and their parents and school officials.
Aug. 10:	Council sent information to high school principals and Oasis discussion leaders giving information on U.S. Public Health Service Communicable Disease Center in Atlanta, to correct false information circulated in "Separate Schools" Inc. Bulletin.
Aug:	Committee of Council members appointed to develop personal contacts with transfer students and families and give friendship and support wherever possible.
	"Law and Order Sunday": Council sponsored visits between Negro and white churches, as indications of friendship beyond law and order.
	Made efforts to have transfer students invited to attend youth groups of churches in areas of new schools, to have them contacted by youth serving agencies operating in areas of their new schools. (We know of only 2 churches that did invite the Transfer Students to the Young People's meetings.)
Aug.:	Council made public statement: "welcomes the desegregation of the public schools as the beginning of a new era in human relations in our community. We look forward to continued progress in our steps towards full democracy."
Aug. 30:	School opened. Committee members stayed in touch with families and students and in most cases visited the homes, made sure that students were not alone if parents were working, etc..
Sept.:	Particularly first few weeks of school these individual Committee members kept in touch with students and families.
Sept. 11:	Letters of congratulations to Supt. and Chief of Police.
	Letters of congratulations to each of the 4 principals, informing them of the Council member having special interest in transfer students in his school.
Sept. 13:	Council representatives had appointment with teacher at one of the 4 schools, who had attended Boston U. Human Relations Workshop during the summer and who the Council understood had been assigned a special responsibility for the Transfer Students in that school.

Informed by the principal that this teacher had no such specific responsibility, that he thought it unwise to encourage the Transfer Students to expect friendship, and that he thought expression of concern such as those expressed by the Council were not helpful

Sept.; Feb.: Personal contacts with Transfer Students have revealed instances of harrassments, hostility, working alone in classes where all others had partners, eating along, etc., and have revealed no school - initiated contacts with counselors, or school dept. of psychological services. Members have attempted to provide support in terms of academic aid, when needed, social events and in some instances conference with school officials.

Dec. 4. 1961: Statement on occasion of request of one Transfer Student to return to her former school.

Atlanta has been congratulating itself on its peaceful handling of school desegregation and this is an achievement we do not wish to minimize. It is good that prejudice and politics have not been allowed to disrupt the implementing of the law here as they have in some other southern cities. We do not believe, however, that we have accepted all our responsibilities in this matter. It looks as if token desegregation is creating problems we must face. Perhaps we ought to draw some lessons from the case of the Negro girl who said she wanted to withdraw fro m Northside. She is an outstanding student, but the knowledge that everything she does will be unduly publicized produces unbearable strain. She is in the limelight with only eight other Negro children in Atlanta's white schools. It is cruel to put upon these few children all the burden of responsibility for the success of desegregation. If there were more Negro students in these schools each might feel the load less, and the burden of loneliness would also be lighter. It is true that nobody can make the white children like the Negroes, and although white students may not have been deliberately unkind, we have apparently failed in their moral and religious education to lead them to be deliberately kind to people who are in obvious need of understanding and friendliness.

In our opinion, the present administration of the Pupil Placement Plan ought to be changed. As we have said before, successful desegregation is impossible under a plan which permits application of different standards of admission for white and Negro students to the same school. The letter and the spirit of the law mean that race should be irrelevant in public education in America. The unfortunate psychological effects of segregation on Negro and white alike can be overcome by a sincere attempt to achieve a really desegregated society where children can be brought up respecting the principles of equality and brotherhood because they see them practiced.

The Reverend Samuel W.William, Chrm.
Mrs. Charles C.Perkins, Jr., Secty.

FACT SHEET
(On hospitals)
March 15, 1962

1. AVAILABLE HOSPITAL FACILITIES:

Total number of hospital beds in Atlanta		4,000*
Available for Negroes:		
At Grady and Hughes Spalding	457	
At private Negro hospitals	135	
At DeKalb General Hospital	16	
At Aidmore Hospital for Crippled Children**	30	
Total Number Available for Negroes		638

Therefore, only one private white hospital and two public hospitals in Atlanta accept Negro patients.

2. NEED FOR EXPANDED MEDICAL CARE:

Negro death rate***	11.7
White death rate***	8.3

Therefore, for every eight out of 1,000 whites who die, almost 12 Negroes die.

Although better than one out of four persons in Atlanta is Negro, 27%

only one out of seven hospital beds is available to him, 14%

and these, for the most part, are concentrated in a single hospital (457 at Grady and Spalding).

YET NEGROES ARE MORE LIKELY TO SUFFER SICKNESSES REQUIRING HOSPITALIZATION THAN WHITES.

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*Information about hospital beds is taken from a fact sheet of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, October 18, 1961, except for the information about DeKalb General Hospital and Aidmore Hospital which was received through telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

**Admits Negroes under 15 years of age.

***The death rate was found in A Second Look published by the Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, January, 1960.

Diseases*	Deaths	White	Non-white
Heart	1608	1089	519
Vascular Lesions	733	384	349
Cancer	716	463	253
Infant Deaths	404	166	238
Influenza and Pneumonia	226	100	126
Accidents other than motor vehicles	171	105	66
Birth Injuries	91	42	49
	3949	2349	1600

Therefore, while Negroes comprise only one-fourth of the population in Atlanta, they account for almost one-half of deaths from more serious illnesses.

PER CAPITA INCOME IN FULTON AND DEKALB COUNTIES**

White	Negro
$1,800 - $2,400	$700 - $800

This reflects an expanding need of Negroes for hospital facilities and care, particularly among lower-income groups.

In addition to the shortage of space for medical care, Negro patients suffer an acute shortage of trained professional personnel to service their needs:

While there is one white doctor for every 469 white patients in Atlanta,

there is one Negro doctor for every 4,500 Negro patients, and

*The number of deaths from various diseases was obtained in a telephone conversation with the Health Department of Fulton County.

**The per capita income was arrived at by finding the average median family income for all the census tracts that were predominantly white or Negro and dividing this by the average number of people in a family. Data was obtained from the Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Commission and the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

While there is one white dentist for every 1,708 white patients,

there is one Negro dentist for every 12,526 Negro patients.

This situation is aggravated by the fact that:

There are no facilities for the training of Negro doctors or dentists in Georgia although there is both a medical and dental school for whites at Emory University in Atlanta.

In a public hospital in Atlanta:

only one Negro doctor has been accorded visiting privileges, and

approximately 500 white doctors and dentists have the same privileges.

Both Negro doctors and dentists are denied full membership in their respective professional societies. These limitations seriously restrict and hamper the Negro physician's professional career.

The employment of Negroes as technicians and technologists in public hospitals is extremely limited as evidenced by the following figures:*

1 Negro tissue technician at Grady.
2 Negro laboratory technicians at Spalding.
2 X-ray technicians at Spalding.

*Obtained from telephone conversations with hospital personnel.

DID YOU KNOW THAT

THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Is an Interracial Organization, Dedicated to

Equal Citizenship for All, Which Has:

* Played a Key Role in School Desegregation by -- Assisting in transporting students to City Hall to get transfer blanks; arranging meetings of Negro and white students, assigning a committee of its members to maintain contact with transfer students conferring with school officials and members of the Board of Education concerning conditions in some of the schools, etc....

* Made Possible the Desegregation of last year's dinner for Secretary of State Rusk at the Biltmore Hotel -- The Biltmore has since maintained a policy of integrated private affairs, though the public dining room is not yet open...

* Passed on to High School students information that Agnes Scott would accept applications from Negro students, and urged them to apply...

* Contacted Negro Students at Georgia Tech and introduced them to other students and professors who are Council members...

* Helped with purchase of tickets to concerts, plays, etc. to make sure they would not be segregated...

* Cooperated, with ACCA and others, in the current Atlanta Employment Study, making available an interracial committee able to get a more complete picture than would otherwise have been possible...

* Formed a DeKalb Committee which was successful in bringing about the desegregation of the Decatur-DeKalb Library last month...

* Begun revising and up-dating the ACCA booklet "A Second Look at Atlanta"

* Provided white observers at lunch counters when they were first desegregated, encouraged interracial luncheon groups...

* Published a list of places, activities, etc., which are now available to all citizens on a non-segregated basis...

* Taken an active role in seeking admission of Negro physicians and dentists to the professional associations for which they qualify on a non-discriminatory basis, and in seeking to remove racial barriers at Grady Hospital..

WITH SO MUCH YET TO BE DONE, WE CORDIALLY INVITE YOU TO JOIN THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL -- AN ORGANIZATION WITH A VITAL, ACTIVE PROGRAM BASED ON HUMAN BROTHERHOOD.

41 Exchange Pl, S.E., Atlanta 3. Phone: 525-6468

March, 1962

WHAT IS THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS?

It is an interracial group of volunteers engaged in educational and action programs designed to help put democratic ideals and principles into practice.

HOW DOES IT WORK?

..Working together to further the purposes of the Council, Negro and white people with common interests get to know each other in a way not often possible within a segregated society. The Council is working to bring about desegregation of Grady Hospital's training programs...to facilitate desegregation of schools and colleges in Greater Atlanta...to increase merit employment, and in other areas.

..One committee provides hospitality for foreign visitors to our city, and another is interested in making available to all citizens our theatres and cultural facilities. There is too a Student Council for high school and college students, providing an opportunity for them to learn about their community and work for better human relations within their own age groups.

..All Council members are invited to join committees working in these various fields, or to form new ones in line with their own particular interests.

..The last Tuesday of each month a luncheon is held for all members and friends, to give them an opportunity to know each other and to hear latest developments in current projects.

..Monthly news letters give up-to-date information.

WHAT HAS IT DONE?

Some of the changes which the Council has helped bring about include... desegregation of the Atlanta Public Library...desegregation of facilities at Atlanta Airport...desegregation of lunch counters: Negro members of Negotiating Groups included Council members, white members supported boycotts and acted as observers during first weeks of desegregation, - interracial groups of Council members have promoted use of open facilities...desegregation of Atlanta Public Schools (Besides working with other civic groups, Council has helped in specific ways such as providing transportation for students to City Hall to obtain transfer blanks.)

WHERE DO YOU FIT IN?

There is still a gap between our belief in equality of opportunity and our social practices. If you are concerned and wonder, "What can I do to help?", the Council offers you the chance to do important and rewarding things. Working together for the good of all, Negro and white people can achieve gains which can neither be "granted to" people nor "demanded by" them.

HOW DO YOU JOIN?

Send your check for annual membership dues - $5 per person or $9 per couple - to the GACHR, 41 Exchange Pl, S.E., Atlanta 3, Ga. Your dues automatically make you a member of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, whose office the Atlanta Council shares.

THE COMMUNITY NEEDS THE COUNCIL AND THE COUNCIL NEEDS YOU.

(Membership dues alone do not cover even such essential items as postage, supplies, telephone, rent and secretarial help. The salary of the executive director is provided by the Unitarian Service Committee. But the Council must have generous contributions beyond membership dues, to carry out its program.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ATLANTA
MAR 30
3 PM
1962
GA.

Dr. Jim Moss
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3 Ga.

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

APRIL, 1962

MEMBERSHIP NOTE

Our membership is up again! The Georgia Council continues to grow. Since January 1st, we've grown another 12%. But we can't be content with that. Now our goal is to double our membership once again. For our growing membership is more eloquent testimony than public statements, sociological documents or impassioned oratory that the climate of opinion is changing in Georgia.

* * *

THE BRUNSWICK COUNCIL

The number of Georgia Councils is growing, too. On Sunday, April 1st, the new Brunswick Council on Human Relations met, with twenty members present. The temporary co-chairmen are Mrs. Emmett Johnson, who served so effectively as chairman of our Macon Council, and the Reverend T. P. Martin, pastor of the Athanasius Episcopal Church. It's quite an achievement to have a Council in South Georgia. As one of those present at this first meeting put it: "Tonight. we broke a folk-way in Brunswick."

* * *

MORE FROM BRUNSWICK

The Glynn Times of Brunswick, in a March 22 editorial, put the "Whites Only" routine in proper perspective: Here is their comment in full:

"SIGNS THAT ARE BEHIND TIMES"

"There is a sign on a Jekyll Island parking lot that declares 'Whites Only'.

"It is more than a sign — it is a symbol — and this symbol provokes different emotions in as many different people.

"But perhaps, too, this little sign in such a big parking lot provokes humor. For there are relatively few white cars parked there. Most are black, two-tone, green, and now and then a maroon. There are parked there as many different models as are made, and from all appearances they get along well.

"Woe betide the day when the asininity of some state official persuades him to come up with signs: "Blue Only," "Two-tone Only," or "Green Enter from Rear." But even these signs will share the same logic as that little sign on"State Citizens" property, "White Only."

REGISTER NOW!

The deadline for registering to vote in the fall elections is May 5th. You must live in Georgia for one year, and in the county of residence for six months before Election Day. If you are already registered yourself, try to persuade at least one friend to become a registered voter.

* * *

CITIZENSHIP SCHOOL

Our Executive Director, Mrs. Frances Pauley, was a guest speaker on May 28 at the Southwest Georgia Citizenship School at Dorchester, Georgia. This institute is conducted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to bring together community leaders from all over the South and discuss the techniques of community organization for voter registration. Mrs. Pauley's topic was "Voter's Responsibilities."

During the discussion period after her talk, Mrs. Pauley was asked the kind of questions to which there aren't any answers:

Why do white people hate us?
If I can sleep in her bed and tend her baby, why won't she sit by me on a bus?
Why does a grown man have to be called "boy"?
Why do they call me "Auntie", but not Mrs.?
Do they just want to break our hearts?

No, there aren't any answers. The objective of the Georgia Council is to create the kind of society in which such questions need never be asked.

* * *

LEND A HAND

Your Georgia Council is active on many fronts, but there are many actions that individuals can take to insure fair play in Georgia. For example, there are companies with government contracts in every major city in Georgia. The Executive Order on contracts states: ". . .The contractor shall take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. . ."

If you know of failure to comply with this order, of discriminatory hiring or employment practices by government contractors, make a complaint to:

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

Similarly, if you or someone you know is refused service at a lunch counter in a bus or train station, be sure to report the details to:

Mr. Burke Marshall
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

BOARD MEETING

The semi-annual board meeting will be held on Saturday, May 12, 1962 at the Interdenominational Theological Center.

All members of all local Councils are invited to lunch at 1 o'clock and for the afternoon program. Several outstanding speakers will discuss Georgia's changing political picture and the role of the Georgia Council.

Rooms are available in the new ITC Center for $5. Please let us know if you wish a reservation for over night.

* * * * *
* * *
*

☐ I will attend the meeting on Saturday, May 12, 1962 at the ITC, 671 Beckwith Street, S. W.

☐ Please make my reservation for lunch. Price: $1.50

SIGNED _____

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

June, 1962

ALBANY

Little progress has been made in working out a solution for the difficulties in Albany. This beautiful city remains in the same segregated condition that it was last December. However, many Albanians are working with new enthusiasm. A group of citizens have met twice to organize an Albany Council on Human Relations, to seek through our usual methods of education, persuasion, and negotiation to bring about a climate where every man can be a first-class citizen. Do you have a friend in Albany? Tell them about the Council.

* * * *

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PUBLIC POLICY: FISK UNIVERSITY

Will your Council be represented at Fisk? At least four of our eight Councils will send members to the Race Relations Institute at Fisk June 29-July 7. The general purpose of the Institute is to orient leaders of local communities in the problems, process and methods of implementing better in-inter-group relations. It endeavors to assess the status of current developments, provide authoritative information on the psychological, sociological, political, economic and religious aspects of intergroup problems, and to evaluate techniques and strategies. If you can spare two weeks time, please contact us immediately. There are still a few scholarships available.

* * * *

HISTORY

Our Council has doubled its membership in the last 15 months. Many of these people ask about our history. Our Associate Director, The Reverend Oliver W. Holmes, has sought out some of the facts. We had a courageous beginning and you members in eight city Councils and 32 other towns, are carrying on the tradition with increased zeal.

THE GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Brief History

Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation

We really got started in 1919. Most of the men had returned from the First Worlds War and were dissatisfied with what they found. The Negro having experienced non Jim Crow situations acceptance in many instances refused to assume his former role of inferiority. The underprivileged mounted.

Then as now efforts were being made to get industries and wealthy families to locate. Then as now the "Negro problem", i.e., the prevailing attitude toward him made Georgia a bad risk for outsiders. Then, the Negro was pictured as an uncouth, filthy, uncontrollable animal whose ambition was to pounce upon white women. Now, he is pictured as a disturber of the peace making Georgia a poor risk for outsiders.

It was in this climate that a small group of ministers and laymen decided to take some action. They came together and called themselves the Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation. They had no by-laws, no creed, no doctrine, they simply found problems and worked them out together.

Unique

This organization was unique because from the outset it was determined to use reason instead of force to solve problems. It attempted to deal with problems at the local level through groups of citizens well-known in their locations, and not by resolution or proclamation. The appeal was for a joint effort; working on the principle that, "we cannot know what is best for the Negro unless we consult him".

Early Meetings

As long as the Committee was all white and in its formative stages, there was no problem finding meeting places, but when Negroes were added the places became difficult to find. No hotels would accommodate them, no dining room would feed them. They met in churches and scattered at meal times.

At the early meetings an occasional piece of paternal advice was offered and there was an occasional "telling off" of the whites by the Negroes. There was also an occasional flare of oratory, but mostly the discussions were give and take.

The emphasis was on movement not organization or institution.

Goals:

(1) The goals of the Commission were the correction of injustices and the betterment of conditions affecting Negroes.
(2) Improvement of those interracial attitudes out of which unfavorable conditions grow.
(3) The Commission sought to improve the physical plight of Negroes who were neglected and the spiritual plight of whites who permitted such neglect.

Southern Regional Council

The Commission on Interracial Cooperation was operative until 1946 when it relinquished its work to the Southern Regional Council that had been chartered January 6, 1944. The Georgia Commission on Interracial Cooperation continued to operate as a separate organization. In 1954 there was an increase in staff and program.

Georgia Council on Human Relations

In 1956 it was felt necessary to change the name to Georgia Council on Human Relations. Today we have eight Councils in the State with 678 members. Our modus operandi is closely patterned after the old Commission. A mixed staff with emphasis on movement, i.e., "do what I can do".

An old South cannot become a New South until every man, woman, and child in that South has a value as a person.

There must be more contact between intelligent Negroes and whites.

"A not too bright young boy sat on a bench in front of the country store whittling on a stick. He listened attentively as the storekeepers' broken clock struck 13 times for the noon hour. When the last strike was made he jumped to his feet, ran home as fast as he could. Yelling to the top of his voice, Mama, Mama, its later than it has ever been before."

* * * *

POEM

To Frank: /W. Spencer, Savannah/ Who disputes the darkness of the mind
and disregards the color of the skin.

SEGREGATION: AT THE BEACH

Their hands were busy as hands of beaver,
The Black boy and the white,
They made a castle with a river.

They were humming, exchanged their sweaters
They were brave,
They were brothers.

Then a voice steeled to indict
Shouted, "Richard"!
To the white.

Suddenly . . . shaken by sinister fears
They stood apart
In tears . . .

— Stella Muse Whitehead

Johnny Gluchowski's suggestions

November, 1961

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Article I
Name

The name of this organization is the GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS: A non-profit, eleemosynary organization.

Article II
Purpose

The purposes of the Georgia Council on Human Relations are: to work throughout Georgia and elsewhere as deemed advisable:

Sec. 1 to devise, develop and publicize techniques and programs of youth and adult education to counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, religious, national or ethnic group membership;

Sec. 2 to awaken interest in and stimulate local community groups to constructive and democratic attitudes toward and insights into problems of intergroup living through the use of such techniques and programs;

Sec. 3 to cooperate in educational programs towards achievment of above aims with:

1. State, regional, local and national agencies and organizations.
2. Churches and religious organizations
3. Schools, ~~and~~ colleges. and educational associations

Sec. 4 To establish and assist towards the continuation and success of chapters in different sections of the state of Georgia for the accomplishment of the above objectives.

Article III
Membership

Sec. 1 How composed: The Georgia Council on Human Relations is a membership organization. It is composed of members of local affiliated councils and members-at-large.

Sec. 2 Generally, any person who is in accord with the purposes of the Georgia Council as stated in this constitution and by-laws may become a member.

Sec. 3 The annual dues will be set by a vote of the membership at the annual meeting.

Article IV
Affiliation and Recognition of Local Councils

Sec. 1 Local Councils may be organized in the various counties and municipalities of the state.

Sec. 2 For affiliation with the Georgia Council on Human Relations the constitution and by-laws of the local Council must not be in conflict with the constitution and by-laws of the Georgia Council; the Board of Directors of the Georgia Council must approve the constitution and by-laws of the local council prior to the effective date of affiliation.

(over)

Sec 5. Upon organization by or for affiliation with the GCHR, members of local Councils are also automatically members of the Georgia Council.

Sec. 3 A local organization may apply for affiliation with the GCHR by submitting a written request at the direction of the local governing body.

Sec. 4 A local council will become officially affiliated with the Georgia Council on Human Relations by a majority vote of the members of the board of the Georgia Council present at one of its regular meetings or a special meeting called for the purpose. Affiliation may be withdrawn in the same manner. A local council may withdraw its affiliation by a majority vote of its local membership.

Article V
Officers

The officers of the organization shall be Chairman, First Vice Chairman and Second Vice Chairman, a Treasurer and a Secretary. The officers shall be elected by the membership of the organization at the annual meeting for a term of one year. The elected officers shall also serve as officers of the board of directors.

Article VI
Board of Directors

Sec. 1 Composition: The Board of Directors shall be composed of the officers of the organization and 25-50 members, serving three year terms. One-third of the board shall be elected each year. The Board of Directors shall be widely representative of the state's membership. The Chairman of each local Council shall be ex-officio member of the board of directors.

Sec. 2 Election: New Board members shall be elected at the annual meeting of the membership. The nominating committee shall prepare a suggested slate of officers and board members. Additional nominations may also be made from the floor. All nominees must have given prior approval to use of their names in nomination.

Sec. 3 Vacancies: The Board of Directors may fill vacancies on a temporary basis between annual meetings, and review actions of this sort by Executive Committee.

Sec. 4 Responsibility of Board: It shall be the responsibility of the Board of Directors to see that the work of the organization conforms to the stated purposes of the organization at all times and to submit a budget to the members at the annual meeting for their approval.

Article VII
Executive Committee

Sec. 1 The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers of the organization, the chairman of standing committees, and five (5) board members who are elected to the executive committee at the annual meeting by the membership.

Sec. 2 Responsibility: The executive committee shall conduct the business of the organization between board meetings.

Sec. 3 Other committees, permanent or temporary, shall be appointed by the State Chairman upon the authorization of the Executive Committee.

Article VIII
Committees

Sec. 1 Standing Committees: The Executive Committee shall appoint the following standing committees: Program, Finance, Membership, Public Relations.

Sec. 2 The nominating committee shall consist of five (5) members who are nominat and elected in the same manner as the officers for a term of one year.

Sec. 3 Other committees, permanent or temporary, shall be appointed by the State Chairman upon the authorization of the Executive Committee.

Sec. 4. The Executive Committee is authorized to fill any vacancy in an unexpired term, subject to Board approval

Article IX
Meetings

Sec. 1 The annual meeting of the membership shall be held in the fall for the purpose of electing officers and board, approving budget, and planning program.

Sec. 2 The Board of Directors shall meet semi-annually in the fall and spring at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of th meeting shall be given not less than 30 days prior to the meeting.

Sec. 3 The Executive Committee shall meet at least four times annually. Two meet ings may coincide with the Board meetings.

Sec. 4 One-third of the members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quor for Board meetings. One-third of the members of the Executive Committee shall con stitute a quorum for Executive Committee meetings.

Sec. 5 Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee. Special meetings of the Executive Committee may be called by the state chairman. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of the meeting, the business to be transacted.

Article X
Staff

Sec. 1 The Staff of this organization shall consist of an Executive Director and such other professional and/or clerical staff--as is needed to carry out the program, interpret the program to the communities of the state and assume other normal staff functions.

Sec. 2 The executive director shall be a non-voting member of the Board of Directors and all committees of the organization.

Sec. 3 Staff members shall keep all official records and make such reports as are required by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

Sec. 4 Employment, upgrading and discharge of all professional staff shall be the responsibility of the Board of Directors, which shall review temporary actions by the Executive Committee.

Article XI
Fiscal Year

The fiscal year shall commence October 1 of each year.

Article XII
Cooperation

This Council, an independent and autonomous organization, shall cooperate with other intergroup agencies in the South, ~~such~~ as the Southern Regional Council, Inc and the State Councils on Human Relations formerly affiliated with it.

Article XIII
Non-Political

This is a non-political organization. No part of its program shall be the carryi on of activities supporting or opposing any candidate for public office, or atten ing to influence legislation.

Article XIV

All parliamentary practices and procedures not covered by this constitution and b laws shall be governed by Robert Rules of Order.

Article XV
Amendments

This constitution and by-laws may be amended at any meeting of the membership pro vided a copy of the changes be submitted to the membership in writing at least 30 days prior to the meeting.

Recommended by the Board of Directors
November 2, 1961

Adopted by Membership on November 3, 196

Article ~~XVI~~
Financing

The GCHR shall be financed by:

2. Donations by members or other individuals or organizations, wherever and wherever such funds are make available in Georgia or elsewhere.
~~4.~~ Local chapters and the GCHR could and should make financial contributio to each other such as may be deemed advisable and in the opinion of the donor.
1. Membership Dues. Paid members bills by GCHR shall be
a. Members at large dues are $5.00 single, $8.00 Double, + $3.00 student. Contributing members may be set at rates deemed advisable by the Council
b. Local membership dues payable to the GCHR are $3.00 Single, $5.00 double (+ $1.50 Student). These dues are payable monthly as received by the local chapters.
3. Special Fund Raising efforts as approved by the Executive Committee and Board of Directors.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

To: Board of Directors
From: Ad Hoc Committee on Study of By-Laws of Georgia Council on Human Relations
Date: July 29, 1964

In compliance with a request from the Georgia Council on Human Relations, the Board of Directors of the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta appointed a committee composed of Miss Frankie Adams, Mrs. Phern Stanley, Dr. Edward Weaver, Mr. Q. V. Williamson and Mrs. Sujette Crank, convener, to draft recommendations on the Constitution and By-Laws of the Georgia Council on Human Relations for approval by the Board for submission to the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

At the outset, we reaffirmed our acceptance and support of the idea that the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta maintain its relationship with the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

We tried to employ principles of organizational structure which would strengthen harmonious relationships between the State organization and its affiliates. We are aware of some unresolved problems which are already under consideration. Nevertheless, we thought these suggestions could serve in the development of a useful instrument for present and future councils. Any set of guiding principles or constitutional statements, when adopted, should be followed with consistent application to all affiliates and members.

Within this frame of reference we submit this report.

We recommend:

1. That the Georgia Council get a clearly defined concept of its nature and purpose as an organization. This includes the basic decision of whether it is to be primarily a "program" organization; or a consultative or advisory resource, or to what extent and under what circumstances it would combine the two roles.

2. That program responsibilities in relation to chapter, cooperating non-affiliates, and organization of new chapter groups be clearly defined.

3. That where affiliating councils have professional staff or are well established, the Georgia Council should work through the existing councils in all

local matters pertaining to human relations in the area covered by those councils.

4. That the Georgia Council, as the State organization, should be a resource on information and techniques in helping to further the work of local councils and other organizations with which it cooperates.

5. That the Georgia Council continue to stimulate local community groups, where there are no councils, to develop organizations or programs which could serve in solution of problems in human relations and which may lead to the establishment of couhcils.

6. That the Georgia Council exert its influence in coordinating the interest of other groups and/or individuals in human relations (i.e., organizational) to avoid duplication of effort. The channel of its influence should be through its local affiliates. (The committee considered this also from the angle of local affiliates and their responsibility to operate with the same integrity in this regard).

7. That the Georgia Council continue to be a membership organization, but needs to re-define its individual affiliate council memberships.

8. That there should be clarification of the individual basis of membership with respect to the local affiliation and Georgia Council, i.e., the proportion of dues to be remitted to Georgia Council.

9. That there be annual affiliation dues from the locals to the Georgia Council in addition to the individual proportion described above.

10. That persons join the Georgia Council only through local affiliates where these exist.

11. That provision be made for members-at-large to accommodate all persons who are in accord with the general purposes of the Georgia Council and who are not in locations served by an affiliate council.

12. That dues not be subject to change annually but should be reviewed periodically by the Board of Directors of Georgia and recommendations for changes be made in accordance with accepted procedures for amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws.

13. That the role of Board be more clearly defined in relation to the Executive's role in hiring, evaluation and termination of staff.

14. That the Executive's role and relationship to staff be more clearly defined. The Executive should have authority for employing, supervising, evaluating, upgrading, and terminating staff with the approval of the Board.

15. That the Constitution and By-Laws be clearly distinguished.

16. That incorporation be considered.

17. That the responsibilities of the Board be defined further regarding financing of the organization, operations and the Executive's role (i.e., maintenance of records, etc.).

Submitted By:

(Mrs.) Sujette F. Crank, Convener
(Miss) Frankie V. Adams
(Mrs.) John Stanley
Dr. Edward K. Weaver
Mr. Q. V. Williamson

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THE REVEREND CHARLES DEMERÉ
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
525-6468

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. A. J. McCLUNG
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON
SECRETARY

MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM
TREASURER

MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

VI — For your attention

September 5, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Dunbar:~~ Les

The following might be of interest to you.

Visiting in Columbus August 27th and 28th, 1963 we found the following facts concerning discrimination in employment training.

Columbus has now in progress one program, Automotive Transmission Repair, under the Manpower Development Training Program, federally financed. There are no Negro participants. One Negro, Walter Price, age 40, honorably retired from the army after 21½ years of service, having done automotive repair in the service wanted transmission training. He was not accepted in the class.

The gentleman in charge of adult education, Mr. Caldwell, for the local board of education in Columbus is irate because of lack of cooperation from the Employment office. He says their surveys are not accurate, that there is definitely need for more training of both white and Negroes. He feels that the local employment office is not entirely to blame. They seem to get confused directives from the state.

The gentleman at the state employment office, Mr. Davenport, said that Columbus has no problem of unemployment. He says the local schools are meeting the needs of the employers. He maintains that the MDTA is not needed.

Figures from the Georgia department of labor show that there is unemployment. In July there was a greater

proportion of initial grants of unemployment insurance than in Atlanta.

There are two new area vocational technical training schools in Columbus, one white and one Negro school. Air Conditioning and Refrigeration, Machine Drafting, Machine Shop, Electronic Technology, and Mechanical Technology, are courses offered only at the white school.

The Negro school is not filled to its capacity. The building is extremely inaccessible. However, recently the board has started operating a bus to the school.

The offices of the employment agency have no segregation signs but segregation is practiced. There are no Negro employees other than janitor.

Sincerely,

Frances

Mrs. Frances Pauley

FP:es
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM THE DESK OF

Frances Pauley

Hi D! –

The executive committee suggested a committee for you –

Mrs Cassandra Birney –
Robert Cohen
Miss Rosetta Gardner
Israel Katz

I have not invited them – You should have the help you want – We can talk about that after you read the by-laws – Don H. helped on them & Cassandra – when they were done 1961 –

They have proven O K – with a few minor changes needed – (my idea)

See you –

F. P.

Do I have any choice? LWD ✓ PA ✓

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

THE REVEREND CHARLES DEMERÉ
CHAIRMAN

TELEPHONE
525-6468

Vernon: I question whether you should do this.

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

MR. A. J. McCLUNG
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON
SECRETARY

MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM
TREASURER

MRS. FRANCES PAULEY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

December 18, 1963

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

At the meeting of the executive committee of the Georgia Council, the chairman, Dr. Lionel Newsom proposed and the committee was unanimous in its agreement that we immediately appoint a constitution revision committee in order to strengthen our constitution and overcome confusion concerning the structure of the organization.

The group nominated you as chairman of the committee. Various suggestions were made as to members to help you. However, this can be arranged at your pleasure.

You know you will have the complete cooperation of the staff in doing this important but meticulous job.

Please say "yes".

Sincerely,

FP

Mrs. Frances Pauley

FP/es

November, 1961

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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Name

The name of this organization is the GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS: A non-profit, eleemosynary organization.

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Sec. 1 How composed: The Georgia Council on Human Relations is a membership organization. It is composed of members of local affiliated councils and members-at-large.

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Sec. 2 Election: New Board members shall be elected at the annual meeting of the membership. The nominating committee shall prepare a suggested slate of officers and board members. Additional nominations may also be made from the floor.

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Sec. 1 Standing Committees: The Executive Committee shall appoint the following standing committees: Program, Finance, Membership, Public Relations.

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Sec. 3 The Executive Committee shall meet at least four times annually. Two meetings may coincide with the Board meetings.

Sec. 4 One-third of the members of the Board of Directors shall constitute a quorum for Board meetings. One-third of the members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum for Executive Committee meetings.

Sec. 5 Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the Executive Committee. Special meetings of the Executive Committee may be called by the state chairman. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of the meeting, the business to be transacted.

Article X
Staff

Sec. 1 The Staff of this organization shall consist of an Executive Director and such other professional and/or clerical staff--as is needed to carry out the program, interpret the program to the communities of the state and assume other normal staff functions.

Sec. 2 The executive director shall be a non-voting member of the Board of Directors and all committees of the organization.

Sec. 3 Staff members shall keep all official records and make such reports as are required by the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee.

Sec. 4 Employment, upgrading and discharge of all professional staff shall be the responsibility of the Board of Directors.

Article XI
Fiscal Year

The fiscal year shall commence October 1 of each year.

Article XII
Cooperation

This Council, an independent and autonomous organization, shall cooperate with other intergroup agencies in the South, such as the Southern Regional Council, Inc. and the State Councils on Human Relations formerly affiliated with it.

Article XIII
Non-Political

This is a non-political organization. No part of its program shall be the carrying on of activities supporting or opposing any candidate for public office, or attempting to influence legislation.

Article XIV

All parliamentary practices and procedures not covered by this constitution and by-laws shall be governed by Robert Rules of Order.

Article XV
Amendments

This constitution and by-laws may be amended at any meeting of the membership provided a copy of the changes be submitted to the membership in writing at least 30 days prior to the meeting.

Recommended by the Board of Directors
November 2, 1961

Adopted by Membership on November 3, 1961

June 15, 1964

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Dir.
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

Thanks for letting me use these. I am through with the rough draft on Brunswick. I will call you soon to discuss who would be good to read it for errors of fact and emphasis.

Thanks again.

Pat Watters

PW:mp

Enclosure

File
correspondence
Mrs Pauley

June 26, 1964

Mr. Zev Aelony
Koinonia Farms
Americus, Georgia

Dear Zev:

It was great seeing you Monday. Please forgive me for not getting in touch Tuesday. Time ran out.

I talked with a few people in Americus and left rather ill. How can people live in such an atmosphere of fear?

Dr. Moll is certainly anxious to help, and he is interested in the paper. Pat Watters wants to help. I suggest that Pat and I come back at a date when Dr. Moll can meet with us. Pat can also meet with Sammy Mahone and the staff of the paper. It will certainly take me several visits before I will have any kind of a mailing list for you. Americus is a hard town -- there's no doubt about it. But it isn't impossible.

Kindest regards to the Jordans.

Morris Abram's address is: 10 Larchmont Avenue, Larchmont, New York (home) and Paul-Weiss-Riskind-Wharton and Garrison, 575 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York, (office).

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Frances Pauley,
Executive Director

FP/ss
cc: Mr. Pat Watters

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 16, 1964

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Jordan:

As we all realize, the work of the Georgia Council on Human Relations becomes increasingly important as we move into the future with the new laws, new and often trying demands on all our citizens.

Your devoted service to the community and the Georgia Council on Human Relations leads us to hope that you will serve the Georgia Council as a member of the Board of Directors for the term 1964-67.

We are submitting the panel of board members to the membership and hope for your early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy W. Collinson
es

Nancy W. Collinson,
Chairman, Nominating Committee

NWC/es

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM, CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S.E. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 23, 1964

Dear Vernon

We are delighted that you are going to the annual meeting. Please make your reservation directly with the motel. Blanks are enclosed.

Both motels are expecting our delegates. You will find the Carriage Inn more convenient and better accommodations. The Dolphin is clean comfortable and less expensive. The dinner Friday night will be at the Dolphin. All of Saturday's program will be at the Carriage Inn. Pardon our delay in sending you the registration blanks. We waited to make certain things were in order after the storm.

Send your reservation directly to the motel of your choice.

We are looking forward to seeing you at Jekyll!

Sincerely yours,

F.P.

Mrs. Frances Pauley,
Executive Director

FP/es
Enclosure: Blanks

So happy you are going! Haven't heard any repercussions from the ly-law - yet
Atlanta is weak as water - if you want the truth

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM, CHAIRMAN
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

October 14, 1964

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

As you know we were instructed by the SRC Board to notify the state council that is to receive the George Mitchell Award, not later than October 1 of the year the Award is to be made. We plan to make an award this year but cannot do so until such a time that we have your membership report.

The Award is to be based on percentage increase of a state council during the preceding year from September to September. We have reports from Florida, Arkansas, and Virginia, but no report from your office. Please may we have it as soon as possible so that we may determine the recipient, and notify same pursuant to our instructions from the SRC Board.

May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 15, 1964

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Frances:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

E. L. Abercrombie, Atlanta
T. M. Alexander, Atlanta
Cecil Alexander, Atlanta
Mayor Ivan Allen, Atlanta
Oscar L. Betts, Columbus
Jessie B. Blayton, Atlanta
Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta
Carling Dinkler, Atlanta
Ben S. Gilmer, Atlanta
William B. Hartsfield, Atlanta
Leroy Johnson, Atlanta
Ralph McGill, Atlanta
Sylvan Meyer, Marietta
Jack M. Passailaigue, Columbus
Otto Pope, Augusta
W. A. Pulver, Marietta
Jack H. Rithchild, Columbus
Mrs. Lilliam Smith, Clayton

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta
Msgr. John D. Toomey, Savannah
Mrs. Edward Vinson, Atlanta
C. R. Yates, Atlanta

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

dations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

October 28, 1964

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by members of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

INTERGROUP RELATIONS
ORGANIZATIONS

December 4, 1964

Georgia Council on Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Phone: 525-6468

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)
Atlanta Chapter of the American Association for the United Nations
Anti Defamation League (ADL)
American Jewish Committee (AJC)
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
Committee on Appeal for Human Rights
Citizens for Quality Education
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU)
Georgia Council of Churches
Georgia Council on Human Relations (GCHR)
Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta (GCHR affiliate)
Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Georgia Students for Human Rights (GCHR affiliate)
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
Mennonite House
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
National Council of Christians and Jews (NCCJ)
National Council of Catholic Women
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.
National Student Association - Human Relations Project (NSA)
National Urban League (NUL)
Atlanta Urban League
Partners for Progress (PFP)
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Southern Regional Council (SRC)
Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC)
United Church of Christ
World University Service - Southern Region
Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) - National Board
Community YWCA
Phyllis Wheatley Branch YWCA
National Student YWCA
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) - Southern Area Council
Metropolitan Branches YMCA
Butler Street Branch YMCA
Intergroup Relations Officials in Government Agencies

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION (ACLU)

A permanent national non-partisan organization devoted solely to defending the Bill of Rights for everybody.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., 30303, 523-2721.

Morgan, Mr. Charles, Jr., Regional Director
Ladd, E.T., Chm., 1236 Springdale Rd., N.E.,30306, 377-7775.

ATLANTA CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

Janus, Mrs. Sidney, 1435 W. Wesley Rd., N.W., 30327, 355-7909.

ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE (ADL)

ADL strives to bring about better relations among all groups by: fighting anti-Semitism, discrimination, promoting human relations education and working at interreligious cooperation.
41 Exchange Pl., S.E., 30303, Ja.3-1618.

Schlactus, Monroe, Regional Director
Harris, Sherman, Attorney
Rothschild, Rabbi J.H., Chm. of S.E. Reg. Advisory Board.

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE (AJC)

American organization combating bigotry, protecting civil and religious rights of Jews and advancing cause of freedom everywhere. 41 Exchange Pl., S.E., 30303, Ja.3-8451.

Wittenstein, Charles, S.E. Area Director.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE (AFSC)

AFSC is one of the corporate expressions of Quaker faith and practice. The Committee undertakes programs of relief, service and education, ministering to both the physical and spiritual needs of men.
41 Exchange Pl., S.E., 30303, 523-6629.

Collinson, Noyes, Dir. of Atlanta Employment on Merit Program.
Curry, Miss Connie, Southern Field Representative.
Yungblut, John, Dir. of Quaker House, 1384 Fairview Rd.,N.E., Dr.3-7986.

COMMITTEE ON APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

(no headquarters) (an Atlanta Negro student organization).

CITIZENS FOR QUALITY EDUCATION

155 Graves Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga., 30314.

Thompson, Mrs. Dorothy Bolden, President

EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY (ESCRU)
The purpose of this Society shall be to encourage men to respond positively to God's call for unity in the Church.
5 Forsyth St., N.W., 30303, Ja.5-7975.

Morris, The Rev. John, Executive Director
Stines, The Rev. Henri A., Director of Southern Field Service
Dreisbach, The Rev. Mr. A.R., Jr., Associate Director

GEORGIA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
26 Auburn Ave., N.E., Walco Bldg., Room 402, 30303, 524-0971.

Driscoll, The Rev. Ed., Director

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS (GCHR)
A non-profit, non-political, non-denominational interracial organization. Its goal is to insure the well-being of all Georgians by assuring the rights and opportunities of each of its citizens.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., 30303, 525-6468.

Pauley, Mrs. Frances, Director
Holmes, Rev. Oliver W., Associate Director
Falls, Mrs. Winifred, Assistant Program Director
Hendricks, Joseph, President, Mercer University, Macon, Ga.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA (GCHR affiliate)
5 Forsyth St., N.W., 30303, 523-1581.

Carey, Robert, Acting Executive Director
Stanford, Morgan, Chairman, Candler Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGIA ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Meyer, Sylvan Chm., The Daily Times, Gainesville, Ga.
Pauley, Mrs. Frances, Secretary, 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta

GEORGIA STUDENTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS (GCHR affiliate)
An interracial group of students from Georgia colleges.

Smith, Joseph F., Pres., 331 Jeanes Hall, Ft. Valley State College, Ft. Valley, Ga.
Stevens, Richard L., V. Pres., 201 Eureka Dr., N.E., Atlanta
La Pin, Deirdre, Sec., Box 326, Agnes Scott College, Decatur
Sloan, Albert, Treas., Albany State College, Albany, Ga.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
1036 Peachtree Street, N.E., 30309, 872-5678

Turner, Rev. Dr Herman L., Acting Director
Schwab, The Rev. Charles, Pres., First Christian Church, Decatur

MENNONITE HOUSE
540 Houston St., N.E., 30312, 688-0594.

Harding, Vincent, Director
Helms, Charles

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP)
The business of the NAACP is to work for Civil Rights for the elimination of racial barriers, for an America with full equality for all its citizens.
Regional office, 859½ Hunter St., N.W., 30314, Mu.8-8868.
Atlanta office, 859½ Hunter St., N.W., 30314, 524-8054.

Hurley, Mrs. Ruby, Southeastern Regional Secretary
Law, W.W., Pres., Georgia State Conference of Branches, 2009 W. Florence Street, Savannah, Georgia
Smith, C. Miles, Pres., of the Atlanta Branch, 239 W. Lake Avenue, N.W.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS (NCCJ)
1009 First Federal Building, 30303, 688-7510

McEvoy, Don, Director

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
Gunning, Mrs. George, V.Chairman of the Legislation Committee, 17 Demorest Avenue, N.E., 237-9780.

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.,
5 Forsyth St., N.W., 30303, 525-6468.

Wasserman, Jac, Field Director, 124 Lafayette Dr, N.E, 876-6901

NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION - HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT (NSA)
The Southern Human Relations Project offers students in the South an opportunity to study and plan intelligent response to a region facing the challenges of rapid social, political and economic change.

41 Exchange Place, S.E., 30303, 523-8322.

Mizell, Hayes, Director Southern Human Relations Project.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE (NUL)
To seek civil rights progress through biracial consultation and cooperation. The NUL stresses community action, including job training and social welfare programs (education, housing).
25 Auburn Ave., N.E., Rm. 511, 30303, 525-4852.

Coleman, Clarence D., Exec. Dir. of Southern Regional Office.
Crooks, Ken, Associate Director

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
239 Auburn Ave., N.E., Rm. 400, 30303, Ja.1-2355.

Arnold, Harold, Executive Director

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS (PFP)
A volunteer group of Atlanta Women's organizations and individuals, 41 Exchange Place, S.E., 30303, 523-0347.

Vinson, Mrs. Betty, Chairman
Hamilton, Mrs. Grace, Vice Chairman

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
The purpose of SCLC: 1. The achieving of full citizenship rights and total integration of Negroes in American life. 2. To stimulate non-violent direct mass-action. 3. To reduce the cultural lag through citizenship educational programs.
334 Auburn Ave., N.E., 30303, 522-1420.

King, M.L., Jr., President
Young, Andy, Executive Assistant to President
Boyte, Harry, Special Assistant to President
Vivian, C.T., Director of Affilliates
Clayton, E.T.,Director of Public Relations
Clark, Mrs. Septima P., Supervisor of Teacher Training
Cotton, Miss Dorothy, Director of Citizenship School
Blackwell, Randolph, Program Coordinator

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
8½ Raymond St., N.W., 30314, 688-0311

Foreman, Jim Executive Secretary
Bond, Julian, Research Director

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL (SRC)
The SRC is a practical organization emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements.
5 Forsyth St., N.W., 30303, 522-8764.

Dunbar, Leslie, Executive Director
Jordan, Vernon, Assistant Director
Anthony, Paul, Field Director
Watters, Pat, Director of Information
Long, Mrs. Margaret, Editor of New South

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)
P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tenn., 258-6058

Guerrero, Gene, Chm., (Atlanta - 378-2969)
Trasher, Sue, Executive Secretary

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
Liason person between Negro and white Churches.
499 Emory Cir., N.E., 30307, 378-7913.

Brown, Rev. Ed, Consultant on Intergroup Relations.

WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE - SOUTHERN REGION
41 Exchange Pl., S.E., 30303, 525-2372.

Marion, Leon O., Regional Executive Director

YOUNG WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YWCA) - NATIONAL BOARD
41 Exchange Pl., S.E., 30303, 525-4658.

Hill, Miss Ruth, Correlator of Southern Region.

COMMUNITY YWCA
72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E., 30303, 524-3416.

Brunson, Mrs. Eunice, Executive Director

PHYLLIS WHEATLEY BRANCH YWCA
599 Tatnall St., S.W., 30314, Ja.3-0543.

Crank, Mrs. Sujette F., Executive Director

NATIONAL STUDENT YWCA
41 Exchange Pl., S.E., 30303, Ja.5-2372.

Gardner, Miss Rosetta, Regional Director
Wilkes, Miss Jacklyn, Field Secretary

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (YMCA) - SOUTHERN AREA COUNCIL
Standard Building, Ja.1-0352

Worthmann, Mr. William, Exec. Sec.

METROPOLITAN BRANCHES YMCA
145 Luckie N.W.,30303, Ja.5-5401

Bransby, Joseph, Gen. Secretary

BUTLER STREET BRANCH YMCA
22 Butler St., N.E., 30303, Ja.4-0246

Cochran, Warren, Director

INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS IN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

NAME:	TITLE:	ADDRESS:
A.D. Gaither Home: Chappell Forest Apts. 425 Chappell Rd. Bldg. O, Apt. 3 794-1704	Intergroup Relations Office Urban Renewal Administration	HHFA Peachtree-Seventh Building, Room 660 Phone: 876-3311 Ext. 5852
E. Vincent Suitt	Industrial Employment Policy Specialist	USAF-ATCMD-AFSC 41 Exchange Pl.S.E. 522-4124. Ext.6880 (home): 753-7568
R.A. Thompson Home: 1850 Penelope Rd., N.W. 794-8098	IRO - HHFA	50 - 7th St. N.W. Room 645 876-3311, Ext.5819
J.R.Henderson	Field Coordinator, Southeast Division	Area Redevelopment Administration U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 428 Title Bldg., 30 Pryor St., S.E., Ja.2-4121, Ext. 6389,(Home: Sy.4-6836)

NAME:	TITLE:	ADDRESS:
Al Thompson	Zone Intergroup Relations Advisor	Federal Housing Administration 101 Marietta St. Bldg. Rm. 301 522-4121, Ext.6594 (home: SY.4-1874)
Hubert N. Jackson	Chief, Intergroup Relations	Public Housing Administration 50-7th.St.,N.E.721A Tr.6-3311, Ext.5293 (home: 794-6129)
A.Frederick Smith	Deputy Regional Director of Urban Renewal	Housing and Home Finance Agency 50-7th St. N.E. TR.6-3311, Ext.5482 Home: Tr. 5-3118
John M. Heneghan	Industrial Employment Policy Specialist	Department of the Navy,50 - 7th.St.N.E. 876-3311, Ext. 5880 (home: 634-7114)
Phenizee F. Ransom, Jr.	Regional Employment Service Representative	U.S. Dept. of Labor (BES) 1371 Peachtree St. N.E. Rm. 632, Tr.6-3311, Ext.5794
Hugh F. Ryals	Regional Office Representative	U.S. Dept. of Labor Bureau of Employment Security, 1371 Peachtree St. N.E. Rm.632 Tr.6-3311, Ext,5794
Hugh A. Brimm	Chief, Equal Employ-Opportunity Office	U.S. Army Material Command, Atlanta Army Depot, Forest Park, Ga., 366-5460 Ext.8821, (home: 634-1359)
Horace A. Bohannon	Training Officer	Atlanta Regional Office, Post Office Dept., Federal Annex 688-3517, Ext. 333 (home: 794-0403)

File

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 Forsyth Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

December 28, 1964

Dear Friend:

1 Around the turn of the century a bill (Hardwick) seeking to
9 control the franchise by use of an "understanding" clause,
0 was before the Georgia Legislature.
0

President Hadley of Yale said, "We cannot make a law which shall allow the right exercise of a discretionary power."

Booker T. Washington said, "...the bill either meant to have a loophole so that the ignorant white man could vote, or to prevent the educated Negro from voting."

If either interpretation is correct, the law is unjust.

1 The New Year, 1965, affords an opportunity to remove legal,
9 moral and traditional loopholes that prevent some from "under-
6 standing" the true meaning of freedom of choice or judgment.
5 It affords an opportunity to remove from some persons the feel-
ing that refusals are to be expected because of the operation
of the "understanding" clause.

Despite a month's hospitalization made less terrifying and lonely because of your prayers, get-well messages and expressions of concern, my diabetes has not been removed. Fortunately, an understanding of its treatment has "dwarfed its malignancy." Your genuine support gave new purpose for this understanding. For this I am deeply grateful.

My resolution for the New Year is to "dwarf malignancies" without regard for nature or origin. Won't you join me and accept this for yourself?

Sincerely yours,

Oliver

Oliver W. Holmes

OWH/es

DR. LIONEL NEWSOM, CHAIRMAN
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

FROM THE DESK OF

Frances Pauley

January 21, 1965

Save March 18-19-20 for our Spring Conference at the Continuing Education Center at the University of Georgia! We will send more details.

Thought you might like to have a copy of the Statement we made to the School Board.

LWD ✓
PAV
LEV
PWV
ML
Return to VJ

Georgia Council on
Human Relations
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Telephone: 525-6468
January 20, 1965

STATEMENT TO GEORGIA BOARD OF EDUCATION
FROM COMPLIANCE TO COOPERATION

The Georgia Council on Human Relations believes that there is no practical alternative to the Certificate of Compliance under Title VI of the Civil Rights Law and urges the Georgia Board of Education to sign the Statement and exert every effort in helping school districts obey the law. A further concern of the Georgia Council is to point out that mere grudging, reluctant compliance is not enough. Rather, Georgia's educators should try to make this new experience a positive and fruitful one for the entire community.

Before the first child is transferred under these new regulations, schools must be prepared so that:

1. Decorum in class rooms and on school grounds is preserved and no new students will be harassed.

2. Negro students fit smoothly not only into their new classrooms but into all aspects of school life, such as, the cafeteria, library, athletic programs and extra curricular activities.

3. The gap between the students' previous schools and their new ones is steadily closed through intensive tutorial programs.

In the community outside the classroom we must seek to enlist the voices of religious and civic leaders who will call for creative compliance as a moral right and duty.

Our political leaders and police officers should formulate plans now to control the small but dangerous group of extremists whose defiance of the law can bring unruly mobs, rock-throwing violence and bloodshed.

All of these initial steps require valuable community planning. But over and above Georgia's response to specific needs, lies a greater challenge for us all. For while we wish to obey the new law, compliance is not an end in itself. What should be the ultimate concern of every citizen, Negro and white, is how all of us, working together, can build an educational system which bests serves the needs of all children.

(more)

Two of the larger questions our State should consider are:

1. Are We Closing The Gap Between Negro And White Schools? Educators who have worked with transferring students can attest to their intelligence and the eagerness to learn. But each can attest also that these students have been deprived of valuable educational opportunities that were provided for white students.

Since segregated education is not going to disappear overnight, succeeding classes of Negro students will be placed under similar handicaps. Tutorial programs are only a stop-gap answer. A more far-reaching solution would be to upgrade the quality of Negro education through special teacher training, enrichment in liberal arts and science programs, as well as equal physical facilities.

But ultimately, the answer will be found by doing away with the burdens imposed by our unequal, dual system - a system which means increased costs for taxpayers through duplications of space, equipment, teaching services, and administration. Several cities are being foresighted in changing the original dual plans for trade schools and are building one fine plant for its total needs. But today in several other places dual systems are still being planned and built.

2. Are Our Schools Doing Their Job? As we discuss the gradual fusing of our dual system into one, we will want to be certain that our public school system serves the educational needs of all children, the gifted, the average and the slow child.

Every child must receive the chance to become qualified for making a living in the new tomorrow. There has never been a day when educators have been called upon for so much.

Solving these larger questions about public education in Georgia will require harmonious working relationships among all concerned citizens. Specifically, it will require continuing and frank dialogue between Negro and white civic leaders and educators.

Let us begin at once. And let us enlarge our horizons to consider not only the present but the future, not only the students transferring initially but every student. Most of all, let us have not only simply compliance but mutual cooperation.

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

File>

May, 1965

PERRY - A TOWN WITH A PROBLEM

Perry, Georgia is advertised along the highways and on brochures as a town of gracious southern hospitality. It is — so the advertisements say — a good place to spend the night on your way to and from Florida. There are many gleaming new motels and beautiful tree-lined streets, but Perry has a problem — Police Brutality.

One woman who has been very active in the NAACP movement said: "We have no one here to help us. If you need protection, don't call the police, because they are the ones who will beat you up." People are constantly beaten by the police for no apparent reason. The latest incident reportedly occurred on March 26, when a woman who was six months pregnant, went to the place she worked to quit her job and pick up her pay check. The owner refused to pay her and when the woman said that she was going to call the police to help her collect her salary, the owner shouted, "if you don't, I will." The police were called by the owner and when they arrived they choked the woman and when she fainted she was taken to jail. The charges were disorderly conduct and resisting arrest!

This incident took place on one of the major highways very near a group of the new motels. If the northern tourist who contributes so many dollars to Perry's economy knew of the extreme police brutality, I wonder if their contribution to the city's economic growth would continue.

RED CROSS FIRST AID COURSE INTEGRATED

Integrated First Aid Course are being held at Sumter High School in Americus, Georgia, where two white women have already attended First Aid Classes. One of the two received both Basic and Advanced Certificates, although the Americus TIMES-RECORDER made no mention of the fact in a story.

File

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Call: Frances Pauley - 525-6468
Home - Dr.3-6735

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Thursday, July 8th., 1965

The Georgia Council on Human Relations today charged Georgia's school administrators with "dragging their feet" on school desegregation and "hiding behind the supposed misunderstanding of federal regulations" to keep to the barest minimum the number of Negro children transferring to previously all-white schools. The one bright exception to this "conscious policy of non-compliance through evasion", the Council stated, is the Atlanta school system. But neighboring DeKalb county is trying to make transferring as difficult as possible.

Mrs. Pauley's complete statement follows:

"All over Georgia we find that school administrators are dragging their feet and not acting in good faith to desegregate the schools according to the provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Law. They have abandoned die-hard resistance in favor of evasion, hoping thus to thwart the purpose of the law while assuring the continuance of federal aid.

"For instance, the regulations state that 'responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities', but Georgia school systems are putting the entire onus on Negro students wishing to transfer. We find that simple transfer instructions are not available and in many instances, neither are the transfer slips. In some cases, parents are given one blank by the school when two or three are required. Other parents are given the wrong blanks.

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

One school tried to insist that the blanks be notarized.

"Many schools have not made public the dates of the transfer period. Others have made it so short that they could not process the applications of those applying toward the end of the transfer period. It is not uncommon for school personnel deliberately to misinform Negro parents about the time or the length of the transfer period.

"School administrators claim that the reason for delays and misunderstanding results from confusion caused by the regulations promulgated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. But if there was initial confusion, it has long since been cleared up. HEW's regulations concerning transferring students are crystal clear, and administrators are simply hiding behind this supposed misunderstanding to keep the number of transferring students to the barest minimum.

"DeKalb County is a good example of this policy. The regulations clearly state that 'every pupil shall be informed by individual notice of his right to transfer and that forms for transfer shall be readily available.'

"When Mr. C. L. Harper, Assistant Superintendent of the DeKalb County schools was asked by members of the DeKalb Council on Human Relations whether pupils or parents were to be notified individually, he answered 'No, we don't feel that is necessary.' When read speicific HEW regulation, he replied, 'Well, that's your opinion. I don't agree with you. When asked whether he would comply with the regulation which states: 'All desegregation plans shall provide for their publication in a conspicuous manner in a newspaper

having general circulation...' he replied 'We have no requests from the paper, so we won't.'

"While DeKalb thus ignores the regulations, we have found other systems go even further to evade the law. We have uncovered hundreds of cases where Negro students have been cajoled, harangued and intimidated into not transferring, where their parents have been threatened with loss of their jobs or even physical harm. Although the regulations call for specific information for the preparation of pupils, teachers, staff personnel and the community for desegregation, most systems reject the help offered by voluntary community organizations.

"I think it fair to say that most Georgia school systems have adopted a conscious policy of non-compliance with the law through evasion, although so far, the Atlanta school system seems to be the one bright exception. But by and large, a cynical attitude toward the law of the land is common.

"I have talked with scores of Negro parents and community leaders, and their treatment at the hands of school people is engendering bitterness and resentment.

"The educational establishment in Georgia will have much to answer for if it exhausts the reservoir of patience and good will of Negro citizens. It will bear a major responsibility if the atmosphere of racial amity which so many Georgians are trying so painstakingly to create is now destroyed. Our state cannot afford, and Georgians will not tolerate conditions of hatred, violence and lawlessness now prevalent in other places.

"This tragedy does not need to happen. We call upon school boards, school principals and school administrators to abandon their present policies and begin now to work together with parents and community leaders to implement the law constructively, honestly and fairly."

CROSS REFERENCE

For:

Newsletter dated July, 1965, of the Georgia CHR re Macon Council Tutorial Program

See:

General: Education

File

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS

52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

October 11, 1965

Mr. Jack Tarver
General Manager
The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear PAT: That ought to settle that hash — but alas, it won't!
Yours,
Florence

Dear Mr. Tarver:

I have just finished reading, in what is listed in the index as Women's News, a full page story on the ladies of the KKK, complete with pictures.

I was interested to learn such fascinating "facts" as: 1) The Klan is against violence; 2) The burning cross is a symbol of Christianity; 3) The Klan begins with the Bible to instill the Christian spirit into young people; and 4) As a kind of punch line, the Klan is interested in charity for needy families.

Obviously, a free press has a perfect right to print any story it wishes, even one that reads like a publicity handout for the Klan. But a responsible paper, especially in a one-afternoon paper town with no competition, does have a duty to strive for balance.

And I have never seen your paper devote one line of women's news to the activities of the women of the NAACP, or the volunteer teachers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or the ladies of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, or any other organization which is concerned with better understanding between the races. I do think they rate fully as much space as the Klan, whose sole activity -- today's piece of puff notwithstanding -- is organized hate.

Or perhaps today's story is the forerunner of a new era in reportage for the Journal, to be followed by such cozy little features as:

On the Sports Page: Target Practice in Alabama, an interview with Klan defendants, Beckwith and Coleman; and
How to Shoot from a Passing Automobile, by Klan defendants in the Lemuel Penn Case.

As a Religious Feature: Burning and Bombing Sunday Schools and Churches for for Fun and Profit

On the Education Page: Six ways for Klan Youth Group Members to Harrass and Threaten Negro First-Graders.

And finally, you might want to run a round up story on How to Destroy the Image of a City, by the editors of the Journal, as told to Piney Woods Pete.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Oliver W. Holmes
Associate Director

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

December 14, 1965

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Frances:

I will huddle with you to learn what questionnaires you wish after I get an opportunity to discuss the matter with Paul. Some mutual benefit might accrue from their use.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

November 29, 1965

Mr. Sam Adams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I constantly have more requests for surveys and am using some that I know can be improved. You and I have talked about this and I am wondering if you are interested in preparing materials for the use of all the councils?

Simple surveys to:

1. Know your town.
2. Effect of the Civil Rights Law -- (changes which have taken place and need to take place).
3. Education.
4. Welfare.
5. Recreation.
6. and the like------

I am using these kinds of surveys not so much to get information for a well documented treatise but to get people to go down town and ask questions and learn about their own town.

I hope your department can find time to help us with the preparation of good surveys with guidelines for local councils. I believe that these are needed by all the state councils. I know they are by some who have been talking about them.

Let me know if you are interested and we can work together on this needed material.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director

FP/es
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

File

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Georgia Council on Human Relations mailed the enclosed letter to each of the members of the House of Representatives today, January 11, 1966.

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Phone: 525-6468

Rev. Austin Ford
Vice President
Phone: Me.4-3336

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 11, 1966

To: Members of the General Assembly

From: The Georgia Council on Human Relations

The proceedings of the General Assembly yesterday, January 10, 1966, more than ten years after the School Desegregation Court Decision; a year and a half after the passage of the Civil Rights Act; more than a year after the passage of the Poverty Bill; make the Georgia Council more concerned than ever with the near total lack of understanding and communication between the races in Georgia.

We call upon you, as a member of the Legislature, to use every effort to bring about an understanding which will prevent Georgia and the United States from losing its position of prestige and sinking into another totalitarian state where the wishes of the electorate are bypassed.

The country is not at war. The representatives of the American people in Congress have not, and have not been asked to, endorse our military action in Viet Nam. Until such time as they have, the question of treason is irrelevant.

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has expressed its lack of sympathy with our country's involvement, and Mr. Bond has concurred.

Much of the public, and the public press, have expressed dismay at the possibility that leaders of the Civil Rights Movement, of which Mr. Bond is one, could harbor misgivings about the good faith of our national policy makers, and of the good faith of our federal officials.

But the appropriate and mature response to an expression of misgivings is not "How awful!", but "Why?"

Until the passage of the Civil Rights Act there was wide-spread, even universal, belief that our President and other Federal officials were unequivocally committed to the principals of our nation's founding as expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

SINCE the passage of the Civil Rights Act many leaders of the Civil Rights Movement have, in their turn, been dismayed, to see agents of the FBI, in Baker and other counties, turn their backs upon acts of

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MR. A. J. MCCLUNG, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HARRY V. RICHARDSON, SECRETARY
MR. JOHNNY GLUSTROM, TREASURER
THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

brutality; they have been dismayed that, not school boards and county officials were to be required to obey the law, but that small children and their economically and educationally deprived parents had had laid upon them the burden of enforcing the law. SINCE the passage of the Voter Rights Bill many leaders of the Civil Rights Movement have been dismayed to learn that federal registrars would not be sent to Georgia, but that, in county after county, Negroes would be registered to vote only if they were willing to risk their safety and their livelihood by presenting themselves, unprotected, to the same officials who had turned them away year after year in the past.

Our government has laws against smuggling. Does it require the representatives of American business, which those laws are designed to protect, to enforce those laws, or to detect smugglers? Or does it provide customs inspectors in every port? Our government has laws against bootlegging. Is the licensed liquor industry required to maintain a staff of investigators to detect and prosecute unlawful distillers, or does the government itself maintain an efficient police force for this purpose?

A massive loss of confidence in the good faith of our federal government faces us. As Georgians and Americans are we willing to face the real issue? And can we have the humility to admit that men like Mr. Bond have in no way denied their loyalty to our nation and its principles, but have only expressed a deep fear that some persons in authority have not themselves been good Americans, or themselves loyal to American ideals?

Surely an expression of such a fear -- even if it were misfounded -- is not disloyalty, but the highest form of patriotism.

January 24, 1966

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director
Georgia Council on
Human Relations
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Pauley:

This is in follow-up of your November 29, 1965 letter requesting help with some "simple surveys" you are planning. Whenever it is convenient for you, I suggest that we huddle here at the SRC office and work out the questionnaires you want. If you prefer my coming there, please so state.

You may advise me by telephone of your wishes in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Georgia Council ON HUMAN RELATIONS
52 Fairlie Street, N. W. • 404/525-6468 • Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 31, 1966

Read Feb. 1, 1966

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

We can meet any time convenient to you to talk of our needs in the way of surveys. Since this was not just my request, perhaps we could discuss it at our director's meeting. Then if you and SRC think there is a need that you can fill, you can go ahead with it.

Anyway, I'll see you Wednesday at the meeting.

Good luck!

Sincerely yours,

Frances Pauley
Mrs. Frances Pauley
Executive Director

FP/es

MR. JOSEPH HENDRICKS, PRESIDENT
MRS. FRANCES PAULEY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
THE REVEREND AUSTIN FORD, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
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THE REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Rec'd 7/28/66 File

July, 1966

WELFARE

As the general public becomes more aware of the extreme poverty in the midst of plenty, the Council asks you to turn your attention and work toward changing some of the cruel and inhuman factors surrounding our very poor children.

AFDC (Aid to Families of Dependent Children) was originated to make it possible for children to receive adequate food, clothing, and shelter in their own home. As it operates today in Georgia, this is far from true. The following cases are known to the Council. There are many thousands just as bad or worse.

Mrs. A, with nine children, no regular income, no stove, no electricity, gets no help from AFDC. The Department has not given the Council a reason. The children are hungry.

Mrs. B works hard, 40 hours a week, for $10. She has several children. She gets no help because she is employed. Her rent alone is $7.50 a week.

Mrs. C has a very sick husband, the rent is due, the lights and water have been cut off, she is pregnant with her sixth child, she gets no AFDC because her husband lives with her.

We need to investigate details of the operation of this government supported AFDC. Why are some children turned away? Ask your Department of Family and Childrens Services to explain the rights of poor children to have aid.

Talk to your Georgia legislator about increasing the Georgia appropriation for AFDC. He knows hungry children do not vote, tell him you do vote.

Ask your local chapter to set up a committee to work on AFDC.

Contact your state office for further information.

JEKYLL

To all of you who came - wasn't it great!! To all of you who couldn't make it this year, we missed you.

The wonderful experience of the conference, was to see a true cross section of folks, rich and poor, young and old, every shade of political opinion, swapping stories and ideas, all learning from each other.

The beach, the pools, all the Jekyll facilities were truly enjoyed. The speeches were great, the discussions exciting, the weather fine, the Motel cordial. In fact, we had as near a perfect week-end as one could hope for!

CORDELE

Cordele, a city of about 11,000 population, approximately 50% Negro, is situated in middle south Georgia, in the center of a rich farming area. The population which is remaining static, has low per capita income. Unemployment is great, particularly among the Negroes.

In spite of the low family income, the city and county have been slow to introduce OEO programs. The city white leaders are well aware of the great need for increased economic resources and have been trying desperately to attract new industry. Although they realize the dangers of racial unrest, there is little awareness of the basic needs of the Negro people. You hear the same old phrases "Our Negroes are happy", "It is the outsiders", "The low voters registration is proof that our Negroes are satisfied with the white leadership".

In the city of Cordele where the Negroes could carry an election, there are still only 23% registered while 80% of the whites are registered.

The KKK is strong in Cordele. Local authorities seem to want to keep this element of the population under control. However, it is a question whether the local law enforcement agencies have the will or strength to handle the situation. For instance, in April, a group of Negroes were gathered on one side of the street at the intersection of 16th Avenue West and 11th Street. A white operator went into his filling station, returned with a gun and shot into the group of Negroes across the street. A Negro policeman saw the shooting. He was off duty at the time. Although, had he been in uniform, he would not have had the authority to arrest the white man. He reported the incident and asked for the arrest of the white man. The white man has never

been arrested. Reports were made to the city manager and the NAACP. Because of this incident, the Negro policeman, who had a good record of service over a period of 3 years, lost his job.

It was at this same corner that shooting took place on June 30, 1966. Negroes were on one side of the street, at their usual gathering place, whites gathered on the opposite corner. White policemen, after standing with the whites, crossed the street, searched the Negroes for guns and weapons. No weapons were found. When the search was completed, the policemen recrossed to the white side, stooped down behind the parked cars and the shooting started, all the shooting coming from the whites toward the Negroes. State Patrol were parked down the street in the shadows. No arrests were made.

The white citizens of the town are afraid - desperately afraid. The Ministerial Association, by a majority of only one vote, elected to membership a white minister of the predominately Negro United Presbyterian Church. There are no Negro members.

Constructive work can be done and must be done quickly in Cordele. The Georgia Council must find ways of cooperating with the various groups, Negro and white in constructive programs to relieve the frustrations, hopelessness, bitterness and hatred in this community.

If you know of interested Cordele residents, please call the Georgia Council, 525-6468.

COBB COUNTY

Cobb County gets under way with a summer reading program! All high school children in the Cobb County system will attend formerly white schools in September. Council members in the area are making it possible for these children to have an interesting and rewarding summer experience. The group plans to stay closely in touch with these students throughout next year.

Best wishes for a successful venture!

REGISTRATION

Registration for the PRIMARY on September 14th closed Monday, July 25th. If you are not registered, you cannot vote in the Democratic Primary. At this time citizens in Georgia will decide which Democratic candidate will be on the ticket in November. Registration for

the GENERAL ELECTION in November will continue until September 19th. At the General Election, the Democratic winners will run against the Republican nominees. Your vote is needed in the Primary and in the General Election. See that your neighbors are registered. See that they understand the issues. The people you elect will affect your future.

MEDICARE

We are happy to report that approximately 64% of the hospitals in Georgia are in compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Law. Many of our old people can receive their medicare in atmosphere free from discrimination. There are still 36% of the hospital administrators and boards who need your help and encouragement in obeying the laws.

Separate entrances, separate eating facilities, separate wards, must go. All wards and rooms must be assigned on a first come, first serve basis.

Please report any discrepancies to Dr. William J. Page, or Mr. Samuel Younge, Peachtree and 7th, Atlanta, Georgia 30323, or to your Georgia Council office, 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WHITE POWER?

What is white power? The power to arrest an innocent black man or white man, if he is associating with a black man. The power to fine and imprison a black man who is unrepresented by a lawyer, with no fear of reprisal. The power to charge excessive interest knowing that in any argument 'white is right'. The power to say on Saturday, "I cannot pay the $10 or $15 or $25 for your 40 to 60 hour week's work in my kitchen. I don't have the money today", and expect the black face to appear smiling on Monday morning. The power to say and enforce, "you cannot go to this school, or this hospital, or this village cafe". The power to say, "there is no job for you, no house for you, it is not the time, you must be patient". The power to kill and rape and steal - and go free.

These are only a few of the million instances of white power in these United States of America.

File

August 9, 1966

To: The Honorable Carl E. Sanders

From: The Board of the Georgia Council on Human Relations

Today you are nearing the end of your term as Governor of Georgia. We are grateful to you for the constructive efforts that you have made to help the people of Georgia realize there is no place in todays world for the old concepts of second class citizens. The gracious paternalism of only a few years ago is more distastful to the young Georgia Negro than the policeman's billy club.

We came to you nearly four years ago with suggestions and offers of help. We come again today with requests. We earnestly believe that at this time you could use your power and influence to perform acts which could be of lasting benefit to the people of Georgia.

During the last four years, there has been little change in the progress of the Negro citizen of our state. Thanks to the Civil Rights Act, and the more fortunate can frequent places of public accommodations. However, less than 3% of our children are attending formerly white schools. The large majority are still born with inadequate medical attention, to undereducated and deprived parents. Many still live in substandard houses. For all practical purposes, the university system and public schools are still separate and unequal. The Negro child at an early age, still finds he is handicapped by his color and far too often, his dismal surroundings.

There is one big difference today over January 1963. The Negro youth today is angry. He and his elders had great hopes when the civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965 passed. Then through subtle and sometimes brutal forces, the power structure was able to maintain the status quo. The Negro, young

and old, became disillusioned, imbittered, and often heart broken. We hope there is still time before we in Georgia suffer the consequences of these feelings manifested in hatred and violence.

Therefore, today we make the following recommendations:

STAFF ADVISOR - The Governor employ a special assistant concerned with civil rights. This special assistant with the authority of the Governor, would have the task of keeping the heads of departments and agencies alert to their obligations.

La. President
N.C.
Fla?

ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR CIVIL RIGHTS - The Governor establish a civil rights division of the attorney general's office. This staff would have the authority to enforce civil rights legislation. This would help change the growing feeling that there is no one in the Capitol who really cares if a person is injured or even killed in exercising his rights under the law.

STATE PATROL AND THE GEORGIA BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION - A simple executive order could wipe out discrimination practiced by these law enforcement bodies, and integration within their ranks could be expanded.

EMPLOYMENT - Although it is late in your administration to make great changes in the hiring of personnel, there will, no doubt, be many opportunities before January 1 to make appointments. No Negro sits on the following boards:

The Board of Education
Board of Regents
Board of Corrections
Board of Pardons and Paroles
Game and Fish Commission
Board of Veterans Service
Personnel Board
Board of Industry and Trade
State Medical Education Board
State Scholarship Commission

In fact, no Negro sits on any of the major policy boards of the State of Georgia.

In a recent trip through the various state office buildings, we saw one Negro employee behind a desk. This was in the Welfare Department. On questioning where the Education Department Negro employees were, we were told they were housed on Ashby Street. This happens 12 years after the Supreme Court decision and 2 years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act. This should be immediately changed to bring the Department under the law and not in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

BUDGET - In the preparation of the budget for the appropriation bill for the next session of the legislature, we call upon you, as Director of the Budget, to give special attention to the budget of the Welfare Department. The administration is to be complimented on the many changes in the new Department of Family and Children Services. We ask that your influence be used to see that appropriations be suggested in order to take advantage of the available federal funds, in seeing that all children of Georgia may not suffer from neglect and hunger. We ask you to use your influence to change the stringent state regulations concerning aid to dependent children.

VOTING - We recommend that the Governor request Federal Registrars to come to Georgia in the tension areas where the fear of the Negro is so intense that registration is handicapped. Georgia cannot afford to continue to have next to the lowest percentage of registered Negro voters in the South. be second only to the state of Mississippi in the % of eligible non-reg. Negro voters.

HOUSING-- In the face of the growing social unrest, the daily growth of the city ghettos, as well as the small town ghetto, we request that you appoint a bi-racial housing study committee which could bring recommendations to the new Governor in this vital area where discrimination and tension is increasing.

The Georgia Council implores the Governor to act on these few suggestions and present a legacy of justice and law enforcement to the people of Georgia, not only those who elected him to

office, but to all the citizens who wish to live in peace and prosperity.

The Governor can speak and act in a way to make the Georgia Constitution real:

"To perpetuate the principles of free government, insure justice to all, preserve peace, promote the interest and happiness of the citizen..." (Preamble - Georgia Constitution)

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Rec'd 9/2/66

File

September, 1966

WELFARE RIGHTS

It is often said that welfare is not a right but charity, and that welfare can be taken away or denied whenever the welfare department chooses. This, of course, is not true. There is a right to receive welfare when the conditions set by law are met by the applicant and her family. It is the duty of the welfare departments to grant welfare aid when these conditions are met.

The Georgia Council, with the help of the Columbia University School of Social Work and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., attempted a project in four counties in Georgia to discover how AFDC is administered in Georgia. Are children in need receiving their rights? After visiting the homes of 180 families with incomes below the poverty level, we are convinced that many children in Georgia are hungry. Many children are deprived of the proper food, housing, and parental care. Welfare grants to dependent children are woefully inadequate. Many children in greatest need are receiving nothing.

The total amount of grants of aid to dependent children is far less than the amount of grants to the aged. The state budgeted this year, $3,000,000 for the children and $9,000,000 for old age. This seems strange if need is the basis for grants. There are 1,536,083 children in Georgia under 17 years and only 287,215 adults over 65.

AFDC is only a small part of the total work of the Department of Family and Children Services. The work of the Department is only a small portion of the problem of the slum. Just helping the victim is not enough even if the grants were adequate and the case work effective. The basic causes of the conditions that produce our slums, be they city or rural, will have to be tackled. However, just and realistic treatment of children by the Department of Family and Children Services could make a tremendous difference in salvaging the lives of children in our most destitute families.

If you wish a copy of the report of the 180 families visited by the Council, please write the Georgia Council on Human Relations, 52 Fairlie Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Does your community have a Welfare Rights Committee? If not, YOU could organize one.

WHAT WOULD YOU DO??

Imagine that you live in Lynnwood Park, DeKalb County. You are a mother of 8 children. Your husband has been dead for two years. Your elderly mother lives with you. You work as a domestic for two white women, one job in Sandy Springs, one in Brookhaven. You have worked for your present employers for several years, who pay the going wage and a bit more, and also pay for transportation to and from work.

DeKalb County Board of Commissioners has decided to follow the advice of the DeKalb Realty Board and enforce a recently adopted housing code in the Lynnwood area. Your house has not been brought up to code. You received notice to move. You looked for housing in Lynnwood, none available. You looked in Chamblee. Housing is tight, many people are available for the limited housing because of the proximity of large industry. You look in Atlanta. You can't get in public housing without waiting for several months. You look in Kirkwood, you look on Capitol Avenue. You look in Grant Park. (Remember as you look, you have nothing but public transportation and you are afraid to be away from your jobs. Your children must eat.) You find nothing. You get another notice - in 5 days you must be out because the bulldozer will demolish your house. Finally it is Sunday morning --- (Segregated Sunday Morning) and tomorrow the bulldozer will be there. You are frantic --- where would you turn?

No one assumed any responsibility for this incident and the many other hardship cases in this area of Negro removal. The Welfare Department does little or nothing. (Nothing in this case.) The Housing Authority does little or nothing. (Nothing in this case.) The Health Department gives the orders for compliance with the code but gives no remedies.

The DeKalb Realty Board stands by. Their plans are moving forward. The County Commission who gave the order for code enforcement is silent. The law has no provision for appeal, no provision for hardship cases. This family turned to the Georgia Council, as a Council member, what can the Georgia Council do?

GEORGIA COUNCIL TO LAUNCH LEGAL CLINICS IN POVERTY NEIGHBORHOODS

Did you know that four out of five people have no idea of what their rights are when they encounter the law? This is especially hard on the poor, who have the added disadvantage of not being able to afford a lawyer to tell them what these rights are.

To help remedy this lack of information, we have joined with the American Civil Liberties Union to launch an educational program to inform citizens of what their rights and responsibilities are when they encounter the police. The program will be started in neighborhoods with a high arrest record.

The program will consist of a 32-page booklet, which is written in simple, non-legal language. Each page contains one caption accompanied by an illustration. The booklet, Know Your Rights, covers, among other things: being stopped by a policeman; how to know whether you are under arrest, and if so, what your rights are; your rights and police rights during a search; your right to counsel; your right to make, or decline to make a statement or to sign one. This material was prepared by a panel of lawyers under ACLU auspices.

In addition, a film strip will be made of the illustrations in the booklet, and these, accompanied by a recorded commentary, will be shown in neighborhood centers, schools, churches, and any other place where we can arrange to have audiences gather. There will be a volunteer lawyer on hand to answer audience questions, and each person who comes to these neighborhood meetings will be given a copy of the booklet to take home.

We are depending upon the ACLU to supply the legal information and the volunteer lawyers. They are depending upon the Georgia Council for our greater experience in community organization to give both the booklet and the film strips the widest possible distribution. So we will want volunteers -- not necessarily lawyers -- to go into selected neighborhoods to find suitable places to hold the clinics and to help insure good attendance.

Financing the Clinics: Between the Georgia Council and the ACLU, we have sufficient funds for an initial, small run of the booklet, and to begin production of the film strip. You may want to help finance the project by buying a copy of the Know Your Rights booklet for $1. For each booklet purchased at $1, we will be able to give away four booklets free in slum neighborhoods.

After the initial $1 cost, you may purchase as many as you like for your club or study group at 25¢ each. On the last page you will find a coupon with which to order your copies.

REVEREND OLIVER W. HOLMES

We regret to tell you that Rev. Holmes is ill in Harris Memorial Hospital, 975 Hunter St., N.W., Atlanta. He will be glad to hear from his many friends over the state. We all wish him a speedy recovery.

SELF HELP HOUSING

Thomas County is fast becoming the pace setter for the state of Georgia in many ways. Mr. Hubert Thomas of the Georgia Council staff, is getting underway with a new program in self help housing. A grant from OEO will pay for the administration of the program if funded. Eighteen families will try to obtain FHA loans to buy materials. These eighteen families will help each other build their new homes. These families will have the satisfaction of possessing a home for approximately two thirds of the cost of a house purchased on the regular market. Congratulations to Mr. Thomas and to Thomas County.

CONGRATULATIONS REVEREND JULIUS CAESAR HOPE

The NAACP of Glynn County, under the leadership of Rev. Hope, deserves a huge bunch of orchids. Their annual dinner at the Aquarama at Jekyll Island was an enormous success. The near thousand people attending, the witty remarks of Rev. Hope, the superb speech by Mr. Wylie Branton, following an unusually fine introduction by Mr. Vernon Jordan, the speeches of several of the political candidates, all added up to a marvelous evening. Amen.

Please send me a copy of the booklet KNOW YOUR RIGHTS. Enclosed is $1.00 to help distribute free copies. _____

Please send me _____ additional copies at 25¢ each. Enclosed is _____ to cover the cost.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____Zip_____

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program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Rec'd 1/20/67

File

January, 1967

EDUCATION

In its historic decision in the School Segregation Cases on May 17, 1954, the supreme court held that enforced segregation in public education is a denial of equal protection. Even if all schools are equal the court held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal".

Today Georgia still has many separate facilities. It is estimated that in Georgia in 1965-1966 only 2.66% of the Negro children have transferred to formerly white schools. It is the concern of the Georgia Council that this tokenism be ended, that the court decree be in fact carried out in our state, that the burden of desegregation be removed from the back of the Negro child and placed on state and local school boards where it belongs.

NEW GUIDELINES

The new guidelines are out. They are almost identical with last years guidelines. The major change is in the dates of transfer, "a period of at least 30 days must be provided for exercising choice, to commence no earlier than Jan. 1 and to end no later than April 30..."

COURT DECISION

On December 29, the U. S. Court of Appeals rendered a decision ending the controversy over whether the "Guidelines" for School Desegregation were legal. The court held that the standards of the guidelines were substantially the same as those of the court.

The court made some other important points. It stated that the burden of desegregating schools rests squarely with the school authorities. These authorities must take race into consideration in integrating schools. "The Constitution is both color blind and color conscious...(it is) color conscious to prevent discrimination from being perpetuated."

The adequacy of Freedom of Choice plans was closely questioned by the court. It said "the slow pace of integration in Southern and border states is in large measure attributable to the manner in which free choice plans...have operated. Freedom of Choice plans may...be invalid because 'freedom of choice' is illusory." The court did not void Freedom of Choice plans but indicated that it might do so in the future if the proper case is presented to it.

The court approved a sample decree to be used in the future by Federal District Courts in school cases. This decree is very similar to the guidelines, except that it goes beyond it at two points: (1) In considering new construction, school systems "shall locate any new school and substantially expand any exisiting schools with the objective of eradicating the vestiges of the dual system and of eliminating the effects of segregation." (2) Since faculty desegregation is essential to eliminating the dual system, in the 1967-68 school year each "white" school should have Negro teachers, and there should be more than one minority group teacher in each such school. Likewise more than one white teacher should be transferred to the Negro school.

Finally, the court instructed citizens how to have the court decrees covering their school systems brought up to the standards of this decision. Cases in each of these school systems must be reopened, and "we expect these plans to be modified to conform with our decree."

COUNCIL EFFORT

In order to remove the burden our children have been so heroically carrying, council members and concerned friends must work to understand the regulations, to encourage parents, to report discrimination, to lend every effort to see that every child has equal opportunity for acquiring basic skills, saleable skills, and civic and social skills.

MEETINGS

The Georgia Council will hold area meetings throughout the state to give local leaders the opportunity of discussing and planning community action. The first meetings will be:

January 28, 1967 — First Baptist Church
New Street
Macon, Georgia
10:30 a.m. - 4 p.m.

January 28, 1967	Zion Baptist Church Corner G and Lee Streets Brunswick, Georgia 10:30 a.m. - 4 p.m.
February 4, 1967	Clifford Temple CME Church 510 Lester Street Thomasville, Georgia 10:30 a.m. - 4 p.m.
February 11, 1967	Tabernacle Baptist Church 1224 Gwinnett Street Augusta, Georgia 10:30 a.m. - 4 p.m.
February 11, 1967	Metropolitan Methodist Church Broad Street Rome, Georgia 10:30 a.m. - 4 p.m.

If you wish a meeting in your area, contact the state office.

INFORMATION NEEDED:

Bring to the meeting the following information concerning your school district:

1. Number of Negro children in formerly all white schools.
2. Number of white children in formerly all Negro schools.
3. What were the experiences of the transfer children?
4. Number of Negro teachers in formerly all white schools.
5. Number of white teachers in formerly all Negro schools.
6. What action does your school board plan to follow to speed up desegregation to meet the guidelines?
7. What are the dates for transfers?
8. When will the approved letters be mailed to each student?

REPORT ON THE INTEGRATION OF DEKALB COUNTY SCHOOLS

Since the famous meeting between Dekalb County School Superintendent Jim Cherry and U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe in May, 1966, there has been little publicity with regard to the progress achieved in desegregating the Dekalb County school system. Evidently both HEW and the general public in Dekalb County are satisfied with the results of the combined "geographic attendance area" and "freedom of choice" plans which Mr. Cherry convinced Howe would be the best desegregation plan for this populous, suburban county. As new guidelines are being issued, it is interesting to see just how much progress has been made under the present system.

According to figures available to members of the DeKalb County Council on Human Relations on Oct. 20, 1966, the total school population of DeKalb County amounted to 71,375 students. The white students numbered 67,820, the Negro students, 3,555. These figures indicate more strongly than words that total integration could be achieved more easily here than in many school systems across the country. Unless the Negro population of Dekalb County increases, at best there will be only token integration in the public schools.

What has been achieved so far is token tokenism. Of the 85 elementary and high schools in Dekalb County 50 schools are still completely segregated, 46 white only and 4 Negro only. In 18 other schools there are Negro pupils but no Negro faculty. (Five of these with a total student population of 5,220 are integrated by a total of eleven pupils.) In 8 schools there are Negro teachers but no Negro pupils. In only 7 out of the 85 schools both student body and faculty are integrated.

The 1966 Guildines specifically state that " progress in closing of small, inadequate schools" is required. Lynwood Park High School had an enrollment of 136 Negro pupils as of Oct. 1966 and last year graduated a total of 31 students. It would be more than optimistic to expect that educational opportunities in a segregated school of that size would be equal to those in nearby Sequoyah High, enrollment 1647 white students, 3 Negro students. Attenpts to persuade Mr. Cherry to close Lynwood Park High School, reassign the small number of students now living within its attendance area, and encourage the other students now being bussed to Lynwood Park to attend schools in their geographic areas have, so far, failed.

The 1966 guidelines also state unequivocably that, "If transportation services are furnished ... dual or segregated transportation systems and any other form of discrimination must be eliminated. Routing must be planned on the basis of such factors as economy and efficiency." In Tucker Negro children are transported by a bus driven by a Negro driver which comes all the way from Hamilton High School (all Negro) to carry them to the integrated Brockett Elementary School. White children living close by are transported to Brockett School in a bus driven by a white driver and based at Brockett School. Earlier this year all the children had been served by one bus, but after white parents complained that the route of the integrated bus was unsafe due to unpaved roads and an unsafe bridge, the present two-bus system was initiated. The Negro children now are the only ones to be transported over an "unsafe" route.

Also in the Chamblee-Doraville area a very small number of Negro high school students going to the integrated Chamblee High School ride on a Negro bus while a white bus route comes within a mile. In another part of DeKalb County, four different buses serve the same neighborhood -- one carries children to the all-Negro elementary school and another, to the integrated elementary school; one carries students to a Negro high school and another, to an integrated high school.

With regard to bus service under the present geographic-freedom-of-choice plan, it is interesting to note that except for students in special education programs, no white student rides a bus to a school outside his attendance area, while Negro students from one attendance area in the county pass five different high schools en route to all-Negro Hamilton High School.

So far all attempts to instigate federal action in these and other more subtle cases of infringement of the 1966 guidelines have met with no success. Letters to Washington remain unanswered; investigation teams in the area with tentative plans to come and look into things in DeKalb County somehow haven't made it. But pleas to Washington would not be necessary if the superintendent of the DeKalb County school system, who has publicly stated his opinion that desegregated schooling is not in the best interest of the children of DeKalb County, would stop delaying tactics and comply with the basic provisions of the United States Constitution.

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

File

April, 1967

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

Change is in the air - but we still have a long way to go. Court decisions, Southern Governors meetings, transfers back - what is happening?

The U. S. 5th District Circuit Court of Appeals twelve judge panel upheld its earlier decision approving the "Guidelines". The court noted that Freedom of Choice is not working. It said, "Freedom of Choice is not a goal in itself. It is a means to an end. A school child has no inalienable right to chose his school". In other words it looks like the court is giving the school system their choice - either make Freedom of Choice <u>really</u> work - or we will throw it out.

The reaction from Alabama was what would be expected - a strong statement to the press and a call for a meeting of Southern Governors. But that meeting was not like those of old. Only three other Governors bothered to show up, Governor Maddox sounded unwilling to stand in the school-house door with Governor Lurleen, though he might watch from a safe distance.

Meanwhile back at home, some of the school people are seeing that the Federal Government and the courts mean what they say. The City of Decatur announced it is merging its two high schools this fall and Marietta announced it would do the same. In both cities it is reported that Negro teachers will be given jobs teaching in the new integrated schools. Reports from Savannah show a Negro named principal of an all white school, and a white, principal of a Negro school.

After appropriate hearings, all federal funds have been cut off from six counties: Toombs, Glascock, Seminole, Randolph, Camden and Terrell.

Federal funds have been deferred from 31 other systems (all funds have not yet been cut off but no new federal monies will be granted). These systems are: Appling, Atkinson, Ben Hill, Brooks, Burke, Calhoun, Decatur, Dooly, Early, Echols, Effingham, Elbert,

Evans, Hart, Jenkins, Johnson, Jones, Lee, McDuffie, Miller, Montgomery, Morgan, Oglethorpe, Screven, Stewart, Sumter, Tattnall, Newnan, Vidalia and Americus.

Ten school systems have completed the integration of their students. These are: Catoosa, Chattooga, Dade, Floyd, Gordon, Murray, Whitfield, Bremen, Chickamauga and Trion.

Where are your county's schools going? Toward integration and quality education or loss of funds and deterioration?

SEPARATE EDUCATION STILL UNEQUAL

Last month, members of the Houston County Chapter of the Council, SCLC, and NAACP investigated the school system.

A casual walk through the elementary schools showed the differences. In the white elementary schools, new T.V. sets are mounted at the front of each room while in the Negro schools, some T.V. sets are said to be available in the storage room. The few seen in classrooms looked much older than the ones in the white schools.

One of the white high schools had lockers in the halls for books and clothes lockers in the gymnasium, while the Negro high school, no lockers.

A white high school had five science laboratory rooms while the Negro school had only one. The white school had four rooms full of typewriters while the Negro had only one. The white high school library was much larger than the library in a Negro school that covered 12 grades.

An even greater shock was that twenty two courses are taught at the white high school that are not taught at the Negro school!

How can Negroes compete for jobs and citizneship when, in spite of the efforts of many dedicated Negro teachers, Negro children do not have quality non-segregated education?

HOUSING MEETING

The open meeting held by the Georgia Advisory Committee on Civil Rights in Atlanta on April 7, 8, 1967, opened our eyes to the problems of housing in the metropolitan area. Urban Renewal and highway development, the location of housing projects, the real estate developer, are all working to pack the poor black man tighter and tighter into a smaller area of land in the city.

Often those concerned with the abominable housing of the poor are unwitting parties to this expansion of the ghetto. In their zeal to get rid of deplorable housing they move to build another ghetto, or to build houses beyond the reach of the very poor who have no choice but to move into an already crowded house in an already crowded neighborhood.

There are many offenders in promoting this highly segregated housing pattern. The salesman who sells federally financed houses says "No, there won't be a 'nigger' in this neighborhood for 30 years". The banker who says he would not loan money to a Negro to buy in a white community - not because the Negro did not have the qualifications to get the loan but because the banker said that he was peace loving and to break the segregated pattern might "disturb the peace". Perhaps the greatest offender of all is the Federal Government itself. In spite of executive order 11063, the various departments of HUD (Department of Housing and Urban Development) seem to pay little attention to the strong language of the order.

"Sec. 102. I hereby direct the Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other executive departments and agencies to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law, including the institution of appropriate litigation, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices with respect to residential property and related facilities heretofore provided with Federal financial assistance..."

In spite of Title VI, Federal money continues to flow to build and maintain segregated housing.

It was clearly shown by witness after witness in the hearing that the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing is correct in saying: "The Department of Housing and Urban Development, from its central office to its regional and local offices, is replete with officials who are out of sympathy with the nondiscrimination policy and objectives of the Administration, and who are unwilling to implement the responsibilities imposed upon them by Executive Order 11063 and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964".

We call upon Council members to know your rights in housing. Move to educate your city so that it can avoid the pit falls of Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Atlanta.

ATLANTA - INNER CITY

The Brotherhood of New Hope, Inc. is a new organization helping the ex-convict re-enter society. Suddenly a man is free -- how free? All he has is $8.00 and a used suit. He is broke, without a family,

friends or work. He is free to be lonely, to beg, and to get into trouble again.

Thirty such people are returned to Metropolitan Atlanta from prison each month. Forty-five per cent return to their pattern of crime.

The Brotherhood of New Hope, Inc. extends compassion by offering many kinds of help. Clothing, room and board, medical attention (when needed), tutoring, job evaluation and training, help in securing employment, carfare and lunch money until paid, - these are among the goods and services received from Brotherhood of New Hope. Also, this organization provides a variety of meetings and classes for recreation, self-preparation and self-improvement.

The Brotherhood of New Hope was envisioned by Red Chapman, a man who more than once faced re-entry to society from prison. Having been completely rehabilitated, Red is now dedicated to helping others regain their rightful place in society. He is aided by a small group of volunteers.

The Brotherhood has the second floor of a downtown Atlanta office building, located at 75 Plaza Way. This space is provided rent free by an Atlanta citizen and partially furnished with equipment donated by several firms and individuals.

ATTENTION ATLANTA MEMBERS! Perhaps YOU know someone who can help this fine organization. A large table and bookshelves are sorely needed for the tutorial program. Also, volunteers who can give one night a week in teaching. If you know where we might locate the table and bookshelves or some people interested in teaching, will you call the Georgia Council on Human Relations? Phone: 525-6468.

WELCOME AND CONGRATULATIONS
CHATHAM COUNTY SCORE

We are happy to announce the formation of a new student organization in Chatham County. Students at Armstrong and Savannah State have organized a new and active group, called SCORE. The first project is under way and going well. Forty two students are working in a tutorial program in the inner city with children in the primary grades. We heartily congratulate the group on its great beginning!

If other groups, student or older adult, wish to work on summer tutorials, contact the state office for information.

* *

Why do so many Southerners find it difficult to pronounce Nēgrō when they find no difficulty in pronouncing hērō.

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Janet: bring up

Did not go

September 22, 1967

ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!

Books for the children

Books for adults

Improved textbooks for the students

Come and see the beautiful new books which are being published for a new day in our state.

Come and learn what you can do to see that these books are used in your community.

BOOK CONFERENCE:

Sponsored by the Atlanta University School of Library Service, with the cooperation of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

At: Paschals Motel
November 10-11, 1967

Make plans NOW. Come and bring your teacher and librarian friends.

The Georgia Child:

Access to Materials Pertaining to American Negroes

A conference sponsored by the Atlanta University School of Library Service, with the cooperation of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

November 10-11, 1967, Atlanta, Georgia

Purpose:

The Atlanta University School of Library Service faculty has been interested continually in achieving maximum access to materials pertaining to American Negroes everywhere and on all age levels. The stimulus to channel general concern into sponsorship of this particular conference was an article in the February, 1967 issue of the Georgia Council on Human Relations' Program Highlights which urged readers to study existing conditions in their communities and help to "free southern students from educational materials that perpetuate past stereotypes." The role of the School of Library Service was envisioned as that of conducting research and disseminating information in classes and conferences.

An initial assumption that this was a novel opportunity to make a contribution was dispelled when records of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation that are deposited in the Trevor Arnett Library were examined. The conference on Education and Race Relations held at Georgie Peabody College for Teachers in

Nashville, Tennessee, August 3-4, 1933 appraised the situation frankly and made recommendations that are appropriate today. School Books and Racial Antagonism, by R. B. Eleazer summarizes an extensive study of conditions in 1934. During the same year Ullin W. Leavel wrote a report for the National Education Association Committee to Cooperate with the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools. Cornelius V. Troup's thesis at Atlanta University on "Negro Culture-content in the State-adopted Textbooks of Georgia" was completed in 1937. No attempt will be made here to make an exhaustive review of the literature on this subject, but the examples above are ample evidence that for at least thirty-four years there have been efforts by educational and civic leaders to make available to all children in Georgia materials that reflect truthfully and realistically the contributions of the Negro to life in the United States.

Obviously, the goals set in 1933 have not been reached. Current interest in revealing the true image of the Negro and in motivating him to achieve his potential make it imperative for contemporary leaders to work more rapidly and effectively. Specifically, this conference is convened to review the current situation in Georgia, identify appropriate materials, and develop plans for making them accessible.

Participants

Invitations have been extended to librarians, teachers,

supervisors, publishers, community leaders, and key parents who are considered to be interested in this topic. All persons in attendance are expected to participate fully - exchanging ideas and formulating plans.

Program

Friday, November 10, 1967

7:30 P.M. Registration. Dean Sage Hall Lobby, Atlanta University

8:00 P.M. Opening Session. Dean Sage Hall Auditorium.
Paper: "Educational Materials Pertaining to the American Negro"
John Hope Franklin, Chairman
History Department, University of Chicago

Discussion Period

Saturday, November 11, 1967

9:00 A.M. Second Session, Matador Room, Paschal's Motor Hotel
Panel: "Information Pertaining to American Negroes in Textbooks and Library Lists in Georgia

10:00 A.M. Coffee Break

10:30 A.M. Third Session. Matador Room.
Group discussions: "Identifying Desirable Materials"
Criteria for Judging Materials
Titles Recommended Highly
Titles Not Recommended
Topics, Types of Materials Needed

12:30 P.M. Lunch. Sherwood Room, Paschal's

2:00 P.M. Fourth Session. Matador Room.
Group discussions: "Making Material Accessible"
In the school
In the library
In the home

5:30 P.M. Dinner. Sherwood Room.

7:00 P.M. Fifth Session. Matador Room.
Group reports
Selection criteria
Reasons for Rejecting Materials
Materials needed
Summary.

Persons who are interested in attending should complete the enclosed forms and return them to Paschal's Motor Hotel and to Mrs. Annette Phinazee, Atlanta University.

Expenses

Registration

There is no charge.

Housing

Reservations for out-of-town guests have been made at Paschal's Motor Hotel, 830 Hunter Street, S. W. for Friday and Saturday nights. Check-out time will be Sunday 2 p.m. Single and double rooms are available. Please fill out the enclosed Reservation Sheet and return it as soon as possible.

Meals

Meals are available at Paschal's. Lunch will be served to members of the group who desire it on Saturday for $2.50 and dinner will cost $3.75. Breakfast may be obtained on an individual basis, and so may other meals if participants do not wish to eat with the group.

Attendance Reservation Sheet

Return to: Mrs. Annette Hoage Phinazee

School of Library Service

Atlanta University

Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Name _____

Address _____

Position _____

Institution in which employed _____

_____

Please make a reservation for me for the

_____ Luncheon on Saturday, Nov. 11th, at Paschal's ($2.50).

_____ Dinner on Saturday, Nov. 11th, at Paschal's ($3.75).

My first and second choices for groups are:

_____ Criteria for judging materials
_____ Titles recommended highly
_____ Titles not recommended
_____ Topics, types of materials needed

_____

_____ Making materials accessible in the school
_____ Making materials accessible in the library
_____ Making materials accessible in the home

Housing Reservation Sheet

Return to: Paschal's Motor Hotel

830 Hunter Street, S. W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Please reserve the following accomodations for me:

_____ Single room ($12.36 per night)

_____ Double room ($15.45 per night or $7.73 per person)

Roommate's name _____

I plan to arrive on November _____ at _____ A.M. _____ P.M.

(Unless notification is given of a late arrival time, the hotel will hold the reservation only until 5:00 P.M. on the date of arrival).

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 52 FAIRLIE STREET, N.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

File

November, 1967

ANNUAL MEETING:

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Georgia Council on Human Relations will be held at the Atlanta American Motor Hotel, 160 Spring St., N.W., Atlanta on Friday, December 8, 1967. The business session will be held in the Grand Ball Room from 1 until 5 p.m. You will not want to miss the reports from Mr. John McCown, the new executive director, from local chapters and other committee members concerning the progress and problems of the past year. Help plan the best direction for the coming year. Make your plans now to attend.

Dinner will be in the Brunswick Room on the mezzanine at 6 p.m. with Dr. William Holmes Borders, well known minister, builder, and author, as guest speaker.

You will receive more information when the final program is completed.

REPORT FROM THE NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR:

The Georgia Council has come a long way under the leadership of Mrs. Frances Pauley. Filling the vaccuum left by her resignation will not be an easy task. I consider Frances not only most capable and committed, but one of the most highly respected individuals that I have ever known and certainly wish her every success in her new endeavors.

My fund raising trip to New York was most encouraging, thanks to the assistance of Mrs. Pauley and Father Austin Ford. All of our usual donors promised continued support with the possibility of additional help for expanded programs.

In addition to the current program of the Georgia Council, we are now moving into areas of economic development and community organization. The time has come when we can no longer be satisfied with the placement of a Negro child into a previously all-white school without being concerned about the conditions under which the child must study. At the annual meeting we will explain our plans for a state wide Credit Union, state wide newspaper and a sewing cooperative. Also you will

be informed about a two day workshop for council chairmen and community resource individuals.

Les Femmes Eleganes, a concerned group of beautiful young Negro women, housewives and professionals, with a motto of "To reach, grasp, and excel - not for ourselves but others," has agreed to sponsor a resource person to work on problems in the Atlanta area. The president is Miss Geraldine Reed. Over three hundred social groups exist in the Atlanta area now. We are presently contacting them for similar support.

Hancock County has organized a Chapter of the Georgia Council on Human Relations with a membership in the 200's. You will hear more from this group in our next newsletter.

ANNUAL MEETING - A MUST!!!

TRIBUTE TO FRANCES:

The Georgia Council has been through six very trying years, but under the able guidance of Mrs. Frances Pauley it has flourished in a manner undreamed of, these few years ago. Now Frances is leaving and all Council members feel an emptiness and heartfelt loss at her departure. Frances has been our beloved and our helper time and time again. Many members have expressed a desire to do something for her. Those members wishing to contribute to a small gift for Frances to be presented at the annual meeting are invited to do so now. Please send your checks to the Georgia Council office in care of Mrs. Sutton.

RURAL ADVANCEMENT PROJECT:

Mr. Hubert Thomas has been bringing good reports from the Southwest Georgia area. Improved attitudes in Baker, Worth, Mitchell and Grady Counties, as well as others, were stressed by Mr. Thomas. His work has also included participation in workshops concerning: Credit Unions, Cooperatives, Voter Registration and Voter Education, Know Your Rights, Low-Income Housing, OEO Projects, Welfare, ASCS Elections and many others where he was needed.

Mr. Thomas feels that the Rural Advancement Project should be strengthened by the addition of another worker. In his recommendation for 1968, he says, "For 1968 I would suggest that ways and means be sought to strengthen the Rural Advancement Project. Certainly another worker would double the results. Better housing and jobs are the most pressing need of the rural poor. To obtain better jobs, more training and re-training programs must be brought to rural areas. Farm life must be made both pleasant and profitable if rural people are to remain on the land and develop once again rural communities."

DEKALB COUNTY CHAPTER:

The executive board met and discussed the results of the question-

naires that had been sent to all DeKalb County members. It was agreed that the Council would investigate the possibility of working with residents of the Scottdale community. Several members of the executive board formed a sub-committee. They will visit Scottdale and meet with leaders in the community and find out what other organizations are currently active there. They will report back to the executive board.

Mr. John McCown, the new executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, visited at this meeting. He stated that he was most impressed with our new course of action, dedication and commitment to the problems that exist.

NORTHSIDE CHAPTER:

On November 1, 1967, Mr. John McCown paid the first of several visits he intends to make to the Local Chapters of the Georgia Council. The members were pleased to meet him and interested in his explanation of what he plans for the Northside Council and his hopes for the direction the Georgia Council will take during the coming year.

RECOMMENDATION FROM THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

The following addition to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Georgia Council on Human Relations was unanimously passed by the executive committee to be presented and voted on by the membership at the annual meeting. The part underscored denotes the addition.

ARTICLE XII
Financing

Sec. 1. The Georgia Council on Human Relations shall be financed by:

A. Membership dues - annual
   a. Members-at-large - $5.00
   b. Double (family) - 9.00
   c. Student - 3.00
   d. Special - Dues to be fixed at the discretion of the Executive Director.

B. Donations and contributions from individuals, churches, foundations and other organizations interested in the purposes and program of the Georgia Council.

C. Special fund raising efforts as approved by the Executive Committee subject to the approval of the Board of Directors.

D. The dues shall be divided equally between the local council and the state council as follows:
   a. Single - $2.50
   b. Double - 4.50
   c. Student - 1.50
   d. Special

NOMINATING COMMITTEE REPORT:

The nominating committee proposes the following slate to be elected at the annual meeting, December 8, 1967:

OFFICERS, 1967-1968:

President: Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Augusta
Vice President: Rev. Austin Ford, Atlanta
Vice President: Rev. Charles Wilhite, Columbus
Secretary: Rev. C. W. Aycock, Rome
Treasurer: Mr. John Glustrom, Atlanta

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1967-1968:

Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Augusta
Rev. Austin Ford, Atlanta
Rev. Charles Wilhite, Columbus
Mr. C. W. Aycock, Rome
Mr. John Glustrom, Atlanta
Miss Franziska Boas, Kingston
Mrs. Betty Boyd, Carrollton
Dr. Lionel Newsom, Atlanta
Mrs. Emma Jean Frye, Atlanta
Mr. Jack May, Athens
Mr. Curtis Thomas, Thomasville

BOARD OF DIRECTORS, 1967-1970:

Mrs. Margaret Belcher, Columbus
Mr. John Duncan, Savannah
Rev. J. M. Ellis, Keysville
Mrs. Emma Jean Frye, Atlanta
Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Macon
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Rev. J. C. Hope, Brunswick
Mr. Vernon Jordan, Atlanta
Mrs. B. E. Mays, Atlanta
Mrs. W. C. McNeely, Brunswick
Rev. John Mulroy, Atlanta
Mr. James Nellon, Warwick
Mr. R. C. Pooley, Rome
Mr. William P. Randall, Macon

NOMINATING COMMITTEE, 1967-1968:

Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, chairman, Macon
Rev. Austin Ford, Atlanta
Mr. Carl Goodman, Mount Berry
Mr. Jack T. May, Athens
Mr. Abram Odess, Savannah

Respectfully submitted by;
Mrs. Betty Boyd, chairman,
Carrollton
Mr. C. W. Aycock, Rome
Mrs. Nancy Collinson, Atlanta
Rev. C. S. Hamilton, Augusta
Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, Macon

ANNUAL MEETING:

WHERE: Atlanta American Motor Hotel
160 Spring Street, N.W., Atlanta
WHEN: Friday, December 8, 1967
TIME: 1 - 5 p.m. - Business Session
6 p.m. - Dinner

Reprinted from *The Atlantic Monthly,* May, 1960

A Southern Point of View

BY

ELIZA PASCHALL

A Southerner who was born in Charleston, South Carolina, and who received her A.B. from Agnes Scott College, ELIZA PASCHALL *has lived in Atlanta, Georgia, for the past twenty-four years. She is the mother of three children who attend public school in Atlanta and has been active in many local community organizations.*

IT IS common practice among Southern spokesmen to refer to the "Southern point of view." Our capitol in Atlanta resounds with speeches which say that all Georgians agree. And it is always stated or implied that what they all agree on is that our present system of a legally racially segregated society is best.

With the threat of closed public schools, it has now become "realistic" to admit that, though there may still be doubt as to the jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court over the state of Georgia, we should act as though the jurisdiction were legal rather than shut down all our schools. It has become "courageous" to accept token integration rather than have our children denied schools. All this realism and this courage, it is made quite clear, go against the Southern point of view.

I am a Southerner. From *my* point of view, not only does the U.S. Supreme Court have jurisdiction over Georgia, but the school decision was a correct one. Our schools are separate but not equal, and even if they were, legal racial segregation has no place in a democracy. It is a hangover from slavery. Historically it can be explained in the South, but it cannot be justified from my Southern point of view.

I am tired of justification by comparison. "But it is really so much worse in the North. Look at Chicago. And what about South Africa?" I do not set my standards of morality by what others do, in the North or in Chicago or in South Africa. I set them by what I believe in my heart, and I do believe in my heart that segregation is a disease that infects all parts of a being, human or political. It is a germ from which I should like to protect my children as much as possible, regardless of its virulence in other places.

My Southern point of view cannot accept the argument that a school board increases its effectiveness in administering a law by ignoring it until forced to obey by a court order. "They had to wait until court action, and they had to contest the suit," I am told. Why? I do not see that reluctance to enforce the law necessarily increases public support for those who are finally forced to abide by the law, or that it increases respect for other laws among adults or among youths.

I have heard these officials defended by those who "do not believe in segregation either" on the grounds that ignoring the law is a necessary political move, presumably to gain support of those citizens who prefer that the law be disobeyed. The implication is that the majority of citizens fall into this category. But I believe that there are many Southerners who expect their public officials to honor their oath to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

I do not agree with the "realistic liberals," who daily play the game which has as its primary rule: To be influential you must stay in the group. What influence do we have if we constantly yield to the pressure of "This is not the time. It would cause trouble"? Above all else, the group says, one must not cause trouble. The chorus goes like this: "We would have no objections, but others might. We might lose members. We might lose business. We might lose an organization." They never seem to consider that by positive action we might gain a soul, and there are many lost souls in the South today.

I resent the time and effort this problem which we create for ourselves takes from constructive efforts to solve more demanding problems that are not of our own making. At every point in the life of the community, these questions rise to plague us. Shall we admit Negroes? Where could we meet? Whom would we offend? The easy way out is to say that the Negroes prefer it this way and that they do not want to come to our

affairs. I do not presume to know the minds of any group of citizens. No doubt many Negroes would not be interested. But I would let any citizen choose to participate or not according to his interests, not according to law or class.

Let me list from my personal experience a few examples of the dilemma facing liberals.

We have elected a Negro to the board of education, but it is difficult for civic groups to arrange meetings at places to which all members of the board may be admitted. The resources of a state educational institution are at the disposal of citizens in planning community projects if only the white population of the community participates. A United Fund agency has a fine International Club, where foreign students are invited to come and meet American students. Negro students are invited if they are from foreign countries, but not if they are Americans. In this instance, American birth seems to be a liability.

A local civic group interested in international affairs votes to affiliate with a national organization, a member of the national board of which is a local resident. He is also a college president and a Negro. He is expected not to attend local meetings. (He hardly would have time anyway, inasmuch as he travels a great deal representing our country on foreign missions.)

And what about private lives? There is no law that I know of regulating whom I may have in my home, but here in the South one always wonders about what the neighbors will think. "Will they understand?" Understand what? That I like some people and not others, but not on the basis of the color of their hair, or their eyes, or their skin? That I want my children to have an opportunity to know other Americans, as well as visitors from India, Pakistan, Germany, and Australia? At our local, integrated Unitarian-Universalist Church, my child has a Negro classmate with whom she has developed a strong friendship. The friend's father is a university professor, honored in his profession, chosen to assist in the planning of the 1960 White House Conference on Youth. But when his daughter comes to see my daughter, they do not go to the corner drugstore. I am not sure what would happen, and so I keep making excuses when asked point-blank, "May we go?"

"You are too sudden," I am told. "Don't try to change things overnight." Eighteen sixty to nineteen sixty: "sudden"? Nineteen fifty-four to nineteen sixty: "deliberate speed"? Our spokesmen say that others do not understand our problems. What is there to understand in a plan to give up all schools rather than admit one Negro child to one "white" school? Substitute "Hungarian and Russian" for "Negro and white," and would we call it democracy? Substitute "Jew and German" for "Negro and white"; would we call it democracy?

No matter how big our other problems are, we evidently feel that none is as great as accepting the fact of certain children's sitting down together to learn.

In a federal court I listened to the judge announce that, by his order, henceforth there were to be no more white and Negro schools in Atlanta. But the fact remains that all the Negroes are assigned to certain schools and all whites to other schools, and all the teachers end up in the same fashion. Even as we talk of possible desegregation, we speak in terms of a Negro child's asking for a transfer to a "white" school, though the judge has said there are no specifically white schools any more.

Week in and week out, at luncheon meetings, we salute the flag and pledge "liberty and justice for all." We do not have to meet the eyes of the Negro waiters, who are standing in the back, for our eyes are looking forward at the flag.

While we meet and eat, we are likely to endorse crash programs to improve the facilities and the treatment of our mentally ill, who are increasing in numbers each year. Yet how can we avoid split personalities, delusions of grandeur, flights from reality as individuals when we indulge in them as a society?

I have sat in the gallery of the state capitol and listened to the governor (several governors, in fact) and the legislators repeat, like a broken record, "We will never — never — never —" And I have wondered, What are they afraid of? Is it just habit? Do they think this is what is expected of them by the people? And do the people, hearing their officials, think the safe thing to do is to repeat after them, each following the other, round and round like a dog chasing his tail?

I am weary of the chase. I can no longer live with my own silence. I am tired of wondering what the neighbors will think. I would declare to the whole world, including my neighbors, that from my point of view democracy is a serious and wonderful thing, that it must be lived as well as believed in, that the game of "I don't mind, but I thought you did" is a vicious circle that binds and restricts and stunts minds and hearts, that if to thine own self thou art not true, thou canst not then be true to any man.

There is another Southerner whose view I would accept as my own. That Southerner is George Washington. The words are "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair." The standard is the Constitution of the United States.

GACHR

NOTES AND NEWS

The Monthly Newsletter
of the
GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

AUGUST, 1961

MEMBERSHIP MEETING

Membership meeting will be held on Sunday, September 24. Notice of time a and place will be sent, but save the time for - among other things - information about Grady and other hospital facilities.

* * *

SCHOOLS, LAW AND ORDER - AND LOVE: With full recognition of the necessity for and importance of the emphasis on "law and order", we recall the statement of Whitney Young, former dean of the Atlanta School of Social Work, before the Sibley Commission, in which he said that it is "not the absence of violence" but the "presence of democracy" which constitutes good race relations. We look forward to the day when "not the absence of violence" but the presence of love will be the mark of satisfactory human relations in Atlanta.

* * *

The Board of the Council authorized the following statement regarding the school desegregation:

> "The Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations welcomes the desegregation of the public schools as the beginning of a new era in human relations in our community. We look forward to continued progress in our steps toward full democracy."

###

An individual Council member is keeping in close touch with each transfer student and his or her family, to offer help and to express for each member of the Council our friendship and support of these families who have assumed a burden for each one of us. On August 27, there was some exchange of visitors among white and Negro churches (some white Council members attending Negro churches and vice versa) to express friendliness and acceptance of each others' children at this particular time. We hope there will be more visiting among churches as the year goes on, so that when school starts next year, it will not need to be "arranged". If you like the idea, suggest it in your own church. This suggestion, plus the suggestion of pulpit exchanges and visits between young people's, women's and men's groups, came out of a meeting of ministers who are members of the Council.

* * *

TV SERIES ON HUMAN RELATIONS: WSB-TV's Today in Georgia series will discuss the question of how people get their ideas about other people, as part of their 9 to 10 a.m. show on Monday, September 11, Tuesday, the 12th, Wednesday, the 13th and Thursday, the 14th. Dr. Charles Perkins, Jr., Chairman of the psychology department of Emory University, will appear with another guest each day. Be sure to watch, and let the station know your reactions.

SALUTE TO SAVANNAH Council on Human Relations, which has played a large part in the voluntary desegregation of buses, parks, golf courses, library, and lunch counters, and has requested the local school board to make plans for voluntary desegregation.

* * *

NEWS OF COUNCIL MEMBERS: Rev. Edward A. Cahill, former chairman and pastor of the United Liberal Church, is moving to Pittsburgh, Pa. to serve as pastor of the Unitarian Church there. . .Mrs. Charles Perkins, Jr., has been elected by the Board to serve as secretary of the Council to fill the unexpired term of Mrs. E. A. Albright, who resigned as secretary, due to the increased pressure of work at the Southern Regional Council. . .Three members are running for office in the September 13th Atlanta primary: Mrs. Ray Mitchell (Sara) for the Board of Education, 8th Ward. . .Dr. Gerald Reed for the Board of Education, city-at-large. . .Mr. Q.V. Williamson, for the Board of Alderman, 3rd Ward, 2nd position.

* * *

AUGUST AND GRADY HOSPITAL - SEASONAL OCCUPATION??? Recent requests for changes in present policies concerning intern training and other services at Grady prompted us to review our files, and we found a whole series done this time last year on the operation of Grady Hospital. The Atlanta Constitution on August 11, 1960 (correct 1960) editorialized, "The city needs trained Negro doctors. It would be good sense, in keeping with Atlanta's intelligent tradition, to remove barriers that impede training of Negro interns".

Last January, the Council said, "We believe that arrangements which prevent Negro interns and residents from serving and learning in the wards of Grady hospital, where 70% of the patients are Negroes, are unfair and against the best interests of the total public".

On September 24, at the membership meeting after school opening and the primary, we plan to report on hospital facilities in the metropolitan area. Meanwhile, following is the result of telephone inquiries to admission offices of hospitals listed in the American Hospitals Association guide issue, for Fulton and DeKalb counties:

For white patients only - 11 hospitals, with total of 2,067 beds
For Negro patients only - 1 hospitals, with total of 116 beds
Grady - 297 for whites; 341 for "colored"
DeKalb General - 184 for whites; 16 for Negroes
Aidmore (for crippled children) 42 for white; 29 for Negro
2 hospitals not listed AHA guide:
1 with 60 beds for Negroes only
1 with 75 beds for patients of any race.

Total beds for whites -2,665; total beds for Negroes -637

1961 Census gives DeKalb and Fulton population as follows:
White-----596,793 Negro-----215,815

(Correction to Checklist mailed with last Newsletter--Grady is operated by public Hospital, not "Housing" Authority)

EMPLOYMENT SURVEY: Atlanta, Houston, Chattanooga, and Miami Councils are cooperating with the Southern Regional Council in gathering employment information which will be the subject of a special SRC report this fall.

* * *

PARKS, ETC: In answer to the suit calling for desegregation for all city facilities, city officials replied that the 1955 golf course ruling had applied to parks, etc., and that segregation is not being enforced. . .When four Negro students appeared at the Bitsy Grant tennis courts a few days later, the courts were closed indefinitely for repair. Mr. D. L. Hollowell, attorney for the students bringing the suit, says that the next step is actual trial of the suit.

* * *

ABSENTEE BALLOT: If you are registered to vote in Atlanta and will be out of town on September 13, write to City Executive Committee, 224 Central Avenue, S. W. or telephone City Hall and ask for City Executive Committee and ask to have mailed to you an application for an absentee ballot, any time up to September 9. There is no charge. Ballot will be mailed to you with complete instructions.

* * *

QUOTES: Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, in July, 1961 wrote:

> "We need to forsake defensive thinking and speaking. We need to hasten our pace and lengthen our stride. We need to learn the practical wisdom of impatience."

General G. T. Beauregard to the people of Louisana, July, 1873:

> "It is manifest that nothing but the forbearance of the colored people prevents them from subjecting common carriers, and all keepers of places of public resort, to such losses and annoyances as would speedily compel the practical acknowledgement of their rights or the abandonment of business. A multiplicity of suits, the results of which (so far as our State courts are concerned) could not be doubtful, would soon exhaust the endurance of the most violent prejudice. . .I may be mistaken in supposing that a frank and cordial concession of absolute and practical civil, as well as political equality, between all citizens, without discrimination on account of race or color. . .would remove the last barrier which opposes the political cooperation of good men, of whatever color, for the regeneration of the State; but I am earnest in my conviction that I am not mistaken".

* * *

COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS are invited to join the Council, for $1, both to participate in activities of the Council, and plan projects which they might undertake separately. Details will be mailed to various students and groups. Please send us suggestions.

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program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

AUGUST, 1961

COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP NOTES

Council membership has increased 42% since March 1st, 6% in the last month. Part of this phenomenal growth comes from the efforts of the newly formed Savannah chapter, organized in March. Under their new permanent chairman, The Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, the Savannah chapter promises to be one of our most active groups. Rev. Holmes is pastor of the Congregational Church, a native of Atlanta, who is also the uncle of Hamilton Holmes, one of the first two Negro students at the University of Georgia.

* * *

NOTES FROM OASIS

On August 9, OASIS will present a model discussion group on To-Day in Georgia at 9 A. M., WSB-TV. Parents of children attending Grady will be the participants.

We hope you will tell your neighbors, friends, and members of your organization to watch and to call the station afterwards.

# # #

Chief Jenkins of the Atlanta Police Dept. has released the following statement to OASIS ". . .In accordance with state and Federal regulations and under orders from the Federal Court, the Atlanta schools will be desegregated when school opens on August 30, 1961.

"If any person or persons objects to the manner or method of operation of the Atlanta Public Schools, those objections must be made to the Supt. of Schools's office at the City Hall, and under no circumstances will objections be discussed, or disturbances be permitted at any of the individual schools.

". . .Section 36.14 of the City Code forbids disturbing public schools and states that 'no person, at or near any public school, shall, by conversation, sign or otherwise, engage the attention of any of the pupils, to the disturbance of such school.'

"The highest value of the law is the keeping of the peace -- the Atlanta Police Dept. has full responsibility and authority to maintain the peace and good order over the entire city, and especially at and around the schools." August 1, 1961.

WHEN YOU SEE DISCRIMINATION. . .

Do you shake your head, and say "That's too bad" -- or do you know what to do about it --who to report it to -- what action to take? In this and succeeding newsletters, we will list those organizations and agencies active in the field of race relations. Below is a list of voluntary organizations able to give advice and counsel.

1. Georgia Council on Human Relations -- When you hear of discrimination give your own council a report, whether it's in employment, housing, recreation, education, public facilities. Councils in Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, Savannah.

2. National Urban League - Dealing particularly with problems of housing, urban renewal and employment. Atlanta -- 238 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

3. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People -- Dealing with most problems of civil rights and civil liberties, with a representative in every sizeable town. Atlanta --859½ Hunter Street, N.W.

4. Anti-Defamation League - An agency of B'nai Brith, active in the field of civil rights with valuable information on extremist and hate groups; has initiated projects training police departments in human relations subjects. Atlanta -- 41 Exchange Place.

5. Southern Christian Leadership Conference - Particularly interested in non-violence as a solution to racial problems. Atlanta -- 208 Auburn Ave.

6. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee - Dealing also with the non-violent pressure by sit-ins, kneel-ins, etc. Atlanta - 208 Auburn Ave.

7. Your local inter-racial ministerial association will want to know about incidents of discrimination or injustice and may provide valuable guidance.

8. Southern Regional Council has the largest resources for dealing with every aspect of race relations, with particular emphasis on research material not available elsewhere. Atlanta - 5 Forsyth Street.

9. Your newspaper and radio station. If your newspaper is fair, they might want to report incidents of discrimination. Be sure of the facts, ask for the city desk, and have the item written out so you can read it clearly.

In addition to giving advice in specific incidents of discrimination, many of these organizations offer a wide range of community services. They can help you plan meetings, supply you with study guides and interesting background material; some will have suggestions for speakers and programs.

This list will continue next month, and cover federal agencies in Georgia dealing with some aspect of race relations.

TAPE RECORDING NOW READY

Your local Council on Human Relations, PTA, church group or social club can plan an exciting meeting around a new 35 minute tape recording. Prepared by the Protestant Radio and Television Center, the recording is an interview with four Negro students on the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights. These youngsters, speaking freely and spontaneously, explain their commitment to non-violent demonstrations, and why they participate in kneel-ins, and sit-ins, their feelings about the Church and Christianity.

This unrehearsed documentary will give your group new insights into the philosopny of our young people, and is sure to start a stimulating discussion. Rental of the tape is only $3, including postage, comes with a packet of background pamphlets.

Just give us ten days notice, and we'll be glad to mail one out to you.

* * *

SAVANNAH LUNCH COUNTERS INTEGRATED

Lunch counters in downtown stores and shopping centers were integrated in the last week in July without incident. As the first major city in Georgia to desegregate its lunch counters, the agreement is part of a pattern successfully followed by scores of other southern communities. On July 8th a citizens committee announced that eating facilities would be opened to Negroes, in return for which the Negroes agreed to end a 15 month-old boycott against the stores. Integration of the counters was carried out quietly and every store with a lunch counter, except two, were integrated. All the stores, except these two, cooperated fully.

The victory is a major breakthrough for Georgia and should set an excellent precedent for the coming integration of Atlanta's lunch counters this September.

* * *

COLUMBUS BUS RIDERS

On Monday, July 17th, a group of Columbus Negroes called on the City Commission to try again to get a definite answer on bus desegregation. When they were unceremoniously refused, six Negro students from Columbus who had previous sit-in experience, made a test of bus segregation by riding on the front of the bus. They were arrested and later that night released on bail.

Council members who were observers report that the students conducted their test quietly and with no violence, and that the Negro community, in a rare demonstration of unity, rallied behind the students and began to organize to support their efforts. Out of this initial test will come both a positive gain in Columbus struggle for freedom and the eventual desegregation of transportation.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

". . .We claim that our colored brother should be treated in all respects as a man and a citizen, by the churches, by the Government and by the people. At present, he does not receive such treatment either from the churches, the Government or the people, to their shame be it spoken. Churches refuse him admittance to their pews; Government does not award to him the pay and honor due his valor; the people ostracize him from the esteem, confidence and emoluments of his country. The world takes knowledge of these things and reproaches us inview of the inconsistency between our professions and our practices; and the God of us all takes cognizance of our scorn and abuse of the colored children of His great family.

". . .Has the nation received so much benefit from his loyalty and prowess, and shall it not recognize his manhood and his claims to respect, confidence and common justice?"

The sentiments are familiar. The words were taken from the minutes of a meeting of the American Missionary Association for February, 1865. Well, they say the first hundred years are the hardest.

* * *

THEY'D DO IT AGAIN!

From the Houston Council on Human Relations Bulletin: - An Interview with six young mothers on their children's experiences in the first grade at the end of the first year of desegregated schools:

Q. If you had it to do all over again, would you willingly place your youngster in this kind of a situation? A. Yes -- Unanimously yes.

Q. Would you encourage other parents to enroll their children in desegregated schools next year? A. Again unanimously -- yes!

Q. How were special problems dealt with? A. In one school where there was no PTA, the mothers seemed less happy about grading and seating of the child, and in this school there were a few incidents of name calling during the early days of the school term. But conferences with the teacher in the class room involved worked this out. All the mothers concurred: school principals and teachers had been more than helpful.

Q. What is the conclusion shared by these mothers: A. Houston school desegregation has worked. It has been good!

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NEWS . . .
VIEWS . . .
AND ACTIVITIES . . . . .

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

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NEWSLETTER, NOVEMBER, 1961

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ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 8 p. m. at the Life of Georgia Auditorium, 573 W. Peachtree, for members only, to make some decisions about Atlanta and the Council on Human Relations.

When you joined the Council, what did you hope to accomplish? What are your goals for Atlanta in the field of human relations? Where does the Council fit in the picture? What should it do the most - get information? educate members? educate the public? Initiate action? Support action? Get together more?

"If you don't have a dream, how you gonna have a dream come true". . . Come dream with us.

* * *

FIRST MEETING OF STUDENT COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, DECEMBER 2. Details below.

* * *

Happy ending: By this time most of you know that Mr. T. Emory Daniel, Jr. was asked to resign his position as Assistant Solicitor of the Stone Mt. Judicial Circuit when the DeKalb New Era published his name as being a member of the DeKalb Committee of the Council. Mr. Daniel is now associated with a law firm in Atlanta.

* * *

Pat Watters in the November 19th Journal-Constitution:

> "The stark fact of course is that what they (Negroes) want is full status citizenship - all the rights and privileges that white people have as American citizens . . . Until it is faced, and one almost feels until it is faced not in its cash register but its moral implications things are going to remain in this quivering, jellied states of flux which is really frightening and which makes out of a kid's muddy faced brawl of the kind that has been going on since childhood existed, a potential race riot".

Southern Regional Bulletin, June 24, 1961:

> "In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with the moral values, with democratic principles and with the best interests of the country and this region. . . It believes that Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically".

During the past year, the Council has been active in the following major areas. Please come to the December 7 meeting to help make decisions in these areas and to discuss others which are of great concern but in which we have made no moves yet.

SCHOOLS: Committee on Transfer Students will report on conditions at the four schools, with the nine students. How do we measure "success" of desegregation in terms of an individual school or an individual student? What plans for these for the rest of the school year? What have we learned for next year?

Some Atlanta schools are on two and three sessions, while others have empty classrooms. What can we do about the immediate need? (Parents have made protests to the Board of Education, but no results so far)

The Atlanta Board of Education will hold its annual Budget Hearing on Dec. 13. Would this be the time to press for relief of crowded conditions?

What about desegregation and pupil placement for next year? Reports and discussions on these school matters and others you might want to bring up. There is still no indication of any intent on the part of any other metropolitan Atlanta school system to change its placement system to provide for desegregation, or to permit any desegregation of staff.

HOSPITALS: Committee on Grady will report on latest activity. The Council and three others appeared on October 2 before the Hospital Authority with certain requests. We have had no reply to the requests. As far as we know, the Authority has not met since then. Council requests for notification of Authority meetings in order to have observors, requests for the names of those serving on the committee to which our statement was referred, requests for a meeting with the Authority Chairman have all been refused. Individual requests for meetings with members of the Authority have not been answered.

The Committee has gathered much information about the operation of Grady, Hill-Burton regulations, etc. etc. . . On the basis of these various facts and factors, we will have to decide on our course of action. (A copy of a memo sent to the members of the Authority to Mayor Hartsfield brought a reply stating that he hopes for "an amicable settlement", but pointing out that the city has no part in the operation of Grady or in the appointment of the Authority members-this is done by the County Commissioners of DeKalb and Fulton)

CHURCHES: Committee of church and lay people has had several luncheon meetings, to discuss needs, to report progress and to demonstrate program possibilities. Committee has also requested information from various churches about acceptance of visitors at church services. There will be reports on these facts, and we will evaluate the role of the Council in relation to churches. Committee has also requested that chapel at Grady be open to Negroes.

MERIT EMPLOYMENT: A large committee has been working for some time compiling information for an employment survey, to be put out by the Southern Regional Council. Many of you attended the Workshop on merit employment. What can the Council do in this area, in terms of training, of employment opportunities, general attitudes? The Committee has plans to present in these areas, as follow ups to the recommendations of the Workshop. (Requests for information on salary scales at Grady not acknowledged.)

LUNCH COUNTERS: The Council supported the requests and individual members supported the boycott. Council members observed at counters the first few days and were part of the early "control" groups. But now what about other eating places? Stouffeur's, in the Merchandise Mart, has demonstrated that an eating place not in a store can serve everybody without incident. How can we be effective here?

THE ARTS: Council members have helped put into effect open attendance at concerts and plays at the Tower and at the Auditorium (According to the Mayor, segregation is not enforced at any city sponsored functions at the Auditorium or the Chastain Amphitheater) How can we encourage more attendance? To get on the mailing list for information about opera, call or write the Atlanta Junior League Headquarters. We wrote Mr. Bing our thanks for his service to Atlanta and had a nice reply. Any autograph collectors?

MOVIES: Council representatives attended both meetings called by the student Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, to which they invited managers of movie theaters to meet to discuss desegregation of movies. The first time, nobody came and nobody said why. The second time, a few said they would be out of town, but none came. The students have announced their intention "to attend the downtown theaters by December 31, 1961". What will be our part in this effort from here on?

DEKALB COUNTY: A committee has been formed, has organized and selected certain areas for concentration, has called on the chairman of the County Commission, Mr. Emmerich. We need to hear facts about DeKalb from this committee, and we need to decide how such a committee fits into the total Council. We want to avoid a separate DeKalb unit, because the larger Greater Atlanta whole gives strength to each effort. . .but this Committee needs general direction for the year, as do the others. We need volunteers for a similar Fulton County committee There are things such as the welfare and health departments which are operated by the county inside and outside of the city.

FOREIGN VISITORS: In response to a newspaper publicity and a blank in the newsletter, we have a file of about 80 individuals in Atlanta who want to help entertain foreign visitors. This committee can report a real success story. How can we use this help to best advantage?

COUNCIL ORGANIZATION: The time has come when we have to decide on things like membership (how do we let people know about joining, what things do members want to do, etc.); meetings - do we want regular membership meetings - monthly, quarterly; if not, how do the members have their say - finance - new financial arrangements between Atlanta and Georgia Council, we'll have to adopt a budget and talk about how we can support ourselves; elections - Nominating Committee Report attached.

STUDENT COUNCIL: The first meeting of the Greater Atlanta Student Council on Human Relations will be held Saturday, December 2, at the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, 7:30 p.m. The purpose is to provide contact and communication between all high school and college students who are interested in improving human relations. Timothy Jenkins, student at Yale Law School, who served last year as national vice-president of the National Student Association, will talk about the Student's Responsibility to the Community. The meeting has been planned by a temporary Steering Committee, of which Bob Morris, of Columbia Theological Seminary, is temporary chairman. Please pass this information along to interested students.

The Liberator ("Voice of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee") of November 17, 1961, reports the arrest of two of the Committee's members in the eating place in the Trailways Bus Terminal in Atlanta, at 3:30 a.m. November 1, to test the new ICC ruling which had gone into effect at midnight. The charge was breach of peace; they were bound over to Superior Court and are out on bond. More of this at the Annual Meeting. . .facts and what do we do about them?

Also in the Liberator: "On October 31, 1961, 15 persons were tried and sentenced on breach of peace charges (in McComb, Miss.) Four McComb students who had participated in a sit-in prior to the October March downtown were sentenced to six months in jail and $500 fine each. The other students . . . and SNCC representatives received sentences of four months and $200 fine. Appeal bonds for all were set at $1,000 each. Only McDew and Zellner are out, trying to raise bond money for the 13 others that are still in jail". (If they do not raise it by December 13, they will have to serve the four months sentence. SNCC spokesman says they can use loans.)

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE AS OF NOVEMBER 27, 1961--

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Mrs. Clifton (Katherine) Hoffman	Chairman
Carl Holman	First Vice Chairman
Richard Reser	Second Vice Chairman
Mrs. Charles (Nancy) Perkins, Jr.	Secretary
Herbert Jackson	Treasurer

DIRECTORS -- (TERMS EXPIRE NOVEMBER, 1963)

Mrs. John B. (Nan) Pendergrast, Jr.
Jesse Hill
Reverend Samuel Williams
Mrs. W. H. (Esther) Turner
Mrs. T. Emory (Sally) Daniel
Martin Handrick
Mrs. Suzette Crank
Mrs. P. Q. Yancey
John R. Yungblut

NEWS . . .
VIEWS . . .
AND ACTIVITIES . . .
of the
GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

NEWSLETTER, October 1961 Editor, Montez Albright

WORKSHOP ON THE NEGRO'S STATUS AND POTENTIAL AS A HUMAN RESOURCE IN GREATER ATLANTA'S ECONOMY

November 10, 10:00 - 3:00, with luncheon at 12:30 at the Butler Street YMCA

What are we doing to educate, train, and employ the talents, strengths, and potentials of our people? A changing technology has created demands for employment that requires new skills and training. Are we planning intelligently to meet the need for vocational training and employment opportunities for all our citizens? What are we doing about the under-utilization of the skills of Negroes? Come to the workshop and explore this subject with us. There will be a report on the findings of the Council's survey on employment opportunities, with questions and comments by a panel of representatives from industry, labor, public employment, and vocational training. Three discussion groups will go into greater detail in the areas of training, private employment, and public employment, with resource people in each group.

Art Levin, consultant to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, will speak on the Merit Employment Program of the federal government at the luncheon. Reports and recommendations from each of the three discussion groups will follow. Please make a reservation for the luncheon if you plan to attend.

Join us on Thursday evening, November 9, at Morris Brown College, to hear Dr. Eli Ginzberg, author of The Negro Potential. This meeting is sponsored by the Council and the Atlanta Merit Employment Committee.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ANNUAL MEETING

On December 7 at 8:00 p.m. in the Life of Georgia Auditorium, the Annual Meeting of the Council will present committee reports on the schools, hospitals, arts, etc., and will then break up into small groups for discussion of these topics and recommendations from the groups to the members. There will be an opportunity for members to receive information and to participate in discussion on what action they wish the Council to take in the various areas of interest during the coming year. At this meeting we also elect officers and directors and adopt our budget. The meeting is planned for members only (you may bring a friend or prospective member). Have you paid the 1961 dues? Mrs. P. Q. Yancey and Mrs. W. H. Turner, co-chairmen of the Membership Committee will be glad to receive them.

DON'T LET YOUR CONCERT SEATS GO UNUSED! If you find at the last moment that you cannot use your tickets for any concerts, plays, etc., call the U.S.O. office (525-4977) and give them the number of your seat. A service man or woman will be able to enjoy the concert in your seats.

JUNIOR COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Because of the expressed interest and desire of young people for a Junior Council, a planning committee met for luncheon in the Gold Room at Emory University on October 21. The committee included two students from each of the 12 colleges in Atlanta, faculty members, 10 high school students, and other adults. Under consideration is a proposed Panel of Americans program, with Dr. Eric Lincoln as chairmen. Other activities discussed were: work projects, the non-violence movement, and UN programs.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ADULT EDUCATION PROGRAM

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference needs volunteers who are willing to be trained as leaders for the Citizenship Education Program. This is a South-wide project which includes education for illiterates and also for the privileges and responsibilities of citizens. Mrs. Septima Clark is in charge of the training program and may be reached at the SCLC office.

FORUM ON MEDICAL CARE AND EDUCATION -- GRADY HOSPITAL

The Council sponsored a very successful forum on Medical Care and Education on September 24 at the Interdenominational Theological Center, with Dr. Arthur Richardson, Mrs. Grace Hamilton, Dry Haywood N. Hill, Dr. Clinton Warner, and W. E. Uzzell. Mrs. Clifton (Kay) Hoffman is chairman of this committee, with Mrs. Hamilton as consultant. A report on the forum is available to anyone requesting it. Points brought out in the discussion were:

1. Hospitals built with Hill-Burton Act matching federal funds should serve total community irrespective of class, race, creed, etc.
2. Segregation renders care more difficult, raises the cost of care and training, and limits facilities.
3. 70% of Grady patients are Negro; there are 40 Negro physicians, but none can practice at Grady. There are no Negro interns.
4. Atlanta private hospitals have 4,000 beds, but only 250 for Negroes (who comprise one-third of the population). There are no nursing homes, no in-patient service for alcoholics, no psychiatric service, no emergency service except at Grady, and then skin color must be specified before an ambulance is sent.

On October 2 the Council submitted the following statement to the members of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority:

> The Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations believes that race should not be a factor in the consideration of applicants for medical training at a public hospital. We therefore request the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority to adopt and make known, through all appropriate channels, a policy of accepting and giving equal consideration, without regard to race, to all applicants for staff positions at all levels of graduate training at Grady Memorial Hospital. We urge the Authority to act on this request in time for present senior medical students to have this information before the deadline for applying for 1962-63 intern assignments, which deadline we understand to be about December 15, 1961.

Our request, along with one from the NAACP and from Dr. R. C. Bell, has been referred to a committee for study. No reply has been received.

ATLANTA STUDENTS

Dr. Robert Coles is serving as consultant of a Transfer Students Committee, which meets periodically and keeps in touch with the Negro students attending desegregated Atlanta schools and their families. Anyone who would like reports or additional information from this committee should get in touch with the Council office, by telephone or letter, and his or her name will be given to the committee.

SURVEY OF THEATRE PATRONS

No doubt many of you have read of the theatre patrons survey by the Young Adults group of the Unitarian Church. We have asked Janet Feagans to be our contact with this group, since she is a member of both the Council and the Young Adults, and anyone who is interested in this project may telephone her at JA2-8764.

LUNCHEON FOR ATLANTA MINISTERS

The church committee, with Mrs. Charles (Nancy) Perkins as chairman, sponsored a luncheon for Atlanta ministers on October 19 at the Butler Street Y.M.C.A.

The Rev. Alison Williams and Dr. Harry V. Richardson described activities at Trinity Presbyterian Church. Mr. Ford and Mr. Yungblut told of programs at their churches. Two kinds of programs for church groups were suggested: drama teaching by a Theatre Atlanta group and a singing group. Other suggestions were offered for discussion. The committee will gladly assist any minister or church group to plan activities suitable to their membership.

DECATUR-DEKALB COMMITTEE FORMED

A Decatur-DeKalb Committee of the Council met and organized with 12 members on October 16, with Mrs. T. Emory (Sally) Daniel and the Rev. Travis Barnes as co-chairmen. If you live in this area and are interested in the committee's projects --improvements for the Lynwood Park area, desegregation of the Decatur-DeKalb public library, merit employment, parks, urban renewal and relocation, and the DeKalb General Hospital--call Mrs. Emory at ME 4-3094 for information about future meetings.

FOREIGN VISITOR PROJECT

Mrs. Joseph (Joan) Masuck and Dr. Edw. Weaver are co-chairman of a committee to offer service and friendship to foreign visitors. The committee is consulting all groups in the city interested in such a project, and developing a central file of people who would like to participate in some way. If you are interested, will you fill in the blank below and mail it to the Council office?

I would like to assist with foreign visitors. Telephone _____

Name _____ Address _____

I can: drive; provide a room for ____ nights to _____ people; guide a tour; interpret (I speak _____ language (s).

Our congratulations to the Rev. Samuel Williams, our acting chairman, for his recent election as vice president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. (This gives our chairman <u>another</u> hat to wear; we don't know how he does so many jobs....and so well.)

USE DESEGREGATED FACILITIES

All of us rejoice in the desegregation of lunch counters and other facilities in Atlanta. But desegregation is just an empty word unless we use these facilities, preferably in mixed groups. This in itself is a process of community education that is as important as the original desegregation. It is also, for us, a long-awaited convenience and pleasure to be able to choose our luncheon associates by personal preference rather than by archaic law and local custom.

Let's also attend the Theatre Academy, Broadway League, Atlanta Symphony, All Star Concerts, Atlanta Art Galleries, Atlanta Association for the United Nations, and anything sponsored by the City--according to Mayor Hartsfield, "in anything sponsored by the City, we do not enforce segregation at the auditorium, and now have many meetings with both whites and Negroes present." We assume this also applies to the city amphitheatre.

PRAYER PILGRIMAGE

During September the "pilgrimage" of the Episcopal clergy, organized and led by the Rev. John MOrris, executive director of the Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity and member of the Council's executive committee, made a signal contribution to the realization of social justice by dramatizing the responsibility of the Church to all its members.

HELP NEEDED, HELP WANTED, HELP, HELP!!!

Do you have a few hours to spare? We desperately need more volunteers to keep newspaper clipping files up to date; to address, stuff, mail and stamp envelopes; and to contribute whatever talents and interests you have. We can use your interest and energy either at your home or at the Council office. Won't you call us? (JA 5-6468) The Council office is on the third floor of 41 Exchange Place, S.E., one block from the YWCA.

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DECEMBER, 1961

REPORT FROM ALBANY

"But you don't understand!" I must have said this more than a hundred times during the four days I was in Albany. I said it to white ministers, businessmen, politicians and police officers. And I said it also to Albany's Negro leaders, to those who took part in the demonstration and to those who just watched, bewildered.

For the tragic fact is that for the past hundred years there has been so little communication between the races in Albany that their impressions of each other are based on fantasy and wishful thinking, not on direct contact.

This lack of a realistic relationship was demonstrated over and over again in Albany.

"We've always looked after our Nigras. . .We love them and they love us... Many is the Monday morning I go down to get my "boys" out of jail...We've always had good race relations in Albany. Look at the new schools we've given them. We know what's best for the Negro."

These are just a few random comments out of many I heard. And it is easy to understand how people who sincerely believe such paternalistic cliches would be shocked even horrified when confronted with the reality of Negro demands for equal rights and equal treatment. And even when faced with this physical reality many whites could still not believe them, so they fell back on the position that none of the trouble would have started if it had not been for "outside" agitators. Nothing could be further from the truth.

For the immediate racial trouble in Albany had its origins not in the arrival of the Freedom Riders two weeks ago, but ten months ago on February 6th. Some weeks previous to that date, a group of Negro leaders had presented the City Commissioners with a request to consider taking the first tentative steps toward desegregating certain city facilities. The City Commissioners never replied directly to this request. But on February 6th, the Albany Herald, edited by James H. Gray, Chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party, published an editorial flatly rejecting any consideration of requests now or in the future. Hostility to this cavalier treatment has been building in the Negro community in Albany ever since.

In this charged atmosphere, the Freedom Riders' arrival in Albany on December 10th served a double purpose. It shook up the white community and it crystallized the growing resentment of the Albany Negroes around a specific objective.

In spite of this overt resentment, the Albany Herald saw fit to editorialize". . .the 125 year pattern of segregation established with Albany's inception will be continued. . .because that will be the wish of the majority (whites) and the minority (Negroes)."

It was particularly interesting to me to note that although the Albany demonstrations were covered by major national newspapers and magazines, I never once observed any reporter from the Herald covering the story in all the time I was there.

Similarly, because of this lack of communication between the races, there was widespread misunderstanding among Negroes about the psychology of the white community. This lack of man to man understanding made the negotiations, when they finally began, extremely difficult. In a sense, the white man's false pride and the Negro's false humility kept them from speaking the same language in Albany. Thus the Negro cannot make the white man understand that it is not only a particular right he seeks, but recognition of his worth as a human being.

How can he convey across this deep racial gulf his depth of suffering, not just physical want, economic deprivation and political repression, but the day to day rebuffs: "Boy, come here — Whites only — Go to the Rear"— the hundreds of little humiliations that deny him the right to be a man. But if the white man would only listen, he could hear this anguish expressed in the songs sung at Shiloh Church:

"Over my head, there's trouble in the air
There must be a God somewhere."

"I am not afraid, I am not afraid, to-day
Deep in my heart, I know that it is true
We shall overcome someday.

But many white men in Albany have stopped their ears, closed their minds and hardened their hearts against these voices. By thus evading the truth, by tolerating injustice, by ignoring the dictates of conscience, the white man has violated his personality. He too, pays a high price for segregation.

It was at a Shiloh prayer meeting that Marion Page, an official of the Albany movement, referring to my role in the negotiations, said of me: "There's one white Christian in Georgia." I was pleased at his compliment, but deeply saddened by its implication. Because it pointed up the total isolation of the Negro community from any meaningful communication with the whites.

The Police Department also paid me the compliment of special attention. They arrested me. The charge was passing a stop sign, which I did not do, but as the saying goes: "Never argue with city hall." The policemen who arrested me had been following me in a police car from the Shiloh church and took me to the police station. As I was trying to decide how I should use the one phone call permitted me, word came down from the Police Chief that I was to be treated just as an ordinary traffic violator, not a criminal.

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It would be easy enough to be disheartened at the outcome of the Albany demonstrations. For the Albany Movement did not achieve its objectives. While all demonstrators were released, the Freedom riders are still under arrest; no desegregation has been achieved, except for the bus and rail terminals, and these of course, are under Federal orders to do so. Thus in practical terms, little was accomplished.

But in spite of the failure to win specific goals, the Albany movement took a giant step forward. For the first time, the Negro leaders will sit down down with the City Commission to talk over face to face and man to man the areas of disagreement and their possible solution.

It was remarkable too that mass demonstrations could take place in the deep South with no violence, and no police brutality toward the 700 prisoners. For one thing, the concept of non-violent resistance has taken deep hold among the Negroes. A strong federal stand against brutality has had its effect among the whites. This non-violence is one of the most hopeful aspects of the changing climate in the South.

Perhaps out of the Albany demonstrations will come an increased ability from the Negro to articulate his hopes and dreams. Perhaps there will also come new understanding on the part of the white community that it is not "outsiders" who are bringing in trouble. For the trouble has always been there, and in the struggle for equal rights in Albany, in Georgia, in the South and in the whole world, there can be no "outsiders". The objectives sought are the responsibility of every one of us.

Frances Pauley

FRANCES PAULEY

DATE Jan. 22, 1962

Thank you for dues for membership in the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations for the year

1961 - 1962

We hope that you will participate in the activities of the Council as fully as your time permits.

Executive Director, GACHR
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JANUARY, 1962

SECOND REPORT FROM ALBANY

Since I last reported to you from Albany in December, I have returned there twice, each time for four days. As things stand now, a delegation from the Albany movement, headed by Dr. W. G. Anderson, president, and M. S. Page, Executive Secretary, appeared before the City Commission and submitted a written statement of their position. The statement requested that the City Commissioners re-affirm in writing their pledge that "the bus and train station will be open at all times (to Negroes) without interference from the police; and that the cash bonds (posted by arrested demonstrators) will be refunded in exchange for security bonds."

The statement also called for creation of a bi-racial planning committee to negotiate further grievances.

The Mayor received this statement, and without permitting any discussion of its contents, ruled that they would make a decision in ten days, and immediately adjourned the meeting.

How can we assess the present atmosphere in Albany? Obviously, the Albany movement leaders were disappointed by the City Commissioners' arbitrary refusal to immediately sit down and discuss their mutual problems. This refusal is to them one more convincing proof that white people are untrustworthy. The continual evasions, delaying tactics and broken promises that City officials have employed are sure to make negotiations when they do take place (as they inevitably must) much more difficult, because they will be hampered by an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust.

The City Commissioners' attitude hardened the resolve of the Albany Movement to create widespread protest, based not on mass demonstrations but on the equally effective tool of economic boycott. When Dr. Anderson returned to the prayer meeting, which overflowed two churches, following his presentation to the City Commissioners, he said,

> "We have waited a hundred years. We will wait ten days more. We will wait in our homes, in our churches and in our Negro businesses. We will walk to work and share a ride."

And indeed, the bus boycott, although only a week old is proving extremely effective. According to New York Times correspondent Claude Sitton, there has already been a substantial drop in Negro bus passengers and a corresponding upsurge in volunteer car pools and Negro taxi business.

There is hope that this mounting economic pressure will hasten a breakthrough in the white community. The citizens of Albany are enormously proud of their city's beauty and prosperity. And they are beginning to realize that racial injustice brings strife, demonstrations and boycotts--all of which spell economic stagnation instead of growth. Perhaps the appeal to the hearts and consciences of the people of Albany can be strengthened by an attack on their pocketbooks. Whether or not this method will be ultimately successful depends not only on the willingness of the Albany Movement to make sacrifices (which they have already abundantly proven) but also upon their ability to do the day to day detail work of organization and planning.

* * *

SAVE THESE DAYS!

Put down Friday evening, March 2nd and all day Saturday, March 3rd on your calendars. These are the dates for a working conference on equal job opportunities entitled: "Getting the Job Done." Sponsored by your Georgia Council and the American Friends Service Committee, the conference will be held in Macon, under the direction of Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, of the Department of Economics of Fisk University, an outstanding authority in the field. Watch your mail for further details.

* * *

COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP NOTES

Council membership has increased 38% since August 1, 1961, 80% since March 1st of this year. With a little effort, we should be able to double our membership in this one year period. We are especially pleased to welcome the brand new Rome chapter into the Council family.

* * *

DR. HOLMES TO BE ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

The Georgia Council on Human Relations has announced the appointment of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes as its Associate Director.

Dr. Holmes comes to the Georgia Council after distinguished service as chairman of the Savannah Council, where he played a key role in desegregating lunch counters and other facilities there, and where he was appointed by the Mayor as Savannah's first Negro to serve on the City Recreation Commission.

Dr. Holmes served most recently as pastor of the First Congregational Church in Savannah and before that to the First Congregational Church at Talladega, Alabama. After graduation from Morris Brown College, he taught school and was a high school principal. His theological training was completed at Gammon Theological Seminary.

Dr. Holmes will assist the director in organizing new Councils throughout the state, and assisting those already existing with program and planning. Georgia Council is indeed fortunate to have Dr. Holmes on its staff, and his broad-gauged background and experience will be an invaluable asset.

DINNER FOR CARL ROWAN SCORES SUCCESS

If Program Highlights were Variety, the dinner honoring Carl Rowan November 27 would be reviewed as "Colossal - Stupendous - Sensational!" It was all three. Mr. Rowan gave a witty and wise talk. The Morehouse and Spelman Choir under the direction of Dr. Willis James was superb. The dinner guests -- all four hundred of them -- agreed unanimously that it was a most memorable evening.

After all expenses had been paid, the dinner raised $1,400 for the Council. While this amount is only enough to run Council for one month, it at least proved that fund-raising can be painless, even a pleasure. In fact, your planning committee has recuperated sufficiently to be looking forward to next year's program which will be new and different, and we hope, even more successful.

* * *

ANNUAL MEETING

The November Georgia Council annual meeting is now history. Those who attended it had an opportunity to participate in practical workshops during the day and hear the stimulating remarks of Sylvan Meyer, chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, at the evening dinner.

Of particular interest to Council members were the remarks of Professor Richard Hocking, chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Emory. Professor Hocking outlined for the group "Some Rules of Thumb for the Social Conscience":

1. Reach individuals first and groups afterward. (It is in individuals that conscience lives, if anywhere.
2. Build on good will on whatever side of an issue it is to be found. (Good will is the basis for seeing the common good.)
3. Keep the ear of the other side where it is necessary to back one side of an issue. (This is harder than partisanship.)
4. Keep alive the parliamentary point of view. (Monologues, talking without listening, is one of gravest dangers)
5. Be pilots of courses of action for the public officials. (And be glad to turn these over to public officials when they prove ready)
6. Disturb complacency for the sake of a better law and order. (There is no right to make disorder chronic.)
7. Gladly let the credit for effective action go to others. (The best conscience is anonymous.)

* * *

PROGRESS CONTINUES. . . .

This January 23rd seven Columbus lunch counters desegregated without sit-in or demonstration of any kind. . . In Albany, a leading Negro physician was appointed to the staff of the Phoebe Putney Memorial Hospital. . .Two Negro women have joined the Augusta League of Women Voters, making a total of three leagues which have desegregated in Georgia.

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February 27, 1962

Rev. Clifton G. Hoffman
470 Chelsea Circle, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

The favor you requested of me at lunch today is one that I'm happy to be able to do for you. Here is the list of Councils on Human Relations for the eight states you specified:

Mr. Norman Jimerson
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1224, Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
4241 S.W. 109th Court
Miami 55, Florida

Mr. Harry Jones
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Mr. Heslip Lee
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia

There are no State Councils on Human Relations in Louisiana or Tennessee.

Please let us know if there is any other assistance we can give you.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

enc.

NEWS . . .
VIEWS. . .
AND ACTIVITIES . . . OF THE

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia

NEWSLETTER, FEBRUARY, 1962 * * * Editor, Nan Pendergrast

SECOND LUNCHEON SCHEDULED. . .

The thirty-five people who gathered last month for the first luncheon of the Greater Atlanta Council enjoyed the best of companionship, delicious food, and an informative and stimulating talk by Dr. Robert Coles, psychiatrist, on the school situation. Plan now to attend the second, set for

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1962 at 12:30
BUTLER STREET YMCA, 22 Butler Street, NE
Lunch $1.00

Please call the Council office, 525-6468, for reservations by Monday morning, February 26, 1962. There will be reports about Grady Hospital and discussions on Negro policemen.

MEETINGS OF INTEREST. . .

Dr. Linus Pauling will speak on March 7, at the Glenn Memorial Auditorium at Emory University. The noted scientist, winner of the Nobel Prize in Chemistry, will speak at eight o'clock on "Science and International Problems".

Don't forget the Working Conference on Equal Job Opportunities, sponsored by the Georgia Council and the American Friends Service Committee. The Conference, held under the direction of Dr. Vivian Henderson, of Fisk University, will be held on March 2 and 3 at the Christ Episcopal Church, in Macon, Georgia. For further details, please contact the office.

Odetta, famous folk singer, will present a concert at the Morehouse College Auditorium, on Sunday, March 4, at 3 P. M. For information, call Tr. 3-1983.

The Atlanta Symphony Tiny Tots Concert presented by Rich's and the Junior Symphony Guild, at 2 and 3:30 P. M. on March 4, at Decatur Recreation Center.

Professor John Fairbank, Harvard professor and author will speak Wednesday, March 7, at Dean Sage Hall, Atlanta University at 8 P. M. on "Why the Communists won in China".

STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. . .

Since our last newsletter, several welcome advances have been made. Item: The Legislature passed a resolution authorizing the creation of a seventeen-man bi-racial committee to study and suggest improvements in city election laws and procedures.

Item: The Federal District Court struck down the State's transit segregation law.

Item: Mayor Ivan Allen, speaking before a civic club, stated that he would appoint Negroes to Committees.

Item: At the same time, ~~the same time~~, the mayor said that Negro police officers should be granted the right to arrest any offender, regardless of race.

Item: The legislature repealed the college age limit law.

STUMBLING BLOCKS. . .

Item: There has, as yet, been no answer to our request for clarification of the hospital Authority.

Item: Ironically enough, it was while the legislature unanimously passed a bill to repeal the outrageous and antiquated anti-Indian laws, that the state patrolmen, just outside the Capitol Building, turned away a group of Negro students carrying placards demanding equal rights.

The Committee on Appeal for Human Rights takes this opportunity to reaffirm its dedication towards ending segregation at Grady Memorial Hospital. On March 9, 1960, we stated in our appeal for human rights that "Compared with hospital facilities for other people in Atlanta and Georgia, those for Negroes are unequal and totally inadequate". At that time we said that, "Atlanta's 14 general hospitals and 9 related institutions provide some 4,000 beds. Except for 430 beds at Grady Hospital, Negroes are limited to 250 beds in three private hospitals. Some of the hospitals barring Negroes were built with federal funds". Since then the deplorable hospital situation has not improved. We should like to state that the right to protest is guaranteed by the First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution and by the Georgia Bill of Rights.

Mass arrests made by Atlanta policemen of students trying to peacefully observe attempts made by fellow students to gain admission to segregated Grady Hospital, violates these constitutional guarantees. We call upon all people in authority; state, county, and city officials, all leaders in civic life, ministers, teachers, and businessmen, and all people of good will to assert themselves and abolish these injustices. We must say in all candor that we plan to use every non-violent means at our disposal to secure full citizenship rights as members of this great democracy.

* * *

The Board of Aldermen has not yet acted on the recommendations about Negro policemen, so there is still time to express your views.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

ATLANTA
GA.

Dr. and Mrs. R. B. Levine
6455 Bridgewood Valley Road, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia

February, 1962

TO: Members of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations

FROM: Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Chairman

The Board, at its regular meeting on Feb. 1, decided that the following matters should be reported to the members.

1. The Decatur-DeKalb Library in Decatur during the past month has issued books and membership cards to Negro residents of Decatur and DeKalb. If you have comments on this action of the Library Board, you could direct them to Mr. Charles Emmerich, Chairman, DeKalb County Commission, DeKalb Building, Decatur.

2. The Council is writing to the members of the Police Committee of the Atlanta Board of Alderman urging them to follow the recommendations of Chief of Police Chief Herbert Jenkins that Negro policemen be given full status as law enforcement officers, including the right to arrest any offender regardless of race. Negro policemen at the present time are not authorized to arrest white offenders. Individual comments on this should be directed to Mr. Ed Gilliam, Chairman, Police Committee, Board of Aldermen, City Hall, and to the other members, Messers Everett Millican, Charles Leftwich, Jack Summers and Sam Massell, Jr. The Aldermanic Committee at its meeting on Jan. 31 decided to postpone action on this until its next meeting, scheduled on February 14. The presence of interested citizens at this meeting would be helpful. You are urged to call this matter to the attention of other groups which might be interested.

3. Grady Hospital: The Fulton and DeKalb legislative delegations have prepared legislation which would require the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority to operate under the same budget provisions as other county departments, that is, hold public hearings on the budget (this year more than $6 million) and to use an auditor appointed by the county rather than by the Authority. You are urged to express your views on this immediately to the following:

Sen. Hugh McWhorter and Representatives Pierre Howard, James Mackay, and Guy Rutland from DeKalb County, and Sen. Charles Brown and Representatives Wilson Brooks, Ralph McClelland and Muggsy Smith from Fulton County.

Because of the complicated nature of the administration of Grady Hospital, the Board feels it important that Council members be familiar with certain background information and with the activities of the Council in relation to Grady.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON GRADY HOSPITAL

Grady Memorial Hospital is a $34 million public hospital, built and operated with Fulton and DeKalb county tax monies, by the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, to provide medical care for "the indigent" of the 2 counties. The Authority has 10 members, appointed for 4 year staggered terms, 7 by the Fulton County Commissioners and 3 by DeKalb County Commissioners. The Authority contracts with Emory University Medical School to provide medical services and serves as a teaching hospital for

the Medical School, but the policies under which the Hospital operates are set by and are the responsibility of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority. It recommends to the two Commissions a tax to be levied for the hospital, but is not required to submit its budget for review. (This Authority has no jurisdiction over any other medical or hospital facilities, and has no connection with the DeKalb Hospital Authority which operates the DeKalb General Hospital or the Tri-City Hospital Authority, which is responsible for the South Fulton County Hospital new being constructed.)

Grady has 2 "sides", which provide duplicating, segregated services for Negro and white patients (341 beds for Negroes and 297 beds for whites), all of whom must meet certain residence and low-income requirements. Patients who can afford to pay are accepted only as emergency cases or at Spalding (see below). Any physician in order to practice at Grady must be a member of the staff. But the present arrangements for assigning staff positions and privileges exclude Negro medical personnel, thus keeping Negro physicians out of Grady (except for Spalding -see below). The Hospital operates 2 schools of Nursing (for Negroes and whites,), and schools of X-ray and medical technology, which to date have never included Negro students.

In 1952 the Authority opened an additional wing of Grady, known as Spalding Pavilion for Negroes, to provide 134 beds to meet the needs for hospital services for Negroes who can afford to pay (only 2 small private hospitals available to them) them) and the need for training Negro medical personnel. Although one of the stated purposes was to train Negro personnel, it operated from 1952 to 1956 without supervision of professional services or training program. In 1958 a chief of surgery was employed and a limited graduate program in surgery was begun, with one 4th year resident and a rotation of 2 Negro residents from Tuskegee V. A. Hospital. Although staff services and facilities of Grady are supposedto be available to the staff and patients in the Spalding wing, in practice this has rarely been the case, and the services in many respects are inadequate. An Advisory Board of Trustees appointed by the Authority makes recommendations about Spalding but has no authority to make changes.

THE ATLANTA COUNCIL AND GRADY HOSPITAL

The Council has had a continuing interest in Grady for years, but since last August, has been working on some specific matters, which are summarized here:

1. Aug. 1961. The Director of the Council visited Grady at the time of the regular meeting of the Hospital Authority to observe at the meeting, found the meeting had been cancelled but was able to interview Mr. Frank Wilson, superintendent of the hospital. Mr. Wilson stated that there had never been any applications for internship from Negroes, that he knew of no policy to exclude them, but when asked for permission to quote this, said any statement should come from the chairman of the Authority, Mr. Fred Turner.

2. Sept. 21. Replying to a question about this, Mr. Turner wrote that "so far as I am informed concerning the training of doctors at Grady Memorial Hospital, there is no policy with regard to 'Negro participation" as such other than the training program in surgery at the Hughes Spalding Pavilion".

3. Sept. 24. The Council held a public meeting to discuss medical care and education in Greater Atlanta. The Dean of Emory Medical School, president of the Atlanta Medical Association, and members of the Ga. Dept. of Public Health and the Spalding Advisory Board served on the panel. Neither Mr. Wilson nor Mr. Turner was able to accept the invitation to serve on the panel or to send someone from the Authority. All members of the Authority were asked to attend, but only 1 did.

4. The Council requested permission for our representative and other interested citizens to appear before the Authority, and on Oct. 2 Mrs. John Stanley, representing the Council, Mr. James Gibson, of the NAACP, Dr. Clinton Warner, of the Atlanta Medical Assn., and Dr. Roy Bell, an interested citizen, made statements, which were received with assurances that they would be given due consideration. The Council requested that "the Authority adopt and make known a policy of accepting and giving equal consideration, without regard to race, to all applicants for staff positions and at all levels of graduate training at Grady Memorial Hospital". Statements of other groups included requests that Negro physicians and dentists be granted full staff membership, that all services and facilities be desegregated, and that certain changes be made in the services in the Spalding Pavilion.

5. Oct. 6. Reply from Mr. Henry Bowden, Chairman of Emory University Board of Trustees, to a letter from the Council asking to what extent Emory's policies govern Grady Hospital, brought the following reply: "Emory's policies do not control the Hospital Authority decisions and therefore no rule or practice which Emory has could restrict the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority from taking such action as they may wish in any matter".

6. Oct. 12 Council wrote to Mr. Turner asking for the names of the members of the Authority constituting the committee to which our Oct. 2 requests had been referred, and also asking to be notified of the meetings of the Authority in order to send observers "to better understand the problems connected with the operation of Grady". Mr. Turner replied that our suggestion concerning observers "will not be acceptable to our Board. . .It has never been found necessary to furnish the names of the individuals making up our various committees."

7. Council and other group representatives met with Deputy Director and staff members of Georgia Dept. of Public Health. Public records of Hill-Burton projects in the Atlanta area include the following items: Hughes Spalding Pavilion - $1,035,590.41; Grady psychiatric unit - $13,200; Grady Negro Nurses Facility - $462,000; Grady Diagnostic and Treatment - $278, 928.89. The law governing Hill-Burton projects provides that facilities "will be made available to all persons residing in the . . . area, without discrimination on account of race, creed, or color but an exception shall be made in cases where separate hospital facilities are provided for separate population groups, if the plan makes equitable provision on the basis of need for facilities and services of like quality for each such group". (The psychiatric clinic is not available to Negroes and Spalding is not available to whites.)

8. A 16 page summary of information on Grady, other hospitals, etc. was circulated to 90 civic groups and individuals.

9. Oct. 25, on behalf of the groups which had made requests, the Council wrote to Mr. Turner requesting a conference with Mr. Turner and any other members of the Authority to secure information and a reply to the specific question concerning Negro intersn. Mr. Turner replied that since 1 of those in whose behalf we were writing (Dr. Bell) had informed him that he had filed "charges with the Civil Rights Commission against the Hospital Authority", it was not appropriate for the Authority to have any further communication with us.

10. Nov. 16, we wrote that the Council had had no communication with the Civil Rights Commission, although we felt that that was entirely irrelevant, and asked for an answer to the question of Negro interns. There has been no reply to date (February 8, 1962)

11. Letters were written by the Chairman of the Council Hospital Committee to certain senior Negro medical students urging them to apply for internships at Grady, even tho there was no policy concerning such applications.

12. Individual letters were sent to each member of the Authority seeking conferences and answers to the requests made on October 2; only 2 members responded, stating that they felt the matters should be considered and policies adopted.

13. Efforts were made to solicit the aid of the members of the Fulton County Commission in seeking answers.

14. Jan. 22, 1962, the "Regular" Day for the meeting of the Authority, letters were sent to Authority members asking for a reply and pointing out precedents for desegregation in hospitals in other southern cities.

15. Effort on part of one Fulton County Commissioner to appoint Negro member to fill a vacancy on the Authority failed.

16. According to an account in the February 2 issue of the Atlanta Constitution, the vice-chairman of the Authority, Mr. Scott Candler.announced that "A Nagro medical student had applied for admission and has been accepted. . .it is the first Negro application the hospital has ever received. . .we've accepted it. I hope he accepts us". The newspaper further reported that "Mr. Wilson said that the Negro intern, if he comes to Grady, will practice under the Chief-of-Surgery for Spalding Pavilion and will practice in Grady's Negro wards".

There is still no statement of policy available to the public regarding the availability of facilities and training programs in the schools of x-ray and medical technology, nor is there a clear statement of policy of conditions under which applications from Negroes for internship will be considered or conditions under which such interns would be trained, including any restrictions which would be imposed because of their race.

17. The Authority adopted certain other recommendations which leave many questions unanswered:

(1) "That the Hughes Spalding Pavilion be taken over by the Fulton-DeKalb H. A. and operated by that Authority as a pay-ward of Grady Hospital" What changes would this involve? Is not Spalding already "operated as a pay-ward", under the Hospital Authority?

(2) "That steps be taken immediately to make the Hughes Spalding Pavilion as a hospital for pay patients as fine as any other hospital in the metropolitan area of Atlanta making full use of the personnel of the Fulton County Medical Medical Society". . .Who would have to take what action to bring this about? What are the present standards for the operation of Spalding?

(3) "That necessary arrangements be made at the earliest possible date so that there will be available for use in the Hughes Spalding Pavilion a Pathologist and an Anaesthesiologist.". . .What action is necessary to implement this and how would such relate to the general Grady staff?

(4) "We recommend that the Superintendent of Grady Hospital be directed as soon as practical to take charge of the Hughes Spalding Pavilion as a pay-ward for Grady Hospital and organize an adequate staff". . . What changes in the present organization would this recommendation require? What responsibility does the Supt. of Grady now have for Spalding and towhom is the administrator of Spalding currently responsible?

(5) "We further recommend that in lieu of the existing system that a committee consisting of the Chairman and vice-Chairman of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority be charged with the oversight and operation of the Hughes Spalding Pavilion, reporting at all times to the Authority and being responsible to it". . .Does this abolish the existing Advisory Board of Spalding? To what extent can the Authority delegate its responsibility for the operation of Spalding. . if it is to be operated as a "pay ward of Grady", why should there be a special committee for it?

* * * *

We will hope to report on these matters at the membership luncheon the last Tuesday in February. Watch for details in the next Newsletter. Meanwhile, refer to the last Newsletter for names and addresses of the Hospital Authority and express your views on these matters. (The name of Mr. Philip Alston should be substituted for that of Mr. Carl Milner.)

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MARCH 21, 1962

TELEPHONE
525-6468

DEAR COMMITTEE MEMBER:

ENCLOSED IS A REPORT OF THE ESSENTIALS OF OUR INTERVIEW WITH DR. LETSON. I DID NOT INCLUDE SOME OF THE THINGS HE SAID, AS I SENT HIM A COPY AND ASKED IF IT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIM FOR PUBLICATION TO OUR MEMBERS, AND I FELT SURE HE WOULD NOT WANT TO BE EXACTLY QUOTED ON A FEW POINTS. PLEASE ADD OR COMMENT.

WE HAD A MEETING TO DISCUSS THIS INTERVIEW AND CAME UP WITH THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

1. WE SHOULD ALL GO TO THE SCHOOL BOARD MEETING APRIL 9 AT 7:30 P.M. IN THE OLD HEALTH BUILDING BEHIND CITY HALL. BRING AN INTERESTED PERSON WITH YOU. ANY PRESSURE THAT CAN BE PUT ON THE SCHOOL BOARD SHOULD HELP.

2. WE SHOULD FIND OUT WHAT COURSES ARE SUPPLIED IN EACH WHITE SCHOOL. PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO, ETC., AND, ON THE BASIS OF THIS, COUNSEL PROSPECTIVE TRANSFERS. THE URBAN LEAGUE WILL WORK ON THIS. THE POINT SHOULD ALSO BE MADE THAT "GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION" TO BE FAVORABLE FOR TRANSFER MAY MEAN PARTLY THAT THE DESIRED SCHOOL SHOULD BE NOT IN A BORDERLINE RACIAL AREA.

3. MOST OF OUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE PUT ON GETTING APPLICANTS FOR TRANSFER. THE MORE WE FIND WITH GOOD REASONS FOR TRANSFER, THE HARDER ITWILL BE TO KEEP DESEGREGATION ON A TOKEN BASIS.

4. WE WILL HAVE A MEMBERSHIP MEETING APRIL 15 AT 3:00 P.M. IN DEAN SAGE AUDITORIUM AT ATLANTA UNIVERSITY. DR. STEVENS WILL SPEAK. THERE WILL BE A PANEL DISCUSSION OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION AND QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR.

5. WE SHOULD HAVE A COMMITTEE MEETING SOON. HOW ABOUT WEDNESDAY, MARCH 28, AT 3:00 P.M. AT COUNCIL OFFICE? PLEASE CALL ME DR 8-3065 OR CALL COUNCIL OFFICE 525-6468. SOME OF YOU ARE VERY HARD TO REACH.

Jan: please note-book

YOURS SINCERELY,

Nancy Perkins

NANCY PERKINS

NP:EJ
ENC.

REPORT OF INTERVIEW WITH DR. LETSON

MARCH 7, 1962

THE INTERVIEW COMMITTEE WAS MADE UP OF COUNCIL MEMBERS--DR. JAMES MOSS, MR. CARL HOLMAN, DR. RICHARD RESER, MRS. MILDRED FIELDER, MRS. ROBERT COHN, MRS. BENJAMIN MAYS, MRS. EDWARD VINSON, AND MRS. CHARLES PERKINS.

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER THE CRITERIA OF THE SCHOOL PLACEMENT PLAN WOULD BE INTERPRETED MORE LENIENTLY THIS COMING YEAR, SO AS TO ADMIT A LARGER NUMBER OF NEGRO STUDENTS TO THE WHITE HIGH SCHOOLS, DR. LETSON INDICATED THAT HIS GENERAL APPROACH WAS THE SAME AS LAST YEAR. HE BELIEVES THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION WILL BE MORE SATISFACTORY FOR BOTH WHITE AND NEGRO IF THE NEGRO CHILDREN PICKED FOR WHITE SCHOOLSARE THOSE LIKELY TO DO WELL AND TO MAKE A GOOD IMPRESSION ON WHITE PEOPLE. HE IS IN A POSITION TO CONTROL THIS BY USING THE PUPIL PLACEMENT PLAN CRITERIA. HE SAID THE NEGRO STUDENTS WHO TRANSFERRED INTO WHITE SCHOOLS THIS YEAR HAVE DONE WELL, AND HE INTENDS TO PICK OTHERS WHOSE CHANCES OF SUCCEEDING ARE HIGH ON THE BASIS OF TEST SCORES AND INTERVIEW DATA. SEVERAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS DISAGREED WITH THIS APPROACH AND SAID THEY THOUGHT IT WAS MORE IN THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES, WHICH WE WANT TO TEACH BY EXAMPLE TO ALL THE CHILDREN, TO HAVE NO DIFFERENT STANDARDS OF ADMISSION FOR WHITE AND NEGRO CHILDREN TO ANY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

DR. LETSON THINKS THE UNFAVORABLE EMOTIONAL SITUATION INTO WHICH NEGRO CHILDREN ARE PLACED IN WHITE SCHOOLS IS ENOUGH OF A HANDICAP, AND THAT HIGHER ACADEMIC ABILITY AND MORE STABLE PERSONALITY, ARE REQUIRED UNDER THESE CONDITIONS, IF THE BEST INTERESTS

OF THESE CHILDREN ARE TO BE SERVED AND THE PROSPECTS OF SUCCESSFUL INTEGRATION IMPROVED.

THE EMOTIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL SITUATION WAS EXPLORED WITH QUESTIONS ABOUT WHAT PREPARATION HAD BEEN MADE TO PRODUCE ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEW STUDENTS AND WHETHER TOKEN INTEGRATION DID NOT MAKE THE CONDITIONS WORSE THAN GREATER DESEGREGATION WOULD. DR. LETSON DESCRIBED THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER SCHOOL OPENED LAST FALL. HE SAID MEETINGS AND WORKSHOPS WERE HELD WHERE PROBLEMS WERE DISCUSSED WITH PROFESSIONAL CONSULTANTS. SPECIAL COUNSELORS IN THE SCHOOLS TO BE DESEGREGATED WENT LAST SUMMER TO A HUMAN RELATIONS INSTITUTE AND HAVE BEEN USED IN WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS. ALL TEACHERS AND PRINCIPALS HAVE BEEN INSTRUCTED TO KEEP THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION NORMAL, BUT TO PAY SPECIAL ATTENTION TO ANY SPECIAL NEEDS OF THE NEGRO CHILDREN. THERE ARE ALSO SOME PLANS BEING MADE FOR INTERRACIAL TEACHERS' MEETINGS. THE SCHOOLS HAVE MADE NO ATTEMPTS TO DRAW THE NEGRO STUDENTS INTO EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES SUCH AS DEBATES, BUT DR. LETSON SAID ATHLETES WOULD BE HIGHLY ACCEPTABLE. HE STILL FEELS THAT THE COMMUNITY IS DANGEROUSLY RELUCTANT TO ACCEPT MIXED SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, AND FOR THIS REASON WOULD GO SLOW ON THEM. HE HAD NOT HEARD OF SOME INCIDENTS OF UNFRIENDLINESS TO NEGRO STUDENTS WHICH THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS KNEW ABOUT, BUT WISHED THE STUDENTS WOULD LET HIM KNOW WHEN THESE THINGS OCCUR. HE THINKS THAT SCHOOL PROBLEMS CAN BEST BE HANDLED BY SCHOOL STAFF AND THAT OUTSIDE GROUPS SHOULD NOT TAKE THEM ON. THE COMMITTEE THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO HAVE MORE NEGRO STUDENTS IN EACH SCHOOL TO PROVIDE COMPANIONSHIP, LAB PARTNERS, HOMEWORK GROUPS, ETC., FOR EACH OTHER, BUT DR. LETSON

SAID THE PRIME CONSIDERATION MUST STILL BE ABILITY TO SUCCEED ACADEMICALLY.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS WOULD BE MAINLY IN TERMS OF GOOD REASONS FOR TRANSFER, SUCH AS OVERCROWDING AT THE PRESENT SCHOOL, LACK OF SPECIFIC WANTED COURSES, AND LOCATION OF THE DESIRED WHITE SCHOOL. A COMBINATION OF GOOD REASONS, HIGH SCHOLASTIC ABILITY, AND ACCEPTABLE PERSONALITY WOULD INCREASE THE CHANCES OF TRANSFER APPROVAL.

School Integration Transfers May Avoid Legal Tieup, If---

By BRUCE GALPHIN

Atlanta schools soon will be accepting their second round of desegregation transfer applications, with the 10th grade open to applicants, as well as junior and senior grades.

Will there be a substantial increase in the number of Negro students transferred? Will more schools be involved?

And how does Atlanta's pupil placement plan stand in light of federal court rulings invalidating Louisiana's placement law and Knoxville's grade-a-year plan?

TWO CONDITIONS

While no definite decision has been reached yet, informed sources say there probably will be no legal attack on the plan—if two conditions are met:

1. If the present placement plan allows more Negro students to transfer to more high schools next fall.

2. If severe overcrowding in all Negro high schools is relieved.

NAACP and other Negro leaders were highly critical last spring when only 10 Negro students passed the gamut of placement examinations and interviews, and only four white high schools were desegregated.

PLAN ATTACKED

In a press conference just last week, integration leader Martin Luther King Jr. declared: "If we are to move forward in Atlanta, the pupil placement plan must be attacked."

But Atlanta's Negro community is concerned with another serious education problem, as well, and that is the severe overcrowding of some high schools serving the Negro community.

Turner High School in Anderson Park, is on an "extended day"—not double sessions, however—and is still more than comfortably full. Howard High in the eastern part of Atlanta is not only on double sessions but, according to one school official, students even have to line up to use rest room facilities.

Because of the out-migration of white population in the Howard area, some white high schools have empty class space. One is operating at approximately one-third capacity.

Here is what is likely to be done to relieve such overcrowding, according to well placed sources:

1. A new school, Harper High, will be opened on the west side and relieve pressure on Turner. (Harper, incidentally, is air conditioned, and its design already has won a national award.)

2. All high schools in Atlanta probably will go to an "extended day" next fall, with an additional early period and late period. Teachers and pupils still will attend only six periods, but the system will allow better use of classroom space.

SCHOOL CONVERSION

3. There is a possibility that one of the white high schools on the east side will be converted to Negro use. (The school board already has approved conversion of Fain Elementary on the west side to Negro elementary use.)

Objections to last year's operation of the pupil placement plan have centered on complaints that the testing procedure was too complicated; that too few Negroes were transferred to each new school, thereby placing transfer students under emotional strain; that too few schools were involved, and that rejected students suffered embarrassment.

Although details have not been worked out, the application and testing procedures this year probably will be considerably simplified, sources told The Constitution.

INCREASE IN NUMBERS

It is also likely that there will be an increase both in the number of students and schools involved.

It is also considered possible that Negro leaders informally will aid in advance screen of potential transfer applicants, so that there will be fewer disappointments.

Under these circumstances, there probably will be no attacks on the pupil placement plan this year.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

ATLANTA MAR 16 6:30 PM 1962 GA.

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

NEWSLETTER

Dr. and Mrs. R. B. Levine
6455 Bridgewood Valley Road, N.W.
Atlanta 5, Georgia

MARCH, 1962

DATES TO REMEMBER

TUESDAY, MARCH 27

Plan to come to the central branch of the YMCA, 145 Luckie Street, N.W., (1 block off Spring St.) for the next Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations Luncheon. Moderator will be Attorney Donald Hollowell, who will bring us up to date on "Public Facilities". Find out what's the present status of what, and what lawsuits are pending! Come at 12:15 - The price is $1.75. Please call the GACHR office for reservations - 525-6468.

SATURDAY, MARCH 31

The Greater Atlanta Council has been invited to join the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Council on Human Relations in co-hosting an "Autograph Party" for Georgia author, LILLIAN SMITH, at the BILTMORE HOTEL, SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 3-5 P.M., celebrating the publication of a revised edition of her book, "Killers of the Dream" You are cordially invited to come and bring your friends to meet Miss Smith.

TENTATIVE DATE FOR WORKSHOP APRIL 14

Watch for an announcement of a meeting to discuss "An Evaluation of Atlanta's First Year". Tentative date for this workshop is Saturday afternoon, April 14.

* * * *

MRS. JOHN STANLEY, named new hospital chairman for GACHR. This announcement was made at the last luncheon. Also heard were reports by JOHN CALHOUN on lack of activity on the part of the Police Committee of the City Council in clarification of status of Negro policemen. CHARLES BLACK, chairman of the Committee On Appeal for Human Rights, and JIM FOREMAN, Students Non-violent Coordinating Committee, reported their activities on Grady Hospital.

* * * *

FOREIGN VISITORS BUREAU, entertained eighteen teachers from South America and the Scandinavian countries. Mrs. Carl (Donna) Potsald is the new chairman of this committee.

* * * * *

A BIRACIAL GROUP OF DOCTORS has agreed to serve as consultants to the Hospital Committee, and efforts will be made to unravel the Grady-Emory relationship, so that we will know who is to be held responsible for what decisions.

THE MERIT EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE NOW HAS A LIST OF ALL LOCAL INDUSTRIES WHO HAVE GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

* * *

MRS. M. E. RICHARDSON HAS BEEN NAMED NEW MEMBERSHIP CHAIRMAN. EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO CHANNEL THE INTERESTS AND ENERGIES OF EACH NEW MEMBER TO PROMOTE GREATER MEMBERSHIP PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL.

* * * *

STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION. . .

DR. ASA G. YANCEY WAS NAMED AS THE FIRST NEGRO MEMBER OF THE GRADY HOSPITAL VISITING STAFF. DR. YANCEY, A GRADUATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, IS A MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF SURGERY AND THE AMERICAN COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.

MR. C. R. YATES, DR. WILLIAM H. BORDERS, AND MR. J. B. BLAYTON HAVE BEEN APPOINTED TO THE JOINT ATLANTA-FULTON BOND COMMISSION. MR. YATES WAS APPOINTED BY THE CITY, AND THE REVEREND BORDERS BY THE ATLANTA BOARD OF EDUCATION.

MAYOR ALLEN HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THE APPOINTMENT OF J. R. (BOB) WILSON, JR., TO SERVE AS A MEMBER OF THE ATLANTA TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORTATION COMMISSION.

DR. RUFUS CLEMENT, PRESIDENT OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY, AND MEMBER OF THE ATLANTA BOARD OF EDUCATION, WAS ONE OF THE SPEAKERS AT THE PTA MEETING OF THE MARGARET MITCHELL SCHOOL. OTHER PANELISTS WERE EUGENE PATTERSON, EDITOR OF THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, AND DR. ROBERT E. LEE, PASTOR OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF THE REDEEMER. MODERATOR WAS GACHR MEMBER A. DEJONGH FRANKLIN.

JUDGE SAM PHILLIPS MCKENZIE, SUPERIOR COURT, ATLANTA JUDICIAL CIRCUIT, CHARGED THE GRAND JURY: "WE MUST FACE UP TO THE FACT THAT THE DECISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT ARE, IN FACT, THE LAW OF THE LAND, AND THAT ULTIMATELY DISCRIMINATION MUST, AND SHOULD BE, REMOVED FROM ALL AREAS OF PUBLIC LIFE."

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MRS. CLIFTON HOFFMAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE GACHR, SENT THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO MR. A. J. CROCY, PRESIDENT ATLANTA HOTEL ASSOC. . .

MR. A. J. CROCY, PRESIDENT
ATLANTA HOTEL ASSOCIATION
DINKLER HOTEL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR MR. CROCY: AS MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTA HOTEL ASSOCIATION CONSIDER WHETHER TO MAKE ACCOMMODATIONS AVAILABLE TO NEGROES ON THE SAME BASIS AS THEY ARE NOW AVAILABLE TO WHITES, IT MIGHT INTEREST THEM TO KNOW THAT LEADING HOTELS ARE NOW OPEN TO NEGROES IN RICHMOND, NASHVILLE, LOUISVILLE, GREENSBORO, MIAMI, NEW ORLEANS AND OTHER CITIES IN THE SOUTH. AS FAR AS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO FIND OUT, THERE HAS BEEN NO LOSS OF BUSINESS AND NO UNPLEASANTNESS OF ANY KIND.

THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BULLETIN, "FACTS AND FIGURES ABOUT GROWING ATLANTA," STATES THAT "HOTELS (43) AND MOTELS (70) OFFER MORE THAN 10,000 GUEST ROOMS FOR METROPOLITAN ATLANTA VISITORS." THE BULLETIN DOES NOT STATE THAT ONLY 4 HOTELS AND 1 MOTEL OFFER LESS THAN 210 GUEST ROOMS FOR NEGRO METROPOLITAN ATLANTA VISITORS.

ATLANTA TAKES PRIDE IN THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF HER NEGRO CITIZENS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE REPORTS THAT "ATLANTA. . . SCHOOLS INCLUDE THE LARGEST CENTER OF NEGRO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN THE WORLD". IT WOULD SEEM PROPER TO PROVIDE ADEQUATE SERVICES FOR ALL OF ATLANTA'S GUESTS, WHO NOT ONLY COME FROM ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD BUT WHO ALSO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

SINCERELY,

MRS. CLIFTON HOFFMAN,
CHAIRMAN

SCHOOL NEWS. . . .

THE AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE TRUSTEES ON FEB. 22 ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: "APPLICATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO AGNES SCOTT ARE CONSIDERED ON EVIDENCE OF THE APPLICANT'S CHARACTER, ACADEMIC ABILITY AND INTEREST, AND READINESS FOR EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE LIFE OF OUR RELATIVELY SMALL CHRISTIAN COLLEGE COMMUNITY THAT IS LARGELY RESIDENTIAL. APPLICANTS DEEMED BEST QUALIFIED ON A CONSIDERATION OF A COMBINATION OF THESE FACTORS WILL BE ADMITTED WITHOUT REGARD TO THEIR RACE, COLOR, OR CREED."

PRESIDENT WALLACE ALSTON OF AGNES SCOTT, SAID THAT. . . SINCE STUDENTS AND THEIR PARENTS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN GIVEN NOTICE WELL IN ADVANCE OF ANY MAJOR CHANGES IN PRACTICE OR PROCEDURE, "NEGRO APPLICANTS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR THE 1962-63 SCHOOL YEAR." AN ARTICLE IN THE FEB. 23 ISSUE OF THE ATLANTA JOURNAL STATED THAT "AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE FOR WOMEN IN DECATUR WILL ADMIT STUDENTS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR OR CREED BEGINNING SEPTEMBER, 1963. . .THE TRUSTEES DECIDED TO PUT THE POLICY INTO EFFECT IN SEPTEMBER, 1963, RATHER THAN NEXT SEPTEMBER, HE (DR. ALSTON) SAID, BECAUSE MANY OF THE GIRLS WHO WILL HAVE TO ENTER AGNES SCOTT NEXT FALL HAVE ALREADY BEEN ACCEPTED" APPLICATIONS WERE RECEIVED FROM 5 NEGRO STUDENTS."

* * * *

SPOKESMEN IN THE OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR AT OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY, IN ATLANTA, SAY THAT OGLETHORPE WILL ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS FOR THE 1962-63 SESSION. APPLICATIONS MAY BE SUBMITTED UP UNTIL THE TIME OF REGISTRATION IN SEPTEMBER. BULLETINS MAY BE OBTAINED BY TELEPHONING THE OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR, AT OGLETHORPE. OGLETHORPE IS A SMALL LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGE LOCATED IN ATLANTA. ITS STUDENT BODY IS LIMITED TO 400.

* * * *

TRINITY SCHOOL, OPERATED BY TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, (NURSERY THROUGH 6TH GRADE), WILL ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FOR NEGRO STUDENTS.

* * * *

IN RESPONSE TO A TELEPHONE INQUIRY, A SPOKESMAN IN THE ADMISSIONS OFFICE AT THE WESTMINISTER SCHOOLS SAID THAT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS WILL BE PROCESSED LIKE ANY OTHER APPLICATIONS... WHICH IN MANY CASES OF COURSE MEANS GETTING A PLACE ON A WAITING LIST.

* * * *

GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, A UNIT OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM, IS UNDER COURT ORDER TO ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS. IT OFFERS BA AND BS DEGREES; PROGRAMS IN ART, JOURNALISM, PRE-MED, AND TEACHED EDUCATION, AND M.A. DEGREES IN BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION. STUDENTS WHO ARE CITIZENS OF GA. PAY ONLY $5 PER QUARTER HOUR.

* * * * *

GEORGIA STATE TEACHER SCHOLARSHIP: HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS, IN THE UPPER 20% OF THEIR CLASS, WHO ARE IN NEED OF FINANCIAL AID, AND WILL AGREE TO TEACH FOR 3 YRS. IN A GA. PUBLIC SCHOOL OR COLLEGE, MAY APPLY FOR SCHOLARSHIP UP TO $750 A YR. APPLICATIONS MUST BE SUBMITTED BY JUNE 1. INFORMATION IS AVAILABLE FROM HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS OR THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

ROOM 309
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 26, 1962

Dear Council Friend:

You will be interested in the new financial arrangements we have made to support our expanding state and local programs.

Both the Georgia Council and the Atlanta Council will be conducting fund-raising activities in the Atlanta area. This means that you will now have the opportunity of ear-marking your contribution for local or state work. When you give to the Greater Atlanta Council, your donation will help in the many vital programs in this area. When you contribute to the Georgia Council, you will be assisting the State embark on new activities. Simply make your check out to whichever Council you wish. Needless to say, we are hopeful that you will want to contribute to both, since they complement each other.

This new arrangement does not affect membership. Your membership dues will continue to be divided between the Georgia and Atlanta Councils. Your yearly dues will give you membership in both Councils.

Under this new arrangement we will be able more efficiently to finance our expanding state and local programs, to provide the growing services needed, to make more effective use of our resources. As our loyal members you have made our development to this point possible. We count on you to support us in the critical months and years ahead.

Part of the expanding operations of the Councils call for separation of the offices. Thanks to our fine friend Ben Massell, we will have separate offices for the same rent we are now paying. The new addresses:

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, Telephone: 525-6469

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 502
Telephone: 525-6468

Sincerely,
Mrs Clifton Hoffman
Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Chairman
Greater Atlanta Council

Sincerely,
Charles Demere
The Reverend Charles Demere, Chairman
Georgia Council on Human Relations

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE
525-6468

April 30, 1962

URGENT Memorandum to Members:

In the past year Atlanta has moved a long way toward improving opportunities for all its citizens. The Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations is proud of its share in this progress.

The Council's efforts to better human relations and to provide justice and equal opportunity for all citizens have taken both time and hard work. They have also required money. In order to continue and to widen our efforts we need increased financial support, and we need it immediately.

To secure this support we will begin a city-wide raising campaign on May 1. We need $5000 to cover minimum operating expenses. . .secretarial salary, stationery and mailing costs, ~~telephone,~~ office supplies, and mimeographing. This total of $5000 is ridiculously small when we consider the goals we hope to achieve (and when we compare it with the fund raising efforts of other organizations with which we are familiar). It does not include the Executive Director's salary which, as you know, is presently paid by the Unitarian Service Committee.

At present there is less than $100 in our bank account. It is essential that we correct this situation NOW. Therefore, we are asking members and friends to:

1. Send contributions (above dues) to the new Atlanta Council office at 5 Forsyth Street. Possibly you could send $5 or $10 or more per month for 3 months to help us get started in our new location and to further the progress of the finance drive.

2. Pay 1962 dues ($5 per person; $9 per couple) NOW rather than in the Fall or on the month usually due.

There are other ways in which you may help.

1. Send us names and addresses of friends who might join the Council or contribute to its work. Better yet, secure these donations yourself and send them to us.

2. Notify us of your willingness to help solicit funds, to type, to address and stuff envelopes.

The need for the work we do is great, yet we can count only on those who have both your courage and your convictions. Make these convictions felt NOW.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

NEWS . . .
VIEWS . . .
AND ACTIVITIES . . .
OF THE

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Exchange Place, Atlanta, Georgia

NEWSLETTER, APRIL, 1962 Editor, Nan Pendergrast

WHERE BUT AT A COUNCIL MEETING. . . would you overhear such a remark: "Gee, I'm glad I paid my $1.75 and came. I met five interesting people."

If YOU want to meet five interesting people - or more - come to the Council's REGULAR MONTHLY LUNCHEON MEETING, TUESDAY, APRIL 24, 12:15, Central YMCA, 145 Luckie Street.

Mr. Jesse Hill, GACHR Board member and chairman of Atlanta's All Citizens Voter Registration Committee, will report on plans for this important community venture, part of the recently launched Voter Registration project of the Southern Regional Council. MAKE LUNCH RESERVATIONS ($1.75) by Monday, April 23, at Council office. Representatives from League of Women Voters and Metropolitan Voting Council will be invited.

* * * * * *

GRATEFUL COMMUNITY - Certificates Reading as follows have been presented to the nine Transfer Students by the GACHR: "Certificate of Appreciation awarded to XXX for Service to the Community through participation in the successful desegregation of Atlanta Public Schools."

* * * * * *

CORRESPONDENCE - From Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association: "It gives us real pleasure to advise you that the new psychiatrist added to the Grady Hospital staff will be available to all patients, both Negro and white, being held in the detention ward pending their State Hospital commitment proceedings."

- From a member, along with renewal dues: "If I had a million dollars, I'd give half of it to the GACHR."

- From A University of Wisconsin professor of Law: ". . .The role of interested groups of private citizens in defining problems and working toward their solutions has been one of the essential ingredients in moving this vast change that is now under way."

- From Special Assistant to the President, The White House: "It is the policy of this administration not to participate in segregated public affairs."

* * * * * *

SPRING CALENDAR: April 27-29 - Conference on "New Directions in the Student Movement," Scheduled for Atlanta, by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Special emphasis on students who have been involved in the anti- segregation movement, but the conference is an open one." Interested persons contact the SNCC office, 197½ Auburn Avenue, phone 688-0331.

April 29: Tower Theater*, 4:30 p.m., Spelman College Glee Club. (Tickets at Paschal Brothers Restaurant or Artist Productions, Inc., P. O. Box 7132, Sta. C, Atlanta 9).

April 29: Tower Theater, 8:00 p.m., Joan Baez (Artist Prod.)

(Note to sentimentalists and historians: These will be last performances from stage of Tower Theater)

May 14-20: Atlanta Arts Festival, Piedmont Park.

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(OVER)

BOOKS FOR MILES COLLEGE: Many Council members know the Rev. Lucius Pitts, who served as 2nd vice-chairman of the Ga. Council until he moved last summer to Birmingham to become president of Miles College. City officials have refused to allow the college to carry out a fund drive, because of the present boycott being conducted by Birmingham's Negro citizens. The college needs 15,000 books for its library to meet accrediting standards. They may mailed to Miles College, Birmingham, or mailed or brought to the Council office. . .Bring a book to the April 24 lunheon if you come.

* * * * * * *

STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION: Add to the list of desegregated facilities Eleanor's Patio Restaurant and Wit's End Cocktail Lounge; Ding Ho & Mammy's Shanty will serve interracial groups. . .

FULTON-DEKALB HOSPITAL AUTHORITY at a public meeting on April 16 elected Dr. Gwendolyn Cooper Mannings, graduate of Meharry Medical School, to the visiting staff at Grady Hospital.

* * * * * * *

INTERNATIONAL SET: The GACHR now serves as "Atlanta Contact" for the National YMCA Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, The Experiment in International Living and the Governmental Affairs Institute (which arranges U.S. State Department visitor's tours), and also provides home hospitality for many individual visitors sponsored here by other groups. Recent scheduling has included a week's stay by a South African teachers' college professor, home hospitality for the chairman of National Broadcasting Company of Japan and for a US Information Agency staff member from Martinique, a two-day visit by a party of Japanese political scientists, and a three-day visit by a Belgian Editor and his wife.

* * * * * * *

EMORY UNIVERSITY has asked Fulton County Superior Court to rule on tax laws and desegregation. Hearing originally set for April 17 has been postponed until May 25, 10:00 a.m.

* * * * * * *

DENTAL MEETING: For the first time Negro dentists attended the annual Hinman Clinic lectures, sponsored by the 5th District Dental Society, which invites to its members of the American Dental Association. Membership in this national body is by membership in local affiliated societies, and since Negro dentists are not admitted to the Northern District Dental Society, the local ADA affiliate, they have not been invited to the Clinic heretofore. They were invited as guests this year. (Local Negro professional organization is the North Georgia Dental Society) one Negro dentist remarked, "It was wonderful to have that kind of professional opportunity without having to go out of town."

* * * * * * *

THANKS to Mr. E. G. McCart, who has made a portable display case for pamphlets, etc., the dream of every meeting planner!

* * * * * * *

GEORGE MITCHELL: Long time Council Members and Friends of the Southern Regional Council will be saddened by the news of the death of George Mitchell, former SRC director, on April 12. Mrs. Mitchell's address is Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland.

SCHOOLS - STATEMENTS, MEETINGS, PLANS:

The following statement was presented to the Atlanta Board of Education at its meeting on April 9, 1962:

"Token desegregation does little to overcome the inequality inherent in separate schools, works undue hardship on the few Negroes chosen for white schools, and does nothing to solve the practical problems of overcrowded Negro schools and mounting educational expenses of two systems.

Therefore, the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations urges the following steps to accelerate School Desegregation in Atlanta:

1. That the most effective and economic employment of school funds be made by maximum desegregated use of existing facilities, and that new construction be considered desegregated and placed so as to provide as far as possible easy access to both white and Negro students.*

2. That criteria to be met for transfer to any public school be the same for Negro as for white students seeking to transfer, and that these be applied leniently so as to result in a larger number of transfers.

3. That the Board of Education have posted in every high school the curricula offered at all high schools and other information that might help any student choose a different school if the present one is not adequate, and that application forms for transfer by made available at individual schools as well as at City Hall.

4. That a continued program of education and orientation within all schools be carried on to prepare a better environment for school desegregation, in terms of both academic and extracurricular programs.

5. That all facilities of the school department, such as the Planetarium at Clark Howell School, now available only to white students, be made equally available to all students in the system.

6. That extra-curricular activities such as Science Fairs and Student Council Meetings be held on a system-wide basis rather than separately for white and Negro students."

At the Council meeting on April 15, Deputy School Superintendent Rual Stephens said that this year (1) applicants will not have to take special examinations; (2) prospective transfers may pick up and return blanks to their own schools; (3) more students and more schools will be involved.

To the regret of all concerned, Board of Education President Oby Brewer, Jr., did not appear to take part in the program as he had agreed to and as of Tuesday morning, April 17, had made no explanation to the Council.

*Dr. Jim Moss, research analyst, said at the meeting that the five Negro high schools have 4,133 too many pupils, white 19 white high schools have space for 4,700 more pupils, that if these facilities were desegregated, there would be need for only 17 new classrooms, instead of 300 as now planned.

"THE GIFT TO GI' US. . TO SEE OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US". . .

The Way Atlanta treats non-white people is playing a part in shaping future international relations, according to a recent survey of foreign students attending Atlanta University.

A representative of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations made the informal survey before attending a conference in Washington, D. C., at which one of the topics discussed was the affect of Southern racial policies on American foriegn relations.

Half of the students involved are from Africa and half from Asian countries. Those from Asian countries were about equally divided in their opinions that race relations in Atlanta are "what you expected," or "worse than" or "better than you expected." One, however, who said they are about what he expected reports that after two years in Atlanta, he has had no association with white people and says "I was eager to make friends in America. It is unfortunate to say that I may go back without any friends. Your government sends Peace Corps to other nations to create friendship but unfriendly behavior of the people cannot win friendship of those who themselves come to make American Friends." Two said they had had difficulty meeting white people because they attend a "non-white" college, but one finds that because he is accepted by white people, many "Negro people think we are white too, even though we are really colored."

Most of the African students have had opportunities to know white as well as Negro Americans, but many added comments on their experiences and observations of racial practices.

One reports that "before my arrival in the U. S. A., I learnt of the racial discrimination existing here but I didn't know it is so severe. . .countries in Africa hold the U. S. in high esteem but this discrimination is becoming more known to us - because more people are just realizing how serious it is - is lowering the prestige of America, that of the American whites especially". Another one observes "in my opinion, segregation in the South in general and in Atlanta in particular, is dead but it has not got a decent burial. .. there is a large and reasonable number of people who believe that a time has arrived to treat all human beings equal."

One student who has spent a year in Atlanta says, "race relations are such as will surprise a newcomer, because it is an unbelievable fact that one person could despise the other because of the color of his skin."

And another, after two and a half years in Atlanta writes rather sadly, "If what I have experienced in Atlanta is what the USA is like, I will never stay in this country. . .there is always an air of fear and tension when I walk downtown in Atlanta. I feel I should not stand in a line or enter a store because I don't know how many white people are looking at me with prejudice . . .If my stay in this country is to live to fear another race of human being, I am not ready to do that under any circumstances."

The majority of African students find race relations in Atlanta worse than they had expected. One concludes his comments by saying, "I always pray for better relations."

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
APRIL, 1962

JM

NEWS . . .
VIEWS . . .
AND ACTIVITIES . . .
OF THE

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GEORGIA PHONE: 525-6469

NEWSLETTER, MAY, 1962

TUESDAY, MAY 29, 6:30 P.M., YWCA, EDGEWOOD & IVY

TUESDAY, MAY 29, 6:30P.M., YWCA, EDGEWOOD & IVY, DINNER INSTEAD OF LUNCHEON

PAUL RILLING - EMPLOYMENT SURVEY - FINANCE REPORTS

TUESDAY, MAY 29, 6:30 P. M., YWCA, EDGEWOOD & IVY

RESERVATIONS BY NOON, MONDAY, MAY 28...RESERVATIONS BY NOON, MONDAY, MAY 28

WE HAVE HAD SUGGESTIONS TO TRYA DINNER INSTEAD OF A LUNCHEON AND TO PATRONIZE THE YWCA, AS CONTINUED SUPPORT OF ITS DESEGREGATED POLICY. (YMCA WILL SERVE INTERRACIAL PRIVATE GROUPS BUT DOES NOT ADMIT NEGROES TO THE "PUBLIC" FACILITIES.) SCHEDULING IS DIFFICULT AT THE YWCA, BUT HERE IT IS - DINNER ($2.25) AT THE YW...WE HOPE TO REPORT THE END IN SIGHT OF THE CURRENT FINANCE CAMPAIGN....PAUL RILLING, FIELD REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SRC, WILL GIVE HIS VIEWS ON WHAT A COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS CAN ACCOMPLISH IN GREATER ATLANTA AT THIS TIME....COPIES OF THE EMPLOYMENT SURVEY WILL BE GIVEN TO THOSE ATTENDING. OTHERS WILL BE MAILED IN DUE TIME, BUT WE CAN'T PROMISE WHEN, SINCE THE OFFICE IS BUSY TRYING TO CATCH UP AND SINCE THE COST OF MAILING IS VERY HIGH.....

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HARRY BELAFONTE WILL APPEAR AT THE CITY AUDITORIUM, JUNE 6 AT 8:00 P.M., SPONSORED BY THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE. TICKETS FOR $15, $10, $5, $3.50 AND $2.50, AVAILABLE AT USUAL COMMERCIAL OUTLETS, AT THE COUNCIL OFFICE, AND AT 524-3849.

****

SCHEDULED:
MAY 25, 10 A.M., FULTON COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT, HEARING ON EMORY UNIVERSITY SUIT.

MAY 31: PRE-TRIAL CONFERENCE OF LAWYERS FOR SUIT FILED ON MAY 17, 1961 BY LONNIE KING AND OTHERS TO DESEGREGATE ALL FACILITIES OWNED AND OPERATED BY CITY OF ATLANTA, WITH U. S. DISTRICT JUDGE LOUIS R. MORGAN. (THOSE WHO ADVOCATE THE SETTLEMENT OF SUCH MATTERS BY "TAKING IT TO THE COURTS" MIGHT NOTE LENGTH OF TIME BETWEEN

(OVER)

FILING OF THE SUIT AND EVEN TALKING ABOUT IT, MUCH LESS SETTLING IT.)

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THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS SENT A TELEGRAM TO SCRIPTO, INC., CONGRATULATING THE COMPANY ON ITS E-FOR EXPORT AWARD, AND CITING ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN VIEW OF SCRIPTO'S NON-DISCRIMINATING EMPLOYMENT POLICIES.

SCRIPTO TO GACHR, ON MAY 10: "THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TELEGRAM CONGRATULATING SCRIPTO FOR HAVING RECEIVED THE "E-FOR-EXPORT" AWARD. WITHOUT THE SUPPORT AND UNTIRING EFFORTS OF EACH EMPLOYEE OF OUR COMPANY, THIS AWARD COULD NOT HAVE BEEN OBTAINED. WE ARE PROUD TO HAVE RECEIVED IT AND GRATIFIED WITH THE RECOGNITION OF OUR EFFORTS IN THE WORLD TRADE". SIGNED BY JAMES V. CARMICHAEL, PRESIDENT.

****

ATLANTA SCHOOLS:

APPLICATIONS FOR TRANSFERS: THE LOCAL PRESS REPORTED 265 APPLICATIONS FOR TRANSFERS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS AS FOLLOWS: 33 TO BASS, 23 TO SMITH, 2 TO ROOSEVELT, 44 TO GRADY, 4 TO O'KEEFE, 2 TO WEST FULTON, 1 TO WALTER GEORGE, 7 TO FULTON, 18 TO BROWN, 12 TO NORTHSIDE, 1 TO SOUTHWEST, 4 TO NORTH FULTON AND 2 TO SYLVAN HILLS, AND 112 TO MURPHY. 212 OF THOSE APPLYING ARE FROM HOWARD, 166 ARE PRESENT 9TH GRADERS; 88 ARE PRESENT 10TH GRADERS AND 11 ARE 11TH GRADERS.

NEW DESEGREGATION SUIT:
ON MONDAY, APRIL 30, 10 ATLANTA NEGRO PARENTS ASKED THE U. S. DISTRICT COURT TO CHANGE THE CURRENT PUPIL PLACEMENT PLAN, ON GROUNDS THAT THE PLAN "HAS NOT BEEN USED....TO BRING ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF ATLANTA, BUT, ON THE CONTRARY, HAS BEEN USED TO MAINTAIN SEGREGATION". THE SUIT ASKED THAT ATLANTA SCHOOL OFFICIALS BE PREVENTED FROM MAINTAINING "A SEGREGATED, BIRACIAL SYSTEM", AND ASKED FOR A COMPLETE PLAN FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF THE ENTIRE BIRACIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM OF ATLANTA....INTO A UNITARY NONRACIAL SYSTEM....FOR THE ASSIGNMENT OF PUPILS ON A NONRACIAL BASIS AND A PLAN FOR THE ASSIGNMENT OF TEACHERS ON A NONRACIAL BASIS, FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOLS AND REORGANIZATION OF EXTRA CURRICULA SCHOOL ACTIVITIES ON A NONRACIAL BASIS.

****

PUBLIC HEALTH: U. S. SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE RIBICOFF, AFTER LEARNING THAT THE U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH EMPLOYEES ATTENDING A CLINIC AT THE FULTON COUNTY HEALTH CENTER AND AT GRADY HOSPITAL WERE RACIALLY SEGREGATED, HAS ANNOUNCED THAT MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN ACTIVITIES WHERE

(OVER)

SUCH SEGREGATION CAN TAKE PLACE. (THE NEGRO EMPLOYEE WHO WAS SEGREGATED HERE IS THE SON OF AN ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UN). THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS HAS CONGRATULATED SECRETARY RIBICOFF, AND HAS WRITTEN DR. JAMES HACKNEY, FULTON COUNTY HEALTH DIRECTOR, ASKING FOR A CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM IN THE LOCAL PRESS REGARDING CONTINUATION OF SEGREGATED FACILITIES AT THE FULTON COUNTY HEALTH CENTERS.

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HOUSING IN DECATUR-DEKALB: FOR MORE THAN 2 YEARS EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO COME UP WITH A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF RELOCATING FAMILIES TO BE DISPLACED BY THE PROPOSED URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT IN DECATUR. SURVEYS HAVE SHOWED 95 FAMILIES WHO WANT TO RENT PRIVATE HOMES, 35 WHO WANT TO BUY HOMES, AND 235 FAMILIES ELIGIBLE FOR PUBLIC HOUSING - ALL TO BE RELOCATED BEFORE THE AREA THEY NOW LIVE IN CAN BE "RENEWED". SURVEYS HAVE ALSO TURNED UP FAMILIES WHOSE INCOME IS SO HIGH THEY HAVE TO PAY AS MUCH AS $80 A MONTH FOR PUBLIC HOUSING (THE RENT INCREASES WITH INCOME), WHO WANT TO LIVE IN PRIVATE HOUSES BUT WHO SO FAR HAVE NOT FOUND PRIVATE HOUSING IN DECATUR TO RENT. (SURVEY ALSO TURNED UP 6 BLOCKS OF PRIVATE HOMES IN PART OF THE AREA TO BE "RENEWED" WITH ONLY 2 COMPETE BATHROOMS IN THE WHOLE 6 BLOCKS.)

RECENT PROPOSALS TO RELOCATE THESE PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF DECATUR IN DEKALB COUNTY (SINCE THERE APPEARS TO BE NO ROOM FOR EXPANSION OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS IN DECATUR) HAVE BEEN OPPOSED BY THOSE TO BE RELOCATED.

DEKALB COUNTY NOW PROPOSES AN URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAM FOR AREAS IN THE COUNTY, REGARDLESS OF WHAT HAPPENS IN THE CITY, SO THERE ARE NOW HOUSING AUTHORITIES AND CITIZENS' ADVISORY COMMITTEES FOR URBAN RENEWAL FOR DECATUR AND FOR DEKALB COUNTY. GACHR IS WORKING WITH OTHER CIVIC GROUPS TO HELP UNRAVEL THESE KNOTS.

STEPS IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION:

THE ATLANTA DAILY WORLD IS NOW AVAILABLE, ALONG WITH OTHER DAILY PAPERS, IN THE MAIN ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY....MOVIES ARE BEING DESGREGATED ACCORDING TO SCHEDULE (GACHR PARTICIPATED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS LAST FALL AND WINTER)....BY ORDER OF POLICE CHIEF JENKINS "ALL OF THE RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON THE NEGRO POLICEMANT IN 1947 ARE HEREBY REMOVED"....ATLANTA HAS ANNOUNCED PLANS TO EMPLOY NEGRO FIREMEN TO STAFF NEW FIRE STATIONS IN PREDOMINANTLY NEGRO RESIDENTIAL AREAS....DR. J. A. JARMAN, COMMANDING SURGEON OF THE AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND, ANDREWS AIR FORCE BASE, HAS BEEN APPOINTED MEDICAL ADVISER TO THE FULTON-DEKALB HOSPITAL AUTHORITY, TO TAKE OFFICE ON AUGUST 1....W. O. DUVALL, CHAIRMAN OF THE AUTHORITY TO REPRESENTATIVES OF GACHR, SCLC AND COAHR SAID THAT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGROES FOR SCHOOLS OF X-RAY AND MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY WOULD BE REVIEWED AND THAT THE AUTHORITY WOULD INVESTIGATE ANY INSTANCES OF DISCRIMINATION REPORTED TO THEM.

WE REGRET TO REPORT A STUMBLING BLOCK: A NEGRO WHO TELEPHONED

(OVER)

FOR INFORMATION ABOUT ADMISSION TO THE X-RAY SCHOOL WAS TOLD AT FIRST THAT NEGROES WERE NOT CONSIDERED, LATER WAS TOLD THAT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGROES ARE BEING KEPT ON FILE UNTIL THERE ARE ENOUGH TO MAKE UP A CLASS. GACHR HAS WRITTEN ASKING FOR CLARIFICATION OF POLICY.

****

STUDENT COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS: ELECTED OFFICERS FOR NEXT YEAR ARE AS FOLLOWS: CHAIRMAN, FRANK SMITH, MOREHOUSE; VICE-CHAIRMAN, JOAN BROWNING, GEORGIA STATE; SECRETARY, NAN PERKINS, WESTMINISTER, TREASURER, JOEL SOLKOFF, DRUID HILLS. THERE ARE PLANS FOR STUDENT VOLUNTEERS TO WORK IN COMMUNITY AGENCIES DURING THE SUMMER, IN INTERRACIAL GROUPS. IF YOU KNOW OF HIGH SCHOOL OR COLLEGE STUDENTS INTERESTED IN INVESTING TIME IN COMMUNITY SERVICE (NO COST EXCEPT PERSONAL TRANSPORTATION AND LUNCH), HAVE THEM CONTACT THE COUNCIL OFFICE.

****

INTERNATIONAL SET: A EUROPEAN JOURNALIST WHOSE VISIT IN ATLANTA WAS ARRANGED BY THE COUNCIL WROTE "....THANK YOU FOR ALL THAT YOU DID TO MAKE ME WELCOME AND INTRODUCE ME TO THE PROBLEMS AND HOPE OF THE CITY AND THE STATE. I SHALL REMEMBER ATLANTA AS ONE OF THE MOST HOSPITABLE CITIES I HAVE EVER KNOWN".

THREE PROVINCE PREFECTS OF THE NEW AFRICAN REPUBLIC OF CHAD VISITED ATLANTA AS THEIR ONLY SOUTHERN STOP IN A 3 WEEKS STATE DEPARTMENT SPONSORED TOUR OF THE U. S.....LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS WERE MADE BY THE COUNCIL. THEY INCLUDED A TOUR OF DEKALB COUNTY AND A MORNING SPENT WITH MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHERE DIRECTOR JIM FOREMAN TOOK OVER FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT INTERPRETER AND DISCUSSED RACE RELATIONS IN FRENCH.

****

NEWSLETTER EDITOR NAN PENDERGRAST IS TRAVELING IN ENGLAND THIS MONTH. WE LOOK FORWARD TO HER RETURN BEFORE THE NEXT NEWSLETTER!

****

IF YOU'RE READ THIS FAR - WE TAKE GREAT DELIGHT IN REPEATING THE ANNOUNCEMENT IN THE PAPER THAT MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT WILL MAKE THE COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AND RECEIVE AN HONORARY DEGREE AT THE ATLANTA UNIVERSITY COMMENCE EXERCISES ON MONDAY, JUNE 4, AT 5:00 P.M., ON THE DRANGLE.

COPY

FULTON COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

99 BUTLER STREET, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JUNE
1
1962

MRS. CLIFTON G. HOFFMAN
GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR MRS. HOFFMAN:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT LETTER RELATIVE TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM IN FULTON COUNTY. I EMPATHICALLY ASSURE YOU AND YOUR ORGANIZATION THAT I DEFINITELY DID NOT MAKE THE STATEMENT RELATIVE TO THE SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASE WHICH APPEARED IN THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, MAY 9, 1962. FOR APPROXIMATELY 31 YEARS I HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH PATIENTS WITH VENEREAL DISEASES IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. DURING THESE MANY YEARS I HAVE NEVER TRACED THE SOURCE OF INFECTION TO A RESTROOM. I DO NOT KNOW A DOCTOR WHO HAS. THE SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASE FROM ONE RACE TO THE OTHER IS NOT A PROBLEM IN THIS DEPARTMENT.

THE FUNCTION OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT IS TO RENDER PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES IN AN IMPARTIAL MANNER TO MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE. IN CARRYING OUT THIS PROGRAM MORE THAN 30% OF OUR EMPLOYEES ARE OF THE NEGRO RACE. MANY OF THESE WORK HARMONIOUSLY SIDE BY SIDE WITH EMPLOYEES OF THE WHITE RACE RENDERING THE SAME PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES TO PEOPLE OF BOTH RACES. OUR SERVICES ARE RENDERED IN A COURTEOUS AND DIGNIFIED MANNER. WE HAVE COMMON WAITING ROOMS, DRINKING FOUNTS AND THE PATIENTS ARE SERVED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ARRIVAL AT THE CLINIC. IN MY OPINION, WE HAVE THE MOST DESEGREGATED PUBLIC FACILITY THAT YOU WILL FIND IN A LARGE SOUTHERN AMERICAN CITY.

WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT THIS IS A PUBLIC FACILITY AND THAT EQUAL SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL. WE ARE ALSO KEENLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT COMMUNICABLE DISEASE ARE COMMON TO BOTH RACES AND THAT THE NEED FOR IMPROVED ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION CONDITIONS IS THE SAME. WE ARE VERY PROUD OF OUR PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM AND APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND THIS INFORMATION TO YOUR ORGANIZATION AND WE SOLICIT YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT.

THANKING YOU VERY MUCH.

RESPECTFULLY,

J. F. HACKNEY, M. D.
COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH

****

June 28, 1963

LWD (cc: VJ)

PA

Several of your recent written comments indicate a disappointment with the progress of state Council membership drives and the attention given to that problem. Perhaps I have been remiss in reporting activity in this area.

Alabama: For the past 3 years membership has remained at approximately 500. There should be a slight increase this year. As an incidental part of work in Mobile I have encouraged reorganization of that Council and there is a possibility of strengthening there.

Arkansas: In 1962, ACHR reached a high of 321 members. A 1963 campaign has raised that figure to approximately 500--an increase of more than 50%.

Florida: Reported a high of 800 members in 1960. Fell to less than 200 paid members during 1962. The FCHR has been reorganized and now has a membership in excess of 600. Hopefully, a planned drive in the fall will raise this to the goal of 1,000.

Georgia: Membership approaches 900--no appreciable increase over 1962. Unless there is an aggressive campaign in Atlanta, little further increase is likely in 1963.

North Carolina: Several new local Councils have been organized but at this time an increase of no more than 5%--to 600--is anticipated.

S.C.: An increase of no more than 15%--to 500--is anticipated.

Tennessee: Present membership is approximately the same as that of 1962, some 700 members. A special drive will be held during September, with a goal of an increase to 1500. Detailed plans will be started during late July. Hopefully, the campaign will succeed, though developments with TCHR

and the press of other matters within and outside the state make me less than optimistic. The time for this experiment was chosen with the best judgment I could make in light of existing factors.

Mississippi: The reorganized MCHR has, of after some hesitation, made the decision to seek members. Any growth will be statistically impressive.

Virginia: Virginia has a goal of raising its membership from 2,00 2,100 to 3,000. Their campaign is thus far ahead of schedule.

Texas: The Houston Council has a goal of doubling its membership from a 1962 high of 243 to 500. A membership "workshop" will be held in the fall and it is possible the results will raise the membership even higher.

There is reason to hope that by the end of 1963 Council membership will reach 8,000--an increase of some 40%. This membership and percentage figure would still be far smaller than that desired, but I would consider it a good by-product of an year of unusual crisis and program demand.

Hargadon
Jr 5
0721

NEWS... VIEWS... AND ACTIVITIES... OF THE

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

5 FORSYTH STREET, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE: 525-6469

NEWSLETTER, JUNE, 1962

BUNCHE ANNOUNCEMENT

DR. RALPH BUNCHE, UNDER-SECRETARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WAS THE VERY DISTINGUISHED GUEST OF THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS AT A LUNCHEON HELD ON THE EMORY UNIVERSITY CAMPUS ON JULY 6, 1962. A CAPACITY CROWD OF MORE THAN 200 HEARD VICE-MAYOR MASSELL INTRODUCE THE AUDIENCE "ATLANTA'S BEST PEOPLE" TO DR. BUNCHE AND THEN LISTENED ENCHANTED WHILE DR. BUNCHE DISCOURSED LEARNEDLY AND WITTILY OF THE WONDERFUL WORK OF THE UN. THE OCCASION WAS COVERED BY LOCAL AND NATIONAL PRESS AND TELEVISION. GENTLE, KIND AND HUMANE, DR. BUNCHE IS A CREDIT TO HIS NATION AND WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE HAD HIM AS OUR GUEST.

****

MUSIC TO OUR EARS

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON THE STUPENDOUS SUCCESS OF THEIR BELAFONTE CONCERT! THEY SOLD 4,684 TICKETS FOR A PROFIT OF $9,000.

COME TO THE THEATER UNDER THE STARS AT THE CHASTAIN PARK AMPHITHEATER FOR TOP NOTCH PRODUCTIONS IN BEAUTIFUL COOL SURROUNDINGS. FROM JULY 10 - AUGUST 19 THEY WILL PRESENT STAR PERFORMERS IN PROVEN PRODUCTIONS.

****

DAYS IN COURT

EMORY UNIVERSITY IS APPEALING THE DECISION WHICH WOULD VOID THEIR TAX-EXEMPT STATUS IN THE EVENT OF DESEGREGATION.

SUIT HAS BEEN FILED IN FEDERAL COURT DEMANDING THE COMPLETE DESEGREGATION OF GRADY HOSPITAL FACILITIES, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE PATIENT FACILITIES, STAFFS, TRAINING SCHOOLS (NURSING, X-RAY, MEDICAL TECHNICIANS), EMORY MEDICAL SCHOOL, FULTON COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY AND NORTH GEORGIA DENTAL ASSOCIATION.

****

OUR OFFICIALS

THE UNITARIAN SERVICE COMMITTEE HAS A NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,

MR. WILLARD JOHNSON, WHO CAME TO HIS JOB FROM THE EUROPEAN MISSION OF CARE. MR. ERNEST LENT, CONTINUES AS DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY SERVICES, USA.

ELIZA PASCHALL, OUR OWN GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS DIRECTOR, HAS RECEIVED A SIGNAL HONOR. HER ESSAY, "A SOUTHERN POINT OF VIEW", ORGINALLY PRINTED IN THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, WILL BE REPRINTED IN A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS FOR COLLEGE STUDENTS.

****

MY, HOW WE'VE GROWN!

LESS THAN TWO YEARS AGO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL NUMBERED 190. NOW WE ARE A WHOPPING 480, BUT WE NEED MANY MANY MORE. THOSE TOWERS OF PREJUDICE - JUST REMEMBER THE BIGGER WE ARE, THE HARDER THEY FALL.

****

SEGREGATION IN THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT?

IN ANSWER TO A LETTER FROM KAY HOFFMAN, OUR PRESIDENT, DR. J. F. HACKNEY, COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH FOR FULTON COUNTY, REPLIED AS FOLLOWS:

COPY COPY

FULTON COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

99 BUTLER STREET, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JUNE
1
1962

MRS. CLIFTON G. HOFFMAN
GREATER ATLANTA
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5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
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THANK YOU FOR YOUR RECENT LETTER RELATIVE TO THE PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM IN FULTON COUNTY. I EMPATHICALLY ASSURE YOU AND YOUR ORGANIZATION THAT I DEFINITELY DID NOT MAKE THE STATEMENT RELATIVE TO THE SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASE WHICH APPEARED IN THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, MAY 9, 1962. FOR APPROXIMATELY 31 YEARS I HAVE BEEN WORKING WITH PATIENTS WITH VENEREAL DISEASES IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA. DURING THESE MANY YEARS I HAVE NEVER TRACED THE SOURCE OF INFECTION TO A RESTROOM. I DO NOT KNOW A DOCTOR WHO HAS. THE SPREAD OF VENEREAL DISEASE FROM ONE RACE TO THE OTHER IS NOT A PROBLEM IN THIS DEPARTMENT.

THE FUNCTION OF THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT IS TO RENDER PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES IN AN IMPARTIAL MANNER TO MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE. IN CARRYING OUT THIS PROGRAM MORE THAN 30% OF OUR EMPLOYEES ARE OF THE NEGRO RACE. MANY OF THESE WORK HARMONIOUSLY SIDE BY SIDE WITH EMPLOYEES OF THE WHITE RACE RENDERING THE SAME PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES TO PEOPLE OF BOTH RACES. OUR SERVICES ARE RENDERED IN A COURTEOUS AND DIGNIFIED MANNER. WE HAVE COMMON WAITING ROOMS, DRINKING FOUNTS AND THE PATIENTS ARE SERVED IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ARRIVAL AT THE CLINIC. IN MY OPINION, WE HAVE THE MOST DESEGREGATED PUBLIC FACILITY THAT YOU WILL FIND IN A LARGE SOUTHERN AMERICAN CITY.

WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT THIS IS A PUBLIC FACILITY AND THAT EQUAL SERVICES ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL. WE ARE ALSO KEENLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT COMMUNICABLE DISEASE ARE COMMON TO BOTH RACES AND THAT THE NEED FOR IMPROVED ENVIRONMENTAL SANITATION CONDITIONS IS THE SAME. WE ARE VERY PROUD OF OUR PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM AND APPRECIATE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SEND THIS INFORMATION TO YOUR ORGANIZATION AND WE SOLICIT YOUR CONTINUED SUPPORT.

THANKING YOU VERY MUCH.

RESPECTFULLY,

J. F. HACKNEY, M. D.
COMMISSIONER OF HEALTH

****

SUMMER VISITORS GALORE

THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS SERVES AS THE LOCAL SPONSORING ORGANIZATION FOR THE GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE OF WASHINGTON, WHICH ARRANGES THE TOURS FOR THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE. MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE COUNCIL ASSIST IN THIS PROGRAM.

"SCHEDULES OF THE VISITORS INCLUDE SUCH VARIED ACTIVITIES AS INTERVIEWS WITH PUBLIC OFFICIALS, GOING ON A FAMILY PICNIC, LOCAL THEATRICAL OFFERINGS, VISITS TO LOCAL BUSINESSES, INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL JOURNALISTS, AND TOURS OF THE CITY. THEY HAVE DIFFERENT INTERESTS AND WE TRY TO SHOW THEM WHAT THEY WANT TO SEE, AND INTRODUCE THEM TO THE PEOPLE THEY WANT TO MEET. THE ONE FEATURE COMMON TO ALL THE VISITS IS THAT EACH PERSON DOES HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VISIT A FAMILY IN A HOME AND SEE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT AMERICAN AND PARTICULARLY ATLANTA HOME LIFE IS LIKE", DONNA SAID.

****

SUMMER POLITICS GALORE, TOO

WITH ELECTIONS COMING UP THIS FALL, THE POLITICAL PICTURE GROWS MORE FASCINATING AND MORE FRANTIC HOURLY. THE COUNCIL, A NON-PARTISAN ORGANIZATION, URGES THAT YOU TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN SUP-

PORTING THE PARTY AND THE CANDIDATES OF YOUR CHOICE.

DONNA POTSWALD, OUR FOREIGN VISITORS CHAIRMAN, WAS INVITED TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON JUNE 25 AND 26, SPONSORED BY THE U. S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR COMMUNITY SERVICES TO INTERNATIONAL VISITORS. DONNA REPORTED THAT DURING MAY, WE ENTERTAINED 11 INDIVIDUALS FROM 7 FOREIGN COUNTRIES, FOR A TOTAL OF 21 DAYS. THE GUESTS INCLUDED JOURNALIST, TEACHERS, GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATORS AND STUDENTS, FROM GERMANY, SCOTLAND, CHAD (NEWEST AFRICAN NATION), SOUTHERN RHODESIA, INDIA, YUGOSLAVIA, THE NETHERLANDS AND ITALY.

****

OTHER SUMMER ATTRACTIONS

ACADEMY THEATER SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL; POCKET THEATER; ATLANTA UNIVERSITY DRAMATIC PRODUCTION SUMMER THEATER; QUAKER HOUSE EVENTS FOR OLD AND YOUNG.

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SCHOOL NEWS

CATHOLIC SCHOOLS: SUNDAY, JUNE 9, ARCHBISHOP PAUL HALLINAN ANNOUNCED THAT SCHOOLS OPERATED BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE 71 COUNTY ATLANTA DIOCESE WILL BE DESEGREGATED FOR THE 1962-63 SESSION.

DECATUR: NEGRO PARENTS ATTEMPTED TO REGISTER THEIR CHILDREN IN SUMMER SCHOOL AT DECATUR HIGH SCHOOL. THERE HAD BEEN NO SUMMER SESSION SCHEDULED FOR THE NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL. SCHOOL AUTHORITIES IMMEDIATELY ANNOUNCED THAT SUMMER CLASSES WOULD BE HELD IN THE NEGRO SCHOOL, AND EVEN THOUGH 15 IS SUPPOSED TO BE THE MINIMUM NUMBER FOR A CLASS, A TEACHER IS BEING PROVIDED FOR 7 NEGRO STUDENTS.

ATLANTA: 44 NEGRO STUDENTS TRANSFERRED TO GO TO "WHITE" HIGH SCHOOLS AS FOLLOWS:

3 TO BROWN (FROM WASHINGTON); 3 TO FULTON (FROM PRICE); 2 TO SYLVAN (FROM HOWARD); 8 TO BASS (6 FROM HOWARD, 1 FROM CARVER, 1 FROM TURNER); 4 TO GRADY (FROM HOWARD); 2 TO O'KEEFE (FROM WASHINGTON); 2 TO WEST FULTON (FROM CARVER); 12 TO MURPHY (ALL FROM HOWARD); 2 TO ROOSEVELT (FROM HOWARD); 6 TO SMITH (5 FROM HOWARD, 1 FROM WASHINGTON). DIVISION ACCORDING TO GRADES IS 32 IN 10TH GRADE, 9 IN 11TH; 3 IN 12TH. NAMES AND ADDRESSES ARE ON FILE AT THE COUNCIL OFFICE. IF YOU KNOW STUDENTS, TEACHERS OR COMMUNITY LEADERS IN ANY OF THESE 10 SCHOOLS WHO WOULD LIKE TO HELP ORIENT THESE STUDENTS TO THEIR NEW SCHOOLS, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

THE COUNCIL, ALONG WITH NAACP, ACCA, SCLC, SNCC, PTAS AND OTHER CIVIC GROUPS HAS URGED THE ATLANTA BOARD OF EDUCATION TO RE-CONSIDER ITS PLAN TO HOUSE 8TH GRADERS AT HOWARD HIGH SCHOOL IN PORTABLE BUILDINGS TO BE PLACED ON THE URBAN RENEWAL SITE.

****

CHURCH AND PRIVATE SCHOOL SURVEY

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE DESEGREGATION OF CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS IN THE ATLANTA AREA HAS PROMPTED INQUIRIES ABOUT POLICIES OF OTHER CHURCH SUPPORTED OR CHURCH RELATED EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE GREATER ATLANTA AREA. AN INFORMAL SURVEY OF SUCH INSTITUTIONS MADE BY THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS SHOWS TWO WILL ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS, AND TWO WILL NOT AND SIX HAVE "NO POLICY". THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOLS (PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH RELATED) AND TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH KINDERGARTEN WILL ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM ALL QUALIFIED STUDENTS.

BRIARCLIFF BAPTIST, NURSING AND KINDERGARTEN, COLONIAL HILLS CHRISTIAN SCHOOL WILL NOT ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGRO STUDENTS.

THOSE WHICH SAID THEY HAVE HAD NO APPLICATIONS FROM NEGROES AND THEREFORE HAVE NO POLICY ARE THE LOVETT SCHOOL (ACCORDING TO A SCHOOL SPOKEMAN "GUIDED BY THOUGH NOT CONTROLLED BY THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH), BETHANY CHRISTIAN SCHOOL, HOLY CROSS EPISCOPAL KINDERGARTEN, OGLETHORPE PRESBYTERIAN KINDERGARTEN AND MERCER UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF PHAYMACY (BAPTIST), GLENN MEMORIAL NURSERY SCHOOL AND KINDERGARTEN AND EAST POINT PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH KINDERGARTEN.

TWO PRIVATE SCHOOLS CONTACTED PACE ACADEMY AND AN-LYN WORTH SCHOOLS - WILL NOT ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM NEGROES. NEGROES ARE NOT ACCEPTED AT THE ATLANTA SPEECH SCHOOL, THE CEREBRAL PALSY SCHOOL OR THE FAIRHAVEN SCHOOL (FOR MENTALLY RETARDED).

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EDITOR CITED BY NATIONAL GROUP

CLARK COLLEGE PRESIDENT JAMES P. BRAWLEY AND CLARENCE D. COLEMAN, SOUTHERN REGIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE URBAN LEAGUE AND SECRETARY OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER, INC., CONGRATULATED CARL HOLMAN, PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT CLARK AND EDITOR OF THE ATLANTA INQUIRER. HOLMAN WAS SELECTED THIS WEEK BY THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION AS ONE OF 14 SOUTHERN NEWSMEN WHO WILL RECEIVE AWARDS FOR EXCELLENCE IN PUBLICE AFFAIRS REPORTING.

BOTH THE EDITOR AND THE INQUIRER WILL RECEIVE PLAQUES FROM THE ASSOCIATION. IN ADDITION, HOLMAN AND THE OTHER NEWSPAPERMEN HAVE BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND A WEEK-LONG SEMINAR IN WASHINGTON FOLLOWING THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS. OVER 40 ENTRIES WERE SUBMITTED THIS YEAR FOR THE APSA PROGRAM WHICH FINANCED THROUGH A GRANT FROM THE FORD FOUNDATION.

****

EMPLOYMENT SURVEY: DONE JOINTLY BY THE COUNCIL, ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION AND SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS OFF THE PRESS. SINCE VACATIONS INTERFERE WITH SUMMER READING, WE WILL WAIT TO SEND IT UNTIL LATE SUMMER. IF YOU WANT A COPY EARLIER, GIVE US A CALL AT THE OFFICE.

SRC PUBLICATIONS: A REVISED LIST IS AVAILABLE. IF YOU'RE INTERESTED CALL US OR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL (JA. 2-8764).

YOU ALL ARE WELCOME.....

CUSTOMS CHANGE FROM DAY TO DAY. A PLACE THAT IS SEGREGATED TODAY MAY BE DESEGREGATED TOMORROW, AND IN SOME VERY FEW INSTANCES PLACES THAT HAD SERVED INTERRACIAL GROUPS LATER DECLINED TO DO SO. THE GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL MAKES AN EFFORT TO KEEP UP TO DATE, ACCURATE INFORMATION ABOUT PROGRESS OF DESEGREGATION IN THE COMMUNITY. WE WOULD WELCOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION. SO FAR AS WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE, THE FOLLOWING IS CORRECT AS OF THE END OF JUNE, 1962.

EATING PLACES

YWCA CAFETERIA, EDGEWOOD AND IVY
STOUFFEUR'S, DOWNSTAIRS IN THE MERCHANDISE MART
TOP O'THE MART (ALSO STOUFFEUR'S)
RICH'S MAGNOLIA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES IN ALL STORES
DAVISON'S TEA ROOM AND OTHER EATING PLACES.
GRANT'S
JACOB'S PHARMACIES
FRANKLIN SIMON'S
SEARS ROEBUCK
H. L. GREEN
KRESS
MCCRORY'S
LANE'S DRUG STORES
THE COACH AND SIX RESTAURANT

INTERRACIAL GROUPS MAY ARRANGE PRIVATE MEETINGS, ETC., AT THE ATLANTA BILTMORE, DINKLER PLAZA, DINGO HO, MAMMY'S SHANTY, AND EMORY UNIVERSITY FOOD CENTER.

PEACHTREE MANOR HOTEL
AMERICANA MOTEL

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

ATLANTA ART GALLERIES
ATLANTA SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA CONCERTS
ACTORS EQUITY PRODUCTION
THEATER UNDER THE STARS (AT CHASTAIN PARK)
ATLANTA CITY GOLF COURSES
ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY - ALL BRANCHES
DECATUR-DEKALB LIBRARY
JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
QUAKER HOUSE
POCKET THEATER
ACADEMY THEATER (SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL)
LOEW'S GRAND THEATER
FOX THEATER
RIALTO THEATER
ROXY THEATER
RHODES THEATER
PEACHTREE ART

ALL ATLANTA CITY FACILITIES OR FUNCTIONS WITH EXCEPTION OF SWIMMING POOLS.

EVENTS AT COLLEGE CAMPUSES THROUGHOUT TH E GREATER ATLANTA COMMUNITY:

ORGANIZATIONS:

ACTIVE VOTERS
ATLANTA ASSOCIATION FOR GIFTED CHILDREN
ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS (OF ATLANTA, OF DEKALB COUNTY)
WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
DEMOCRATIC FORUM OF FULTON COUNTY AND DEKALB DEMOCRATS
REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATIONS OF DEKALB COUNTY AND FULTON COUNTY

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES (HAVE ACCEPTED OR INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT APPLICATIONS FROM ALL)

CERTAIN ATLANTA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
GEORGIA TECH
GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE
OGLETHORPE UNIVERSITY
AGNES SCOTT COLLEGE (BEGINNING 1963-64 SESSION)
THE WESTMINSTER SCHOOLS
TRINITY PRESBYTERIAN SCHOOL

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH STREET, NORTHWEST
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JUNE, 1962

MRS. CLIFTON G. HOFFMAN
Chairman
MR. M. CARL HOLMAN
1st Vice-Chairman
DR. RICHARD RESER
2nd Vice-Chairman
MRS. CHARLES PERKINS, JR
Secretary
MR. HUBERT JACKSON
Treasurer

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Telephone 525-6469
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MRS. ELIZA PASCHALL
Executive Director
MR. THOMAS McPHERSON, JR.
Assistant Director

SEPT. 19, 1963

DEAR PAT,

I WANTEDTO WEEP OR BEAT THE WALL OR DO SOMETHING THE OTHER DAY WHEN AN AGNES SCOTT PROFESSOR CAME TO SEE WILEY BRANTON, AS A RESULT OF YOUR COLUMN AND WHEN WILEY BROUGH HIM OVER TO SEE US SAID HE HAD NEVER HEARD OF ANY SUCH ORGANIZATION, DIDN'T "KNOW ANYBODY ELSE IN ATLANTA FELT THIS WAY" ,ETC.

I KNOW WE' E TALKED WITH YOU IN THE PAST ABOUT COLUMNS, MAINLY ABOUT OUR FOREIGN VISITORS, BUT I BELIEVE THERE'RE MORE AND MORE PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY WHITE PEOPLE, WHO ARE LOOKING FOR A WAY TO "MAKE A WITNESS" TO JOIN XXX FORCES WITH OTHERS OF LIKE MINDS AND HEARTS - THOSE ARE THE PEOPLE WHO READ YOUR COLUMN. COULDN'T YOU STEER THEM OUR WAY - MIGHT EVEN INCLUDE THAT IF YOU JOIN THE GREATER TLANTA COUNCIL, YOU BECOME A MEMBER OF THE GEORGIA COUNCIL, THAT VERY FEW PEOPLE IN ATLANTA ARE ACTUALLY MEMBERS OF SRC (THIS IS OUR OTHER PROBLEM - THOSE WHO' E LIVED HERE FOREVER AND GET THE NEW SOUTH THINK THEY'RE MEMBERS OF ALL 3.)

GOT LOST OF FOREIGN COMMUNICATIONS PEOPLE COMING - ARE YOU INTERESTED - NAME YOUR COUNTRY!

Slip —

Thought you might be interested in these facts — I'm a Communist too!

September 17, 1963

COPY

For The Inquirer

~~FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE~~

I can add nothing to what has been said about the bombings in Birmingham. Eugene Patterson, editor of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, sait it all in his column on Monday following the event. That piece can well stand as another turning point in our history, the foundation for another "New South," in the tradition of another Constitution editor, Henry Grady, who more than a half century ago had a vision for the South.

Mr. Patterson took no refuge in the fact that we have had no such bombings here, as have some spokesmen. I wondered when I read Governor Sanders' comments "in a speech prepared for delivery to the Petroleum Council of Georgia's annual convention at Calloway Gardens" ...I wondered if Governor Sanders knew that no Negroes are allowed to enjoy the advantages of Calloway Gardens. I wondered how he would have felt if he had talked with the high school senior last spring who kep asking if there were any way she could go with her class on the outing...but there was no way because the outing was held at Calloway Gardens and she was a Negro ...she was a Negro first, and before she was a member of the class.

I wonder what some of those who take pride (and justifiable pride when compared to bombings) in our good race relations would have told a young lady who telephoned me recently seeking help in her effort to find a place where she and a traveling companion might eat lunch in Atlanta before starting out on a drive back to Boston where they work. She had attended college in Atlanta, Spelman, and had come back to visit. She had asked several people and had gotten some names of eating places which were thought to have served Negroes under some conditions at some time. At the first place she was asked for identification, then asked her nationality, and when she replied, "American," was told she could not eat there. The second place is one of a national system of motels and restaurants, which has been welcomed as an addition to the community --but she was not welcomed there. When she and her companion went back to a place where they had eaten earlier, they were told that their service had been a mistake, possibly because her companion was white.

I wonder what they would tell the young student who last year wanted to audition for the Atlanta Choral Guild but was told that auditions were not open to Negroes. I wonder what they would tell the businessman who is told he cannot consider leasing space in an office building because some members of his staff are Negro. I wonder what they would tell the children who live in Decatur but who may not take part in programs in the new YMCA there because they are Negro children, or the young lady who wanted to take typing at the Northside YMCA but could not, because she is a Negro ...or the mothers of retarded children who are not included in the program of the Atlanta Association for Retarded Children but who are "free to have one of their own," free to struggle with a smaller group, and fewer resources.

COPY

Racism need not result in violence to be racism. Its is not even racism, for who can define race. It is "colorism," for the determining factor is the skin color which identifies what we call Negro.

Let us be grateful that we have had little violence, but let us recall the words of Whitney Young before the Sibley Committee ..."It is not the absence of violence but the presence of democracy that constitutes good race relations." When Atlanta and Georgia can point to an acceptance of individuals as individuals on their own merit, free to work, to study, to play, to love, as human beings, then we will have cause for pride.

Negroes have asked me what whites thought and whites have asked me what Negroes thought about the marriage of Charlyne Hunter and Walter Stovall. The reactions have been as varied as the persons, on the basis of would it hurt the forward movement of integration or could they bear the burden which society shall impose on them. I can only suppose that this is the marriage of two persons whose love for each other is strong enough to sustain them in spite of the obstacles which they face, a love of such depth as is not found every day and for that reason should be cherished and nurtured, for great love can bring only good to all who are touched by it.

Eliza Paschell

COPY

CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR PUBLICATION

August 27, 1963

During the past two weeks, the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations has made personal and/or telephone inquiries of Greater Atlanta restaurants and hotels regarding their policies about serving Negroes. It is difficult sometimes to get direct answers, sometimes the answer to an inquiry does not coincide with the practice, sometimes policies change from one meal to another.

We of course, did not interview all the restaurants and hotels, of which there are hundreds. However, we did interview all the major downtown places, all those listed in any reports of any "agreements," all those listed in the Atlanta Convention Bureau Visitors Guide, and those listed in the Amusement section of the ATLTANTA CONSTITUTION and the ATLANTA JOURNAL.

> There are less than 12 restaurants which can be said with any reasonable degree of certainty to be desegregated, and only half of these are in the downtown area. There are only 5 motels and hotels which will accept Negroes as individual guests, only 1 of which is in the downtown area, 1 "uptown," 2 near the airport and 1 on the Expressway.

These findings do not fit the image of Atlanta as a desegregated city nor do they support the position of those who argue that change will come voluntarily.

Arrangements for a recent group of Negro guest required hours of interviews with several hotels, and an Atlanta Negro desiring to eat Sunday dinner at a restaurant telephoned 4 places before he found one where he could go to take his wife. African guests at 1 hotel where the coffee shop is closed on Sunday mornings, must send out for breakfast rather than eat at any of the other places in the neighborhood. (The eating places in stores are helpful at lunch time but are not open every evening nor for the entire evening nor on Sunday).

As was true almost a year ago, many of the individuals interviewed agreed that "it is coming," but again, none indicated any plan for the change or any proposed timetable for the change.

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GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

September, 1963

RACIAL DESEGREGATION IN GREATER ATLANTA

From public records, news files, personal experiences and files of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations, the following summary of major steps toward racial desegregation in Greater Atlanta has been compiled. We welcome corrections or additions:

1948: --Negro police hired, but without authority to arrest whites.

1955: --U. S. Federal court ordered city golf courses desegregated.

1958: --Suit filed against Atlanta Board of Education (decision in 1959, effective 1960).

1959: --U. S. Federal Court ordered busses desegregated.
--U. S. Federal Court ordered Georgia State College of Business Administration desegregated.
--Atlanta Public Library admitted Negroes to general use of main library, after discussions between Library Board and citizens.

1960: --U. S. Federal Court ordered Dobbs House, restaurant facility at Airport, desegregated.
--Several Negro bus drivers hired by Atlanta Transit System.
--Biltmore Hotel admitted Negro lawyers to dinner of Bar Association at which Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, was speaker, after citizens notified Secretary Rusk of hotel's segregated policy; other hotels began serving private integrated groups.

1961: --First sit-ins, against stores in downtown Atlanta.
--Atlanta Aldermanic Board repealed ordinance requiring segregation in taxis.
--Sit-ins and boycotts of downtown stores; arrests for sit-ins. Agreement in March to desegregate lunch counters and all facilities in major stores, effective September.
--City of Atlanta public schools desegregated (9 Negro students in 4 high schools, 12th and 11th grades, through pupil placement plan approved by court).
--Georgia Tech admitted first Negro students (3).
--Interstate Commerce Commission ordered desegregation of bus and train terminals.
--YWCA desegregated cafeteria, first downtown eating place.
--New Atlanta Airport opened, all facilities desegregated.
--Most college audiences desegregated.
--City tennis courts closes when Negroes attempted to use them.
--Following 1961 performance in Atlanta, Metropolitan Opera announced it would not play before segregated audience, also Actor's Equity.

1961: --Stouffeur's Restaurants opened desegregated.
--Academy Theater and other private drama groups admitted Negroes to audience.
--Atlanta's Symphony Orchestra audience desegregated.

1962: --U. S. District Court invalidated city ordinances requiring segregation in city parks and public places, and
at public assemblies, in theaters, public halls, and other places of public assembly where admission is for charge or free; ordered city pools desegregated in 1963.
--Downtown and arts movie theaters operated desegregated after Metropolitan Opera performance before desegregated audienc and after meetings with students and citizens groups.
--Peachtree Manor Hotel accepted first Negro guests (ball players) after discussions with citizens groups.
--Agnes Scott College trustees announced acceptance of applications from Negroes effective for 1963-64 term.
--Oglethorpe University announced acceptance of applications from Negroes.
--Emory University requested declaratory judgment from Superior Court which declared that the tax exemption status of the University would not be jeapordized by accepting Negro students; admitted first Negro students in Nursing School.
--Georgia State College admitted first Negro students.
--Negro policemen in Atlanta given right to arrest whites in line of duty.
--Atlanta hired first Negro firemen.
--Atlanta Art School accepted Negro students.
--Archbishop ordered Catholic parochial schools desegregated.
--Chamber of Commerce admitted first Negro member (did not represent change in policy, invitation was sent by mistake; no Negro members admitted since).
--Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority announced policy of considering Negroes for internships, admitted Negro physician to Grady Hospital staff.
--Citizens filed suit for complete desegregation of all facilities of Grady Hospital; also for desegregation of Fulton County Medical Society and Northern Dentist Dental Society.
--Fulton County Medical Soceity voted to remove "white" qualification for membership, accepted Negro members.
--Negroes in DeKalb County attempted to transfer to white schools; Board of Education made no reply to requests to desegregate voluntarily.
--Negro students in Atlanta schools increased to 44 in 9 high schools.
--Superior Court ordered removed "Peyton Wall" and wall on Harlan Road, barriers erected by city of Atlanta, because barriers had been erected as "racial buffers"; "It being unlawful and unconstitutional to legislate in respect of ownership or occupancy of real property on the basis of race or color...the Court holds, that it is illegal and unconstitutional to legislate in respect of use of public streets or portions thereof for the purpose of effecting on the basis of race or color ownership and occupancy of real property and the acquisition or disposition or the market value therof..."
--City Hall desegregated.
--Decatur-DeKalb Library accepted Negro members.
--Negro elected Senator from 38th District (Fulton County).

1963: --One hundred forty-four students in 10 Atlanta high schools.
--Several stores hired Negroes in sales jobs.
--Archbishop ordered Catholic hospitals desegregated.
--Lovett School refused to consider Negro applicant.
--Westminster School refused to test Negro because of no policy of considering applications from Negroes.
--Trinity Presbyterian School accepted Negro students.
--Oglethorpe University accepted Negro student.
--Emory University accepted Negroes in undergraduate, graduate and medical schools.
--Atlanta Speech School accepted Negro student.
--Grady Hospital accepted Negro Intern.
--Smith-Hughes Vocational School desegregated.
--Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce removed "white" qualification for membership; elected Negro as one of 5 "Outstanding Men of Year."
--Northern District Dental Society removed "white" qualification for membership.
--Atlanta city pools desegregated.
--Nine neighborhood and 11 drive-in movies in Greater Atlanta desegregated.
--Two airport hotels desegregated.
--DeKalb Building desegregated.
--State Capitol desegregated.
--Fourteen hotels agreed to accept Negroes as convention delegates, up to certain percentage of total convention group.
--Approximately 30 restaurants agreed privately to desegregate. Day-to-day changes in policy and lack of public information resulted in some "re-segregation", less than 20 now certain.
--DeKalb County Commission adopted policy statement regarding rights of all citizens, states no discrinination in county jobs, reference to race in personnel forms and application blanks removed.
--Decatur City Commission stated no discrimination in city jobs, recreation facilities, excluding swimming pools.
--City of Atlanta changed policy of separate Negro and white civil service registers, to one register.
--Atlanta Constitution and Atlanta Journal eliminated reference to race in Help Wanted and Obituary columns.
--DeKalb Area Trade School accepted applications from Negroes.
--City of Decatur hired Negro Relocation Officer for Urban Renewal.
--South Fulton Hospital (Hill-Burton) opened with policy of permitting Negro physicians to admit and tend patients.
--Increasing number of white churches accept Negro visitors (Negroes denied admission at First Baptist Church. Rev. Ashton Jones, white minister who refused to leave church when refused admittance in company of Negroes, arrested for disturbing divine worship, sentenced to 18 months in prison, 6 months at public works, $1,000 fine, with bond set at $20,000.)
--Steady but slow breakthroughs in employment, stimulated and encouraged by regulations concerning U. S. Government contracts, "selevtive buying" campaigns, and negotiations by citizens groups.

Note: Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, (Presbyterian) has accepted Negro students as far back as their records go.

1963 First trials of Atlanta arrests under anti-trespass law; white student convicted.

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

October 31, 1963

STOP for a minute in your busy and useful life to give thought to the organization of the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

LOOK back for only a second and see the progress of the Council.

COME to the annual meeting and plan for the future.

MAKE 1963 - 1964 the most wonderful year ever.

Annual Meeting

Saturday November 16, 1963

Y.W.C.A.
72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

5 o'clock -- have coffee and chat with your friends

6 o'clock -- business session

7 o'clock -- dinner ($3.00)

SPEAKER Leslie Dunbar, director of the Southern Regional Council:
"GEORGIA AT THE END OF ITS LONG DARK NIGHT"

The Georgia Council depends on YOU, the member, to make decisions.

COME!!

Officers and board members will be elected on November 16, 1963. These people have accepted nomination to be your leaders 1963-1964. Nominations may be made from the floor at the annual meeting provided the consent of the nominee has been received.

The nominating committee submits the following list:

Dr. Lionel Newsom, Chairman
Dr. Newsom has served diligently as vice chairman, is professor of Sociology at Morehouse College, is serving on Governor Sanders' Education Commission.

The Reverend Austin Ford, Vice Chairman
Reverend Ford has served well as a member of the Georgia board, is the rector of St. Bartholomew's Episcopal church, DeKalb County.

Mr. A. J. McClung, Vice Chairman
Mr. McClung has been outstanding in his work as vice chairman of the Georgia Council and in the Council in Columbus, Georgia. He is director of the Columbus Y.M.C.A. and a valued member of the Georgia Civil Rights Committee.

Mr. John Glustrom, Treasurer
Mr. Glustrom has served efficiently and tirelessly for several years as treasurer of the Council. He is a successful Atlanta businessman.

Mrs. Harry V. Richardson, Secretary
Mrs. Richardson has filled an unexpired term as secretary. She is an active worker with many state and local organizations and the wife of the president of the Interdenominational Theological Seminary.

The following nominees are submitted for the first time as members of the board of directors, for a three (3) year term of office.

Mr. Joseph Hendricks, Dean of Men, Mercer University, past chairman of the Macon Council.

Mrs. Arnette Waters, past chairman of the Savannah Council.

Mr. Gerard E. Sherry, editor of the Catholic "Georgia Bulletin".

The Reverend Charles Demere, retiring chairman of the Council.

Rabbi Alfred Goodman, active member of the Columbus Council, Rabbi Temple Israel Congregation.

The Reverend H. W. Shipps, Episcopal minister, Savannah, and an active Albany Council member.

The following nominees have consented to have their names submitted for another three (3) year term of office:

Mr. Donald Hollowell, Atlanta
Dr. Edward K. Weaver, Atlanta
Mr. Gordon Kitchen, Columbus
Mrs. Fred Patterson, Atlanta
Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Decatur
Rev. Samuel W. Williams, Atlanta
Mrs. Prentis Q. Yancey, Atlanta
Miss Rosetta Gardener, Atlanta
Mrs. Stephen May, Atlanta

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1964:

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun, Augusta
Mrs. J. Watkins Dimon, Columbus
Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta
Dr. Richard Hocking, Atlanta
Dr. George E. Clary, Atlanta
Rev. Walter Cowart, Atlanta
Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta
Rev. John A. Middleton, Atlanta
Mr. Lester H. Persells, Atlanta
Mrs. Frederick Robin, Atlanta
Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Atlanta
Mr. William Shields, Atlanta
Dr. E. A. Manley, Atlanta
Mr. L. D. Milton, Atlanta
Dr. Guy Wells, Statesboro

The following board members will continue to serve until fall, 1965:

Mr. Vincent Harding, Atlanta
Mr. Frank Hutchings, Macon
Mrs. Fischer Mosley, Macon
Miss Franziska Boas, Rome
Mrs. Dan Hollums, Atlanta
Mr. Harry Adley, Atlanta
Mrs. C. E. Blythe, Albany
Mr. C. W. Aycock, Rome
Mr. Albert W. Thompson, Columbus
Mrs. J. C. Wilkes, Glynn County
Captain Frank Spencer, Savannah
Mrs. LaConstance Taylor, Macon
Dr. R. B. Young, Milledgeville
Mrs. Sujette Crank, Atlanta
Mrs. Carlton Binns, Atlanta
Mrs. John Shields, Atlanta

Chairman of local councils are voting members of the board of directors:

Atlanta, Mrs. Clifton Hoffman
Columbus, Mr. Albert Thompson
Augusta, Dr. Victor C. Vaughan
Savannah, Mr. John Ralston
Glynn County, Mr. E. T. Rogers
Albany, Dr. E. D. Hamilton
Rome, The Rev. Clarence Tuggle
Rome, Miss Franziska Boas
Macon, The Rev. J. L. Key
Macon, Mr. J. Y. Holloway
Glynn County, The Rev. T. P. Martin

Nominating Committee:

Mrs. P. Q. Yancey, Chairman
Mr. Robert Thompson
Mrs. Suzette Crank
Miss Ruth Gogel

WHERE YOUR MONEY COMES FROM AND HOW IT IS SPENT

October 1, 1962, cash on hand - overdraft of $ 294.00

Income

Grants-in-aid from Southern Regional Council	4,800.00
Memberships	2,796.00
Contributions	17,888.25
New South Subscriptions	164.00
Miscellaneous	570.76
Total	$26,219.01

This is approximately $2,000.00 more than we raised in 1962-1963

Expenditures

October 1, 1963, cash on hand $ 1,287.23

The budget for 1962-1963 was $26,300.00

This budget covers travel, salaries, office expense, printing and mailing. Every contact means a long distance call, a visit, or a letter - all costly. Georgia is the largest state east of the Mississippi. Your staff traveled 18,921 miles within the state during the year.

Anyone wishing to see the audit for the year may contact the office.

WHO IS A MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL

	October 1, 1962	October 1, 1963
Atlanta	476	592
Albany	13	21
Augusta	38	46
Columbus	19	28
Macon	59	75
Rome	64	53
Savannah	66	68
Glynn County	20	33
Members at large, Georgia	50	53
Out of state members		54
Total	805	1023

Contributors without membership - 49.
Members at large live in 30 towns in Georgia.
Increase in memberships 1962-1963 - 218 members.

SMALL MEMORIES

"The small memories of childhood can keep one from bitterness as an adult," suggests Mrs. Olive Snead, principal of a Philadelphia grade school. To prove her point, she tells about the kindergartner, invited for the first time to go home and have supper with a school friend. The children played while the mother fixed the meat and set the table. "Get ready for dinner" she said. The visiting child hesitated. "I'm colored," he announced. "I'm white," the mother replied. "Now let's wash up and sit down to eat." From: "Lets Be Human" - Institute of Human Relations

SUCCESS

A League of Women Voters in a small Georgia city accepted the membership of three Negro women. Results: one resignation; thirty new white members; net membership increase thirty two.

FROM THE AMERICUS JAIL

A young Negro girl was scrubbing the floor of the jail and talking to herself. "See that electric wire and me standing in two inches of water, I'll catch hold of it and get out of this mess." The jailer rushed to stop the threatened act - slipped and fell and as he slid across the wet floor he cried "Freedom".

MILITANT

A 6'10" Negro doorman named John Barrow, wearing a splendid $275 uniform, is now on duty outside the Van Ness showroom of Jim Wessman, the Lincoln dealer. Friday, a Little Old Lady sidled up to him and asked: "What army are you with?" Thinking she was putting him on, John smiled: "Why, the Lincoln army, of course." She wagged her head in dismay. "I'm sympathetic to your cause," she said, "but sometimes you go too far!"
From: A San Francisco Newspaper

Reservation
Mail to:
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place S.E.

Please reserve _____ tickets at $3.00 each for the dinner at the annual meeting. Y.W.C.A. - 72 Edgewood Avenue, N.E. Saturday November 16, 1963.

Signed_____.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY

Summit

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Committee on Appeals for Human Rights

All Citizens Registration Committee

Atlanta Negro Voters League

Operation Bread Basket

Ghandi Youth Society

November 1, 1963

ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY

(Recommendations from the City-Wide Leadership Conference of October 19, 1963)

Published by

Steering Committee

A. T. Walden, Co-chairman	**Clarence D. Coleman,**
John H. Calhoun, Secretary	Co-chairman
Warren R. Cochrane	Jesse Hill, Jr.
James Alexander	Archie Black
Leroy Johnson	B. R. Brazeal
Vernon Jordan	Clinton Warner
Albert M. Davis	Ralph Abernathy
John A. Middleton	Ruth Sturdevant
Q. V. Williamson	Samuel Williams
Larry Fox	Reba Greenwood
Julian Bond	Thomas McPherson
James Forman	Kenneth B. M. Crooks
Tilman C. Cothran	Eliza Paschall
J. D. Grier	Lionel Newson

W. S. Mercer

Prepared by

Editorial Committee

Tilman C. Cothran,	Warren R. Cochrane
Chairman	Larry Fox
Jesse Hill, Jr.	B. R. Brazeal
Eliza Paschall	Samuel Williams

Address all correspondence to ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY, 26 Butler Street, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Printed through the courtesy of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations and the Unitarian Service Committee.

INTRODUCTION

On Saturday, October 19, 1963, at the Interdenominational Theological Center, more than two hundred outstanding leaders of the Atlanta Community met and addressed themselves to the problems of segregation and discrimination still facing Atlanta.

Democracy stands at the point of becoming either the greatest motivating force in the lives of human beings or of going down in history as an ignoble failure of a great experiment in man's search for human happiness. Presently, Atlanta enjoys the enviable opportunity of being in a position to help resuscitate America's soul and to help revitalize the hopes and aspirations of free peoples everywhere. If democracy survives in its battle for the hearts and minds of men, history will speak glowingly of those who dared to initiate programs to make democratic institutions apply to all peoples regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The conference participants believe that Atlanta's race relations image, often proudly used to bolster America's democratic image abroad, needs considerable improvement. In order to enhance the essence of individual dignity, the conference leaders unanimously request the speedy removal of all racial barriers to the full enjoyment of all activities and institutions in this community. This is Atlanta's challenge and Atlanta's opportunity to boost freedom.

We cannot believe that delay is an asset. The time is now! It is impossible to move too fast in providing recognition for the dignity of the human soul; it is not necessary to engage in a long, laborious, and agonizing process of social change in order to provide equality for all people.

We cannot believe that token desegregation represents a noteworthy achievement. Limited desegregation admits the moral impropriety of segregation and prolongs a social situation which is completely unacceptable to Negroes and to other sincere believers in democracy.

We cannot believe that the citizens of Atlanta are content to allow their favorable national and international image to rest upon changes that already have occurred as a consequence of legal, economic, and protest actions. We believe that most of the citizens of Atlanta possess the moral courage to actualize racial equality without delay and without the necessity of overt pressures to effectuate the needed changes.

Since the various aspects of life are so intricately interwoven that lasting change in a limited area of behavior is practically impossible, total desegregation must apply to all areas of community life. We request, therefore, that public officials, leaders in business and industry, the churches, and all others in positions of authority institute immediately total desegregation and meaningful equality in housing, employment, education, political participation, law enforcement, voter registration, health and social services, and public accommodations. Our immediate concerns in each of these facets of life are delineated in the requests that constitute this document.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

A severe blight on the alleged good image of Atlanta

is the continuing refusal on the part of many businessmen to desegregate completely public accommodations for all citizens. Yet, hopefully, we define our city as suitable for major league sports, as ready to produce a world's fair, and as being cosmopolitan in character.

Limited desegregation of hotels, motels, and restaurants as put into effect in Atlanta is an affront to the dignity of Negroes as individual citizens and, thereby, is completely unacceptable to all fair-minded people. Continued segregation in this vital area is based upon an unreasonable allegiance to tradition at a time in history when such allegiance is unnecessary and impractical.

The denial of freedom and equality for all Atlanta citizens in the use of public accommodation facilities cannot be rationalized under the smoke-screen that property rights are being violated. We contend that, morally and legally, the rights of American citizenship, irrespective of race, religion, or national origin, negate the long-standing practice of excluding categorically individual citizens from free access to businesses licensed to serve the public. Democratic principles are oriented toward individual dignity and responsibility rather than toward group membership and responsibility.

Therefore, we strongly request the following:

1. That all public accommodations and facilities, including restaurants, hotels, motels, and recreational facilities, be totally desegregated immediately.
2. That the Atlanta Board of Aldermen pass a Public Accommodations Ordinance guaranteeing human rights to all citizens.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The absence of equal employment opportunities is one of the key problems facing Negroes in Atlanta. Discrimination in employment finds expression through making Negroes the last hired and the first fired, through assigning them to sub-standard jobs, through applying differential wage scales when Negroes and whites engage in the same type of work, through preferential employment of white workers, and through limiting the training and the up-grading of Negro workers. Even Federal Civil Service and State, County, and City Merit Employment utilize various types of subterfuges to prevent Negroes from obtaining many jobs for which they are qualified.

Because of the conditions described above, a Negro's chance of finishing high school is half that of a white's, his chance of finishing college is one third of a white person's chance, and his chance of earning $10,000 a year is one thirtieth of the chance of his white fellow citizens. Other consequences of economic discrimination affecting the Negro are inability to support adequately his family, disproportionate numbers of his children among juvenile delinquents, and large numbers forced to live in substandard housing.

Since these conditions produce intense frustration and discontent and serve to motivate the general Negro protest movements, we call upon all agencies of government — Federal, State, County, and City —, upon all private employers, and upon labor leaders to initiate the following changes:

1. Start positive programs of equality of opportunity in employment, up-grading, and apprenticeship training for all people regardless of race, religion or national origin.
2. Establish machinery in government and private places of employment for the implementation of fair employment practices.
3. Give serious consideration to offsetting the Negro's lack of opportunities for education and training.

HOUSING

Despite rulings of the Georgia and the United States Supreme Courts that racial clauses in real estate dealings are not enforceable and despite the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Atlanta Negroes (39.9 percent of the population) occupy only 16 percent of the residential land area within the city limits. Of the total of 185,816 non-whites in the city, 47 percent live on the Westside.

The Atlanta Housing Authority still operates racially segregated housing projects, separate tenant selection offices for Negro and white applicants, and still has no Negroes employed on the Housing Authority or on the Central Administrative Staff.

Although the majority of public housing units are occupied by Negroes, the Atlanta Housing Authority has 253 Negro applicants approved and waiting and 2,500 more eligible and waiting for approval. There are only 50 white applicants approved and waiting. These data reveal the dramatic need of drastic plans to improve housing for Negroes.

Therefore, we request that the following measures be instituted immediately:

1. Immediate desegregation of all public housing units, with one tenant selection system and assignments made without regard to race, and with the appointment of qualified Negroes to the Central Administrative Staff.
2. Appointment of qualified Negroes to the Atlanta Housing Authority.
3. Immediate desegregation of all facilities built on land acquired under Urban Renewal.
4. A proclamation by the Mayor and an ordinance by the Board of Aldermen declaring open occupancy and pledging the resources of the city to a vigorous program of implementation.

EDUCATION

We recognize education as one of the essential cogs in the engine of democracy. It contributes to the effectiveness of the individual's community participation and to the ultimate achievement of maximum happiness for the greatest number of people.

We further recognize that the complete integration of Negro Americans into the total fabric of American life is dependent upon a quantity and quality of education that is no different from that which is received by any other citizen. In Metropolitan Atlanta, according to 1960 census data, median school years completed by Negroes is only 63 percent of the white median. Equal educational opportunities are unattainable under segregation or under limited desegregation. A totally desegregated school system is the minimal essential in providing quality education for the Negro and white children of Atlanta.

Accordingly, we strongly request the following:

1. That the Atlanta Board of Education develop and implement a plan for the total desegregation of schools in Atlanta. By total desegregation, we refer to administration, clerical and teaching personnel, students, maintenance personnel, special education, and other relevant activities and services not enumerated here.
2. That, in the implementation of the plan to desegregate students, the primary criteria should be availability of space and availability of desired programs of study.
3. That the Atlanta Board of Education plan and institute immediately in-service training programs in inter-group relations for administrators, specialists, and teachers.

REGISTRATION AND VOTING

The most important single privilege of the individual citizen in a democracy is the right to register, to vote, and to have his vote counted without distinction based on color, religion, or national origin. While Georgia's voter registration laws and the administration of these laws in Fulton County are relatively liberal, there are inherent in the registration procedures certain subtle and practical obstacles which severely restrict the registration of the working people in which the bulk of Negroes fall.

Since Negroes suffer from the adverse effects of long years of systematic deprivation, denial, and isolation from the mainstream of community life, and since the masses of Negroes and many white people are engaged in confining daytime jobs, we recommend to the Fulton County Commissioners, the Fulton County Manager, the Fulton County Personnel Director, and other concerned officials that the following changes be made:

1. Take the necessary steps for instituting and maintaining a system of registration that will permit citizens to register at night as well as during the daytime hours.
2. Institute a program of neighborhood registration away from the Fulton County Court House for the convenience of the citizens of the County. This may be accomplished in cooperation with local civic groups.
3. Develop a coordinated program of citizenship education particularly in the use of voting machines and printed ballots.
4. Support a registration system requiring age and residence as the only valid qualifications for registration.
5. Employ qualified Negroes on the staff in the Registration Office.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

Negroes in Atlanta are being denied health and welfare services because of race. Segregation is practiced in the administration of public and private hospitals (staff and patients), in the administration of public and private social service programs and institutions, and in programs of special care and education.

According to information secured from admission offices of hospitals in the area, there are 1,937 beds available (in 13 hospitals) for white paying patients and 467 beds available (in 6 hospitals) for Negro paying patients. Hill-Burton facilities serve Negroes on a segregated basis, with specific quotas of beds set aside for Negro patients. The state-operated Georgian Clinic has forty beds for white alcoholics, none for Negroes.

The recent report of the Community Council of Atlanta, Inc., entitled "Atlanta's People," shows that of those persons living in the census tracts with both the lowest socio-economic and housing indexes, 81 percent are non-white.

Since the problems of health affect Negroes and whites alike, we make and seek immediate implementation of the following:

1. Complete and immediate desegregation of services and staffs in all public health facilities, including Grady Hospital, and of all health facilities and programs which receive public funds.
2. Removal of racial restrictions from any agency receiving funds from the United Appeal.
3. Denial of approval by the Atlanta Fund Appeals Board of community-wide financial campaigns for funds to support programs which restrict services or employment by race.
4. Increased representation of Negroes on policymaking bodies of health and social service agencies.
5. Appointment of qualified Negroes to state boards which set up policies for health and welfare services and professions.
6. Legislation to prohibit restricting health and social services by race.

POLITICAL ISSUES

Negroes are interested in all matters which affect the welfare of the City, the County, the State, and the Nation and are anxious to make their maximum contribution to the common weal.

We think that it is only fair to acknowledge with appreciation the fact that the concept of total inclusion and participation of all segments of our citizenry in many important areas of public affairs has made some progress toward fulfillment.

However, in view of the complexity and urgency of the community problems still awaiting solution, it is imperative that there shall be an acceleration in the efforts to assure the participation of the entire citizenry in arriving at solutions to these problems. We wish to maintain Atlanta's good image and to magnify it in order that it may become a shining symbol of democracy in action for the rest of the Nation and the world.

It is not too much to request that Negroes be given representation on all boards, commissions, and agencies appointed by City, County, State, and Federal officials to handle the people's business.

Specifically, we request the following:

1. That Negroes be appointed to the Jury Commission and that they be used in larger numbers on petit and grand jury panels.
2. That Negro lawyers be appointed to the staffs of City and County Attorneys.
3. That Negroes be appointed to all governmental agencies and boards wherein policies are made.
4. That Negroes be appointed to judgeships on the Municipal and Traffic Courts.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The impartial enforcement of the law is the bulwark of protection for the individual citizen and for society. Therefore, we pledge an allegiance to the observance of the law of the land.

The badge of authority, which adorns the breast of the law officer, should be recognized as the symbol of the majesty of the law rather than as the shield behind which undeserved immunity may be sought by officers who overtly have abused their authority. When the law is not enforced fairly, Negroes and, to a lesser extent, poor whites are the victims.

We deplore the law, custom, and practice which sanction the taking of the life of a misdemeanor suspect who is seeking to escape or evade arrest. No law officer should be permitted to be the arresting officer, the complaining witness, the prosecuting officer, the jury, and the executioner when the maximum punishment would not have exceeded twelve months on the chain gang.

We therefore request:

1. That a public defender be provided in all the criminal courts for indigent defendants.
2. That the prison laws and administration be revised to the extent that equal, if not greater, emphasis be placed upon the rehabilitation of the miscreant rather than upon punishment.
3. That the Aldermanic Police Committee of the City of Atlanta take appropriate steps to discipline those officers who abuse persons in their custody.
4. That there be equality of assignment of duties to prisoners working out sentences.
5. That there be total desegregation in penal and correctional institutions.
6. That Negroes be appointed in larger numbers as Probation and Police Officers.
7. That misdemeanor first offenders be placed on probation and not be incarcerated with hardened criminals.

We believe that the foregoing objectives and requests are reasonable, proper, and valid and that we ask only those things which are possessed already by other citizens as a matter of course.

We would prefer, by far, to attain these objectives through cooperative action rather than through conflict. Thus, in order to achieve justice for all Atlanta citizens, we appeal to the basic integrity and good will of the leaders of this City and hope that the "good name" of Atlanta will continue to shine throughout the Nation and the world.

While these requests are addressed to City, County, State, and Federal officials, and to all other persons in positions of formal and informal authority and influence, we do not overlook our responsibility as leaders. We pledge our unswerving support to all persons who are willing to join with us in the task of securing and consolidating these rights; we dedicate our efforts to working with members of the Negro community in order to develop a sympathetic understanding of the problems involved in rapid social change and in the creation of a climate of peace and good will with malice toward none.

This document represents the composite thinking and action of more than two-hundred leaders representing eighty-two different organizations.

Housing

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303 Telephone: 523-1581

Chairman: Mr. Morgan Stanford Editor: Mrs. Betty Vinson

January, 1964

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A Community Clinic on

HOUSING, HUMAN RELATIONS AND METROPOLITAN GROWTH

Monday, February 3, 1964, YMCA, 22 Butler Street, N.E., 8-10 p.m.

What are the present Housing needs of Greater Atlanta?
What are the projected Housing needs?
How do we plan to meet these needs?
Is race a factor in these plans?
What about open occupancy...restrictive covenants...federal regulations... local regulations...zoning?
Where do the Real Estate Boards fit in? What regulations do they have?
Do Housing needs and practices in one part of the metropolitan area affect other parts of the area?
How have other metropolitan areas solved these problems?
What does the Atlanta Housing Coordinator do?

Speakers will include

Mr. Glenn Bennett, Ex. Director, Atlanta Region Metropolitan Planning Comm.
2 representatives of the U.S. Housing & Home Financy Agency (FHA, Urban League, Public Housing, etc.)
Mr. Arthur Burdett, Jr., of the Atlanta Real Estate Board
The Empire Realty Board
Atlanta Urban League...and others...

They will give the facts so that

YOU AND OTHER CITIZENS
can intelligently consider the question

"How Does Greater Atlanta want to meet its Housing needs?"

****

IF YOU'D LIKE TO ATTEND A THEATER PARTY FOR COUNCIL MEMBERS AND FRIENDS AT THE ACADEMY THEATER OR THE POCKET THEATER, CONTACT THE OFFICE FOR DETAILS.

The following is taken from the document ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY:

HOUSING

"Despite rulings of the Georgia and the United States Supreme Courts that racial clauses in real estate dealings are not enforceable and despite the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Atlanta Negroes (39.9% of the population) occupy only 16% of the residential land area within the city limits. Of the total of 185,816 non-whites in the city, 47% live on the Westside.

"The Atlanta Housing Authority still operates racially segregated housing projects, separate tenant selection offices for Negro and white applicants, and still has no Negroes employed on the Housing Authority or on the Central Administrative Staff.

"Although the majority of public housing units are occupied by Negroes, the Atlanta Housing Authority has 253 Negro applicants approved and waiting and 2,500 more eligible and waiting for approval. There are only 50 white applicants approved and waiting. These data reveal the dramatic need of drastic plans to improve housing for Negroes.

"Therefore, we request that the following measures be instituted immediately:

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2. Appointment of qualified Negroes to the Atlanta Housing Authority.

3. Immediate desegregation of all facilities built on land acquired under Urban Renewal.

4. A proclamation by the Mayor and an ordinance by the Board of Aldermen declaring open occupancy and pledging the resources of the city to a vigorous program of implementation."

The members of the Housing Committee for the Summit Leadership Conference are: Mr. Q. V. Williamson, Mrs. Isabella Webster, Mrs. Ruth Sturdivant and Mr. Robert Thompson (Resource Advisor). The Atlanta Coordinating Committee's Housing member is Alderman Rodney Cook.

There is no progress reported to date on Housing negotiations. We shall hope for some by February 3, 1964.

GENERAL HOUSING INFORMATION

Following are responses to inquiries from the Council's Housing Committee:

1. Mr. Glenn E. Bennett, Executive Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission stated in a letter of December 24, 1963:

"...I know of no planning and zoning regulations governing the sale and rental of property to Negroes..."

2. Mr. Hubert Jackson, Chief Intergroup Relations Section of the Public Housing Administration sent the following:

"The Greater Atlanta area encompasses the following ten local Housing Housing Authorities: Acworth, Atlanta, College Park, Decatur, DeKalb County, East Point, Fairburn, Forest Park, Marietta and McDonough...

"The area has 8,535 low-rent public housing units now in occupancy... 5,546...occupied by non-white families and 2,989 by white families. There are 125 units for non-white occupancy under construction.

"There are 3,318 programmed units now in the pre-construction stage...1,154 designated for non-white occupancy and 720 for white occupancy. The remaining 1,444 units were programmed after November 20, 1962, the date of the President's Executive Order which provided non-discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color. They will, therefore, operate under a policy of open occupancy.

"As to projects under contract prior to the issuance of the Executive Order, the various local housing authorities exercise complete authority in determining occupancy policies. Desegregation of public housing units not covered by the Executive Order should be discussed with the local housing authorities concerned."

3. In response to inquiry to the Federal National Mortgage Association--Housing and Home Finance Agency, Mr. Frank H. Greer, Agency Manager, wrote:

"...the activities of this Association with reference to the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing are conducted in such manner as to fully conform with the terms of the Presidential Executive Order. To be more specific, in conducting the activities of this Association, no consideration is given with respect to the race, creed or color of a proposed or firm mortgagor..."

****

Urban Renewal Projects: There are six (6) in Atlanta and one (1) each in East Point, Decatur, DeKalb County and Marietta.

PUBLIC HOUSING UNITS

LOCALITY	EXISTING PROJECTS TOTAL UNITS	EXISTING PROJECTS NW	EXISTING PROJECTS W	PRE-CONSTRUCTION TOTAL UNITS	PRE-CONSTRUCTION NW	PRE-CONSTRUCTION W	PRE-CONSTRUCTION UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER	UNDER CONSTRUCTION
Acworth	58	12	46					
Atlanta	7494	4955	2539	1500	1000	500	1000	
College Park				174	154	20		
Decatur	200	200					88	
DeKalb County							200	
East Point	200	100	200	150		150		
Fairburn	24	10	14					
Forest Park							134	
Marietta	527	245	282	50		50	22	125 (NW)
McDonough	32	24	8					
10	8535	5546	2989	1874	1154	720	1444	125 (NW)

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia Telephone: 523-1581

APR 7 1964

YOU ARE ALL WELCOME...Laws and customs change from day to day, sometimes from hour to hour. There are degrees of "segregation" and "desegregation" -- "segregated" may mean no Negroes or it may mean Negroes and whites segregated within the same facility. It is customary to make changes in racial policies without public announcement, which is at times necessary and desirable. This does make it difficult, however, for those affected to secure accurate information. Periodically the COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA compiles a list of places which as far as we can determine, are open to all. We welcome additions and corrections. This list is accurate as of April 7, 1964, to the best of our knowledge. We have omitted those places where Negroes may have been served but where the management stated that the policy is not certain.

EATING PLACES

YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood & Ivy
YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie St.
Stouffeur's, Downstairs Merchandise Mart
Top O' the Mart (also Stouffeur's)
Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies (all branches)
Sears-Roebuck & Co. (all lunch counters in all stores)
H. L. Green
Kress (Broad and Peachtree)
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
Franklin Simon's (lunch counters and restaurant)
Walgreen's (all have been given instructions to serve everyone)
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Emory University Food Service Center
Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's Italian Restaurant (Piedmont Road)
Johnny Reb's (Forsyth, W. Peachtree and Roosevelt Highway)
Crossroads (but not on Stewart Avenue)
Seven Steers (downtown-691 Peachtree St.)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S&W
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Foods (Luckie, Marietta, Pryor and Forsyth Streets)
Town House (Forsyth Street)
Escoe's Restaurant (2143 Peachtree Rd.)
The Golden Palm (Atlanta Americana)

Eating Places, Cont'd.

Hank and Jerry's (1006 Peachtree)
The Riviera (1630 Peachtree St.)
Dobbs House (all locations)
Shoney's Big Boy (all locations)
The Tiki
Fisherman's Wharf
Golden Goddess (Dinkler Plaza)
Red Velvet (Atlanta Americana)
Room at the Top (Atlanta Americana)
Wit's End
Rendezvous (Atlanta Biltmore)*
Oak Room (Piedmont)*

MOST HOTELS AND MOTELS WILL ARRANGE PRIVATE INTERRACIAL PARTIES

*Will serve Negroes who are registered guests.

HOTELS

Air Host Inn
Atlanta Americana Motor Hotel
Atlantan Hotel
Atlanta Biltmore
Atlanta Cabana
Dinkler Plaza
Holiday Inn
Hilton Inn
Howard Johnson's Motor Lodges
Peachtree Manor
Piedmont Hotel
Riviera Hotel
Marriott Motor Hotel

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Atlanta Choral Guild
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library (all branches
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All City of Atlanta owned and operated facilities
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding pools

DOWNTOWN MOVIES

Fox
Rialto
Roxy
Rhodes
Peachtree Art
Loew's

LEGITIMATE THEATERS

Pocket
Academy (including Shakespeare Festival)

NEIGHBORHOOD MOVIES

Gordon
Emory
Lenox Square
Cherokee
Hilan
Plaza
Atlantic
Techwood

DRIVE-INS

Bolton
Fulton Blvd.
Glenwood
Peachtree
Piedmont
South Expressway
Steward
Thunderbird
Starlight
Scott

STONE MOUNTAIN

All facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)

HOSPITALS

DeKalb General, South Fulton, Kennestone and Aidmore provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. Grady's emergency clinics, ambulances and operating rooms are integrated; other services are still segregated. St. Joseph's is integrated. Emory University's Hospital accepts Negro patients referred by physicians who are members of the hospital staff.

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists, Quaker House. Most others are open to visitors, but policies vary with individual churches.

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area.
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial Schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital X-ray And Technical Schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta, of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Democratic Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Republican Party organizations of DeKalb and Fulton Counties
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and the ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service.

File

Atlanta

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta

JUNE 1964

NEWSLETTER

5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303 Telephone: 523-1581

Dark and cold we may be, but this
Is no winter now. The frozen misery
Of centuries breaks, cracks, begins to move;
The thunder is the thunder of the floes,
The thaw, the flood, the upstart Spring.
Thank God our time in now when wrong
Comes up to face us everywhere,
Never to leave us till we take
The longest stride of soul men ever took.
Affairs are now soul size.
.....Christopher Fry.....

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"A February 26, 1964 memo from the President of the National Association for Retarded Children on the subject of "Non-Discriminatory Declaration" reports a resolution of the National Convention "reaffirming our pledge to promote the welfare of all mentally retarded", which represented minimum requirements set by the United States Civil Service Commissioner, which any agency must meet in order to receive support from the Federal Service Campaign-National Health Agencies.

THE COUNCIL QUESTIONS POLICY OF THE ATLANTA ASSOCIATION for RETARDED CHILDREN

The memorandum states:

"In order for each state and local association to be certified for eligibility to participate in the Federal Service Campaign-National Health Agencies (which is the fund-raising effort by federal employees among their co-workers, it will be necessary for them to adopt a similar declaration embodying all the essential points in the NARC resolution. Kindly forward to the NARC Fund Raising Department a copy of the resolution passed by your state and local association."

In order to facilitate access of these facilities to all without regard to race, we would appreciate answers to the following questions:

1. What is the procedure for joining the Atlanta Association for Retarded Children?
2. What is the procedure for applying for admission for a child to Fairhaven School in order that his eligibility might be determined?
3. What is the procedure for applying for admission to the Bobby Dodd Workshop in order that an individual's eligibility might be determined?
4. What is the procedure for applying for services at the Vocational Appraisal Clinic, which, we understand, is operated jointly by the AARC and the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation of the Georgia Department of Education?"

...excerpt from the Council's letter...

Unacknowledged letters have been directed to the Director of the ATLANTA ASSOCIATION for RETARDED, the 18 members of the Advisory Committee, one to the President. The letters inquired about admission policies of Fairhaven, the Bobby Dodd Workshop and a teenage cooperation with the Division of Vocational Education. None of these at present admit Negroes. They, we feel, might if any Negro could find out how to apply. President of the AARC is Mr. Middleton Fitzsimmons, 2912 Normandy Drive, N. W. The Director is Dr. Theresa Hite. Committee members: The Honorable Ivan Allen Jr., Mr. C. B. Dodd, Mr. E. A. Forio, Mr. Norman Elasa, Mr. O. T. Brewer, Sr., Mr. Favers Daves, Bishop A. J. Moore, The Rev. J. W. Leahy, The Rev. J. R. Haynes, Mr. W. J. Carter, Dr. J. W. Letson, Mr. Floyd McDowell, Mr. James Mackay and Mr. Ashton Albert.

ABOUT ATLANTA

White Atlanta college students took time out from pre-exam rush to canvass eating places in the downtown areas bounded by Forsyth, Broad, Whitehall, Pryor, and Central Avenue. Of the 25 visited, which included primarily "short order" places, only two said an unequivocal "yes" when asked if they served Negroes. The others serve Negroes reservedly. Reasons for refusing to serve include --

The public is not ready.

If God wanted us to eat together, He'd have made us alike.

We just aren't niggers so we don't serve them. We'll serve them takeouts.

Several gave economic reasons and stated that when others around them serve Negroes, they will too!

****

When stopped for an alleged traffic violation by Policeman #1484 A. K.Tyler, Mrs. Mary Jackson, wife of Dr. William S. Jackson, Dean of the School of Social Work, Atlanta university, was called "Mary" by the officer. However, it must be added that when Mrs. Jackson took him to task regarding the use of her first name, the officer did apologize.

****

Several complaints have been received from local Negroes regarding the Sewing Lessons at the Singer Sewing Machine Center. It appears the classes are still segregated - although Singer lists itself as being an equal opportunity employer. This complaint has been passed on to the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference.

****

Grady Hospital integregated its Pediatrics Out-Patient Clinic and announces that all student nurses will take courses at Georgia state next year. The wards are still segregated.

****

ATLANTA SUMMIT CONFERENCE MEETING
June 6, 1964. ALLEN TEMPLE CHURCH
3:00 PM. All are welcome.

Five Council members called on Mayor Allen to discuss problems of better information about job and training opportunities open to all.

****

60 Negro transfer students as guests of the Sinclair Jacobs Fellowship Fund, met at the YWCA May 9th and informally discussed their experiences of the year. The students attended the YWCA Youth Department workshop on "Understanding Our Differences. The most unpleasant experiences occurred at the school with the most transfer students MURPHY HIGH!

****

A detailed documentary account of the events leading to last winter's demostrations, the demonstrations, and subsequent legal events has been prepared by the Council from official records--eyewitness accounts, personal observations, and news reports. This 35 page booklet will be available to members for 50¢ and to non-member for $1.00.

****

Mr. Sam Massell, Jr., President of the Board of Alderman of Atlanta, at the request of the Council's Board, visited the May Board Meeting. Mr. Mr. Massell described some of the plans of the Special Committee on Human Relations of the U. S. Conference of Mayors.

****

Happy Haven Home for indigent Negroes was granted $158,000 Hill-Burton Funds for the construction of a new 150-bed hospital. The community must match the $158.000. Mrs. Benjamin E. Mays Director of the Board of the home, welcomes all contributions to this necessary social effort.

****

The Council thanks the eight ministers who visited Tom Tolog while he was in Fulton County Jail.

****

The Atlanta School of Social Work, Atlanta University, has accepted the Council as a Placement Agency for field work. This will begin September 1, 1964.

****

"Our task now is not to fix the blame for the past but to fix a course for the future. We must use time as a tool not a couch".

JOHN F. KENNEDY

File

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Robert Carey, Executive Director April, 1965

NEWSLETTER

Hello out there! Just a note to say that we are still doing business at the same old stand. Things have geen changing these past few months and weeks, but lest there be any confusion we just wanted to drop you a note to say that we have been busy. New thoughts and ideas are on the horizon; but more on this later. Right now we'd just like to share some news with you.

In the area of employment

We have been involved in problems and the solution and/or discussion with the following:

Holy Family Hospital
Ivan Allen Company
I-T-E Circuit Breaker
Associated Transport
Ford Motor
Grady Hospital (in co-operation with the Numicipal and County Employees union)
Labor Depatrment (in co-operation with the Alliance for Social, Political, and Economic Progress and by ourselves)
Job Corps (working in co-operation with the WAOK Council of women to distribute Job Corps applications which we received at our office.)

Job Opportunities, a program done in co-operation with WAOK and supervised very abely by Mrs. Wendy Shulman, has of course, continued to make job information available to the community. While we have no way of knowing how many people are helped by this, we have at least a rough idea from the number of calls we get that the program does have an effect in and on the community.

In the area of housing

Mrs. Stanley reports to me that all is progressing nicely in the Druid Hills-Emory area. I'm sure you are all familiar by now with the location of Druid Hills. For a time last November it was a target. Now it has reverted to its normal topography. A committee is meeting regularly and as I have been given to understand, action is a possibility in the near future. Quiet--but effective.

On other fronts, the Council is working with other groups in the West End area in the attempt to maintain avenues of dialogue, avenues that hopefully will go into the larger community and bring a new and vital self-understanding into an area that is beginning to disintegrate.

Not unrelated to all of this is the Council's involvement with a Vine City Research Project, a project that is grappling with community self-understanding as well as the very real and sometimes overwhelmingly depressing physical problems of life in one of Atlanta's most depressed areas.

Other program notes

The Panel of Americans has been more active this year than in the past. After a very successful training session at ITC, the Panel was prepared to act when called. Thus far the Panel has taken part in programs at the YWCA (both the Edgewood and Phyllis Wheatley branch), Georgia State College, churches on Ponce de Leon, in Marietta, and Sandy Springs. One of our most recent programs was at Trinity High School in Decatur, where we shared a very lively exchange with the Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Renfro. We have also met with students from Georgia Tech.

The Panel has been active in other ways: individual members have been active in the Vine City Research Project.

****

HEY!!! WAKE UP!!!! LISTEN!!!!!

If you know of a group or are part of a group that would welcome some forthright, lively discussion about "The Problem," i.e., you and me, please call the office and we will arrange for a group of Panelists to be there.

****

Further midrash and things

The Council is also working with Operation Dialogue, an on-going program to deepen and enrich communication between all sorts of interesting persons. Here again, as with the Panel, if you know of a situation where this needed or wanted, don't hesitate to call. (523- 1581) We haven't moved.

ALSO!! PLEASE NOTE. WRITE THIS DOWN, EVEN.

If you want to become part of the Operation Dialogue send in your name. Part of the program is an on-going training program which helps people learn how to lead conversation in new and wonderful ways.

Parting shots and asides

Don't think that education has been forgotten. But we are spreading things around and next time education will have its shot. If all goes well, we will be sponsoring a pre-school center for kids in Vine City under the title of Operation Headstart, an incredibly blatant kind of title but one that has the virtue of making a point.

Some thoughts are being kicked around about the topic of curriculum, particularly about history. Sounds cryptic doesn't it? Well, more on this later. As a teaser though, look into a history book that is used in our public school system. Are there any Negro cowboys? How many Chinese doctors? Think about it. Is it, after all is said and done, a big white wonderful world we live in?

A final thought for your consideration

As you may know the Atlanta Council is now organizationally separate from the Georgia Council. This is the result of action on the part of the Georgia Board at their meeting in March. We note this in passing rather than with alarm, it being our feeling that much is to be done, and that hopefully such action as the Georgia Council has thaken will provide a context for meaningful and fruitful co-operation. In this spirit therefore, we invite you once again to view calmly and searchingly the multitude of problems before us; join in and act. We intend to keep on.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH ST.. N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SAC
Rec'd Nov. 12, 1965

November 10, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

COPY

Dear Paul,

First, my congratulations on the recent grant to the Southern Regional Council. It bodes well for the south.

You were kind enough to mention to me some of the programs which you will undertake and urge us to use the Southern Regional Council's consultants, etc. But I wonder if we could apply for direct grants for any of our projects, for example, in community organization? You spoke encouragingly of the possibility of substantial help with the Citizens Information and Assistance Bureaus, and though we still hope and expect some EOA support for this, we would not want it to be an all EOA financed affair.

Should we take any formal action now to apply for Southern Regional Council support, beyond the "shoestring" which you have already offered? Could we contract to do some of SRC's field work in Atlanta? In research perhaps we could perform services such as clipping local newspapers, which we already do much of for ourselves, routinely extracting Board of Education minutes (which we receive regularly), Community Council reports, MPC reports, etc. I feel sure there must be duplication of our efforts in this area and it would be mutally beneficial, seems to us, to combine our resources. Finally, Al spoke of the possibility of student projects for next summer. We would certainly like to contract for some of these in the Atlanta area.

I know there must be lots of details still to be worked out, but I would appreciate some general indication of your reaction to these four (4) things:

1. Citizens Information and Assistance Bureau;

2. Special projects, such as community organization and special publications such as "Citizens Manual" for newly gegistered voters re the 1966 elections; some special communities conferences on employment, etc.;

3. Research - including material on the Atlanta area to fit into your research and some special Atlanta reports - e.g., local supplements to Southern Regional Council reports of schools and justice;

4. Student projects.

Sincerely,

E.P.

(Mrs.) Eliza K. Paschall
Executive Director

EKP/ag

cc: Mr. Morgan Stanford
Mr. Al Ulmer
Mr. Sam Adams

COPY

File Rec'd 12/6/66

Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N. W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; 523-1581

We invite your attention to the following report on apprenticeship and training programs in metropolitan Atlanta; recommendations to U. S. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and reply; and a chart showing apprentice programs current in Atlanta as of August, 1966.

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INFORMATION ON APPRENTICESHIP AND TRAINING PROGRAMS IN METROPOLITAN ATLANTA AND RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING SAME

The concern of the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta in the field of training and employment is that existing programs be equally available to Negroes and whites and the existing programs be adequate for those in need of training and/or jobs. Our function has been chiefly that of information and communication, particularly where eligibility policies have changed.

We assume that an opportunity cannot be said to exist for someone if that individual does not know about it and we have concentrated on obtaining accurate information about training and job openings and distributing this to individuals who might be eligible and to those who advise and counsel on training and employment. It is in this setting that we sought information on apprenticeship training programs in the metropolitan Atlanta area, and it is for this purpose that the report was compiled.

Almost more important that the facts on the programs, however, is the fact of the difficulty of obtaining such information. In 1963 the Council for similar reasons collected information on apprenticeship programs, and it was necessary for someone to go to the Regional Office of the U. S. Dept. of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training in Atlanta and copy from records there the names and address of the persons to contact for each of the programs approved for the area, and then to contact each of these individually for information on the program.

The situation in 1966 is the same. Because we know the people now, it was possible to telephone and ask for a list to be sent to us, but still there is no one office which maintains for general distribution a listing of approved apprentice programs for the Atlanta area, with information for each such as eligibility, application procedure, etc. Only within the last months were we told there is one person on the staff of the Georgia State Employment Service who keeps current information on the programs in the Atlanta area - we were told that the particular individual assigned to this had changed recently and we were told to "call the Employment Service". After talking with four different people there, we found one person who said he knew about the programs for which GSES gives the test and he would mail us that list. After ten (10) days we have received a list which is not the same as the U. S. Dept. of Labor. The volunteer Council worker who made the individual contacts found that in several cases, the person in charge had changed. In some cases as many as twelve (12) calls were required before the proper person was found. In one instance, it was necessary to wait for a person to return from a hospital confinement.

The new one-stop Federal Information Center worker was not familiar with apprentice programs and did not connect them with the U. S. Dept. of Labor.

The reasons given for this lack of information and coordination are the same which had been given in 1963. It was pointed out that the Labor Department "acts as a consultant only, they contribute no money, have no supervisory power; can only encourage". Their legal obligation for informing those who might be interested is to inform the state school superintendent and the director of the state employment service. In Atlanta the assistant regional director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training does carry on a one man effort to inform high school students, principals and counselor, but obviously this cannot be a regular part of a regional job, and he reports not enough clerical staff to provide regular lists.

The apprentice programs are in the hands of Joint Apprenticeship Committees (JACs) composed of representatives of labor and management. There does not appear to be any arena where the general public can share the responsibility and the initiative for these programs. There are fourteen (14) programs registered with the Bureau of Apprenticeship training for metro Atlanta. (The 1963 list had 10). (The Dept. of Labor says there are 350 apprenticeable occupations in 102 trades). Most of these programs do not have a specific number to be recruited for each year's class, therefore it is difficult to tell if these programs are meeting Atlanta need. The number to be admitted is usually decided at the monthly meeting of the JAC, depending on the job situation. One of those which does give a number is the Electrical JAC, which enrolls approximately twenty-five (25) new apprentices each year. The Georgia Skill Study, prepared for the Georgia Department of Labor in 1962-63 predicted a need for 1253 new electricians to be trained to meet the needs of Atlanta industry for the 1962-67 five years period.

Recent legislation permits the establishment of Apprentices Information Centers, which could not only give facts, but become a base of operation for Apprentice-related activities. The Centers are operated under the auspices of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, but require the agreement and cooperation of management and labor. Reports as to why such a Center has not been established in Atlanta vary. Some say labor turned it down, some labor leaders (including the President of the Atlanta Labor Council) say they have never been called on to act on it; others that it was not explained clearly and that they believe it should be reconsidered.

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This lack of information and coordination is by no means unique with the apprenticeship program. Unfortunately it reflects a lack of information and coordination of the many and varied training and employment programs. Efforts to establish metropolitan Atlanta community-wide coordinating body for planning and evaluating so far have failed. The Georgia State Employment Service, which administers the MDTA program, has a state-wide advisory committee, which meets on call and which also serves for the metropolitan Atlanta area. (We obtained a list which contains the names of the state committee, but no addresses or identification - when we asked for addresses in order to be able to mail material to them we were told to mail it to the Employment Security Director who would decide if it is suitable.)

U. S. Department of Labor bulletins have recommended a local Manpower Advisory Committee appointed by the Employment Service as part of the manpower Develop-

ment and Training Act program (MDTA) but none has ever been appointed for metropolitan Atlanta, although Mayor Ivan Allen only recently retired as one of the public representatives on the National Manpower Advisory Committee.

When it was suggested to Mayor Allen in 1963 that a local Manpower Committee be appointed, he indicated that initiation of such a committee was not a function of the Mayor's office.

On January 2, 1964 a meeting on Training was called by the Atlanta Coordinating Committee, which had been appointed by Mayor Allen in response to the creation of the Summit Leadership Conference. The meeting was attended by representatives of state and federal agencies, labor management and civic organizations. Again the desirability of a community-wide committee was agreed upon, but there was no answer to the questions of who should initiate such, and who should pay for any expenses incurred.

A report of the Council on Human Relations dated January 14, 1964 records an interview with the Supervisor of Community Employment Programs of Georgia Dept. of Labor who replied "yes" to the question "would it be good to have a community-wide committee?" The next question was "who would appoint such" and the answer was "we would. We're working on that now".

There is still no metropolitan committee, and indeed according to the Employment and Service Board there appears to be no one in charge of the services of the Employment Service in the metropolitan area. When an interviewer asked to speak to the person in charge of the Atlanta area, she was told that there is no one person, that it varies with each program. Most of these programs are cooperative programs with the U. S. Dept. of Labor and as such come under the general supervision of the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, but any coordination at present seems to be primarily at the national level. In the Regional Office of the Labor Dept. in Atlanta, as in other Regional Labor Dept. offices, there is no Regional Director, but a Regional Committee made up of the heads of the various bureaus with a rotating chairman.

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The latest recommendation for a coordinating committee or council comes from the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights. The report of the Council which planned the June 1-2 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights made a series of recommendations, the first of which is "Establish Metrpolitan Jobs Councils in all Major Urban Areas to Plan, Coordinate and Implement Local Programs to Increase Jobs". The recommendation is restated "What should be done": "Metropolitan Jobs Councils should be established in each major urban area with a substantial Negro Population. With urgent support from the highest levels of the national government, the initiative in establishing such councils should be taken promptly in all major cities of the United States".

The part of the picture which is still missing is WHO is to take the initiative and even more important, at whose initiative will other groups

respond, so that the Jobs Council includes those actually involved in Manpower programs rather than those who comment on manpower programs. TO WHOM is such a Council to be accountable and WHAT CONTROLS could it or should it exert over the "job system" of the community?

The apprentice training picture in Atlanta illustrates clearly the need for coordination and stimulation of more efforts. It illustrates just as clearly the present diffusion of responsibility and authority and the resulting confusion for those for whose benefit the programs are being developed.

There is now a new President's Committee on Manpower Coordination. Secretary of Labor Wirtz is Chairman and the members include heads of most departments and agencies of the executive branch of the U. S. Government. Hopefully coordination on this level will be reflected in regional and local levels.

We respectfully urge Secretary of Labor Wirtz (1) to direct appropriate persons in his own department to take the initiative in establishing adequate community councils which the general public can then hold accountable for protecting the public interest in this important area of training and employment; (2) to make sure that the offices established for these purposes are staffed with adequate office personnel to enable the public to reap the benefits of the efforts of the professional personnel, and (3) to use his good offices to initiate another effort to establish an Apprentice Information Center in Atlanta.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH DEPT. OF LABOR:

The Hon. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are taking the liberty of sending to you the attached report on the experiences of our organization in obtaining information about apprentice and other training programs in the Atlanta area, with three recommendations for your attention at the end of the report.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Mrs. John W. Stanley
Chairman

Enclosure"

'U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
Washington, D. C. 20210

October 17, 1966

Mrs. John W. Stanley
Council on Human Relations
of Greater Atlanta, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Stanley:

Your recent letter to the Secretary of Labor, W. Willard Wirtz, has been referred to me for reply.

I share with you a great concern for the implementation of the recommendation of the White House Conference "To Fulfill these Rights" that Metropolitan Job Councils be established. I feel that support for such a proposed organization must be generated at the local level if it is to be effective because of the very nature of such a program. Each community has its own unique problem.

The Department of Labor stands ready to lend any possible assistance to asure that all qualified persons share equally in available training and job opportunities.

It is good to know of your appreciation of the kind of value an Apprenticeship Information Center would have for the City of Atlanta.

However, Congress has not appropriated funds specifically for Apprenticeship Information Centers for fiscal year 1967. Funds previously appropriated have all been committed and numerous cities such as your own are also interested in having a Center. The interest in economy in government operations will probably influence any decision as to the future of the Centers.

I wish to commend you for exercising such initiative and resourcefulness which you have so ably demonstrated in securing and disseminating information on job opportunities in your area.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ George W. Sabo
Acting Administrator"

Compiled by - Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N.W., 523-1581

APPRENTICE PROGRAMS IN ATLANTA AREA REGISTERED WITH U.S. DEPT. OF LABOR

TRADE	CLASSES BEGIN & WHEN APPLY	ELIGIBILITY	WHERE APPLY	MAKEUP OF JAC*
1. Electrical	July by April 30	18-24 yrs. old or 28 if vet., eqiv. of h.s. ed., copy of birth cert., pass apt. test at GSEO & interview by comm.	Rm. 137, 195 P'-tree or GSEO, Mr. Walter Griffith, Coordinator	3 labor & 3 management
2. Ironworkers	When there is a need for ironworkers	18-30 yrs. old, h.s. ed., pass apt. test at GESO & interviewed by Comm.	1014 Edgewood Ave. Mr. Ben Lorry, Coordinator	
3. Painters	Anytime	18-24 yrs. old, h.s. ed., equiv. interviewed by Comm.	With coordinator Mr. J.J. Webb, 263 Casson St., 373-1463	3 & 3
4. Bricklayers	every 3 by 15th of month previous month	17-24 yrs. old, no ed. requirements	121 Memorial Dr., S.W., Mr. Elmer Holden or St. Labor Bldg. (Trinity)	3 & 3
5. Sheet Metal	September Jun-Aug.	18-26 yrs. old, h.e. ed., pass math & apt. test at GSEO, & interviewed by C.	250 Tenth St., N.E., or St. Empl. Office 873-3706	3 & 3
6. Plumbing & Pipefitting	February January September Summer	18-25 yrs. old. pass apt. test at GSEO, h.s. ed. pass math test at JAC, & interviewed by Comm.	GSEO: Mr. Curtis Green, Training Dir., 200 Mech. Inst. 742 Ponce De Leon St., Atlanta	4 & 4

*Joint Apprenticeship Committee

Cont'd 2

TRADE	CLASSES BEGIN-WHEN APPLY	ELIGIBILITY	WHERE APPLY	MAKEUP OF JAC
7. Carpenters	Apply anytime	18-24 yrs. old unless vet., h.s. ed. or equiv. pass apt. test at GSEO, interview by Comm.	Carpenters Union 250 Tenth St., N.E., Mr. Charles Ingraham, Dir. c/o Flagler Co., 305 Techwood Dr., N.W.	3 & 3
8. Printers (Pressmen & Compositors)	Apply anytime	H.s. ed., 19-25; or equiv. apt. test at GSEO, screened by Comm.	Printing Industry of Atl. 881 Piedmont Ave., Mr. Baker 873-1805;apply with Printing Co.	
9. Machinists (Capitol City Machine Shop - pvt. industry	Apply anytime	H.s., el.	Capitol City Machine Shop 301 Pryor St., S.W. Mr. W. H. Strickland; 522-7739	
10. Lathers	Apply Mon. & Wed. 6:30 p.m. at JAC, as they need them, always keeping ratio on apprentice to 5 journeymen (?)	8th grade, apt. test; 18-24	158½ Auburn Ave., N.E., Mr. H.N. Bowen, Inst., Mr. Alexander Jackson, Bus. (525-4478)	
11. Natl. Biscuit Co. Machinists	Pvt. Co. training program for machine shop Apply anytime	18-30; h.s. ed and/ or vocational sch. or work exp.	Apply with Co., screened by Comm. Mr. Vinson, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Turner, Natl. Bis. Co., Mfg. Plant, 1400 Murphey Ave. S.W., (758-7461)	
12. Roofers	Apply anytime	No special requirements	JAC, Mr. Larry Shields, 208 Red Rock Bldg., 688-2543	
13. Lockheed-Ga.	Apply anytime	19-26; h.s. ed. dip. pass test battery; strong in math; intview by subcomt., screened by full comm.	Mr. H.H. Mann, Apprentice training Coordinator, Lock-Ga., Dept., 89-01, Marietta (424-2782)	
14. Plasters & Cement Masons	Apply anytime	18-26; familiar with construction work	Mr. E.C. Couch, 60 Haynes St., 525-1233	

"I speak...for the Dignity of Man... It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others."

President Lyndon B. Johnson

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS of Greater Atlanta, Inc.

To insure the blessings of equality of rights and opportunities --

1. Individuals must have adequate access to services due them;

2. Groups of citizens must be able to organize effectively for their own improvement;

3. Each group within the total community must understand each other sufficiently to act for the common good.

The tax-supported and other established agencies can operate effectively only if lines of communication are firmly established on a person-to-person basis. The Human Relations Council, unencumbered and independent, is in a unique position to serve the greater Atlanta Community in this capacity.

5 FORSYTH ST., N.W., ATLANTA 30303

Tel: 523-1581

WE PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES FOR 1966:

1. Citizens Information Service - to provide informal but reliable answers to individual's questions, in centers neighborhood-based and operated, easily accessible, open at convenient hours, supplementing and complementing the more professional and sophisticated services such as EOA.

Locations and volunteers to be secured through cooperating local groups, such as WAOK Council of Women, Vine City Improvement Association, etc.; coordination and over-all direction by Human Relations Council.

2. Training and Employment Projects - to ensure that persons in need of and eligible for training and jobs have information and motivation at the proper time to take advantage of new opportunities. We will continue current information on apprenticeship training programs, MDTA program, on-the-job training, vocational school schedules, etc.; job announcements on WAOK to spread the word of new opportunities and to encourage persons to try them; explore conditions of household employment; encourage declarations of equal employment opportunity by business and other elite groups.

3. Housing Programs on Freedom of Choice and Standards - Adequate housing and freedom of choice for citizens of all income levels require re-examination of organization and policies of public bodies and real estate boards; efforts to help neighborhood organizations maintain decent standards; continuing education of the community for fair housing practices.

4. Civil Rights Compliance - by informal handling of reports of violations of the letter and spirit of civil rights law. Metropolitan Atlanta has no official human relations or civil rights agency on any level of government. We will continue to receive and deal with individual complaints and keep in touch with government agencies concerned.

5. Consulting and Resource Services - to neighborhood organizations such as the Vine City Improvement Association, which is cooperating with the Citizens Information Service and has requested the Human Relations Council to coordinate its program planning and use of volunteers.

6. Continued cooperation with Other Community Groups - particularly the Summit Leadership Conference, in efforts to effect integration.

7. Panel of Americans - and other programs designed specifically for youth.

8. Community Education - regular newsletter, special reports and meetings.

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc., interracial and non-sectarian, is an independent membership organization, non-profit and tax exempt, which has operated in the Atlanta area under one name or another since the 1920's, carrying on programs to eliminate racial segregation and increase interracial understanding and respect. Cooperated with the Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Since 1961, the Unitarian Unversalist Service Committee (formerly the Unitarian Service Committee, Inc.) has made possible the employment of an Executive Director.

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Officers and Directors for 1966: (elected by members) Mrs. John W. Stanley, Chairman; Mr. Zenas Sears, 1st Vice-Chairman; Mr. Thomas McPherson, Jr., 2nd Vice-Chairman; Miss Glenda Briscoe, Secretary; Mr. Jon Johnston, Treasurer; The Rev. Joseph Boone, Mr. Harry Boyte, Mrs. Philip Brachman, Mr. J. Otis Cochran, Dr. William S. Jackson, Mr. Sinclair Jacobs, Mr. A. V. Jett, Mrs. Fred Lanoue, Mr. Jerry Levine, Miss Norah McNiven, Mrs. Sara P. Mitchell, Mr. Wiley Montague, The Rev. Eugene Pickett, Mr. Morgan Stanford, Mr. Al Ulmer, The Rev. Samuel W. Williams, The Hon. Q. V. Williamson, Mrs. Clifford Wilson, Mr. James R. Woods, Mrs. P. Q. Yancey.

Nominating Committee: Mr. Hubert Jackson, Chairman; Mrs. Clifton Hoffman, Mr. Thomas McPherson.

Program Highlights 1961-65

Speakers: Ralph Bunche; Andrew Hatcher, Asst. Press Sec. to President Kennedy; Pedro Sanjuan, Special Protocol Services of the U. S. State Dept.; U. S. District Attorney for North Georgia District; Atlanta participants in White House Conference on Civil Rights.

Publications: Periodic lists of desegregated facilities; monthly newsletter of civil rights developments; Equal Employment Opportunity stickers; special report on Atlanta: "Protest and Progress, 1964"; publication of "Action for Democracy", Summit Leadership Conference document.

Desegregation: First breakthrough in hotels - Biltmore dining room; neighborhood movies; transportation and information for students applying for first school transfers; white observers in parks and swimming pools after desegregation; tutors for Transfer Students; certificates of appreciation to first year Transfer Students; visitors for civil rights demonstrators in local jails.

Special Arrangements: for foreign students at all Atlanta colleges prior to establishment of Atlanta Foreign Student Bureau; for foreign visitors from U. S. State Dept. prior to establishment of Atlanta International Visitors Committee.

Student Council on Human Relations: First group representing all Atlanta colleges, before student bodies were integrated.

The Council of Human Relations acknowledges the part played by many other groups in the furtherance of human relations in the Greater Atlanta area.

NON-PROFIT ORG.
BULK RATE
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Council on Human Relations
of Greater Atlanta
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Janet Shortt

Jan 1966

We invite you to support the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta.

Most organizations have increased their dues as costs have increased. As you know, no membership pays for itself, but the Board of the Council feels it important to broaden rather than restrict the economic base of the Council, even to the point where those who can afford only $1.00 can afford membership in the Council. This will work, however, only if those who can afford more than $10.00 give more.

Please fill out and return to COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA, INC., 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

For support of human relations programs in Greater Atlanta in 1966,
I pledge $_____ per month; to be paid _____; check enclosed for $_____

Name:_____ Date:_____

Address:_____ Phone:_____

Contributions are tax deductible and make you a voting member of the Council.

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA, INC.

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia #30303 Telephone: 523-1581

Chairman: Mrs. John W. Stanley Mrs. Eliza Paschall, Exec. Dir.

Mrs. Daisy W. Adley, Editor

JANUARY, 1966

We hope this reaches you in time for you to attend a community meeting which we were invited from Washington to arrange, on very short notice.

Wednesday, February 2, 2:30 P.M., Architects & Engineers Institute, 230 Spring N.W. to hear Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr and senior staff members of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission discuss administration of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

Our congratulations to Donald Hollowell, former Council Board member, on his appointment as Regional Director of EEOC.

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Wednesday, February 9, 10:30 A.M. Southern Regional Council Conference Room - Mr. Ben Segal of the EEOC staff, will meet with Council Employment Committee to work out plans for cooperation. Contact the Office if you are interested.

****

Red pencil MONDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 8:00 P.M. General membership meeting, Pershing Point Bank of Georgia, 1430 W. Peachtree N.W, entrance in back.

*"THE MOYNIHAM REPORT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ATLANTA"

Discussants will include; Dr. Tilman Cothran, Atlanta U. Professor of Sociology, on leave to serve as Associate Administrator for Program of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, and former Council Board member. Dr. William S. Jackson, Dean of Atlanta U. School of Social Work and Council Board member.

*Title of the report is "The Negro Family - The Case for National Action".

****

Red pencil Monday, March 7, 1966, 10:30 A.M. - 1:00 P.M. There will be an Urban Renewal tour for Council members as guests of the Atlanta Citizens Advisory Committee for Urban Renewal.

Please contact office for reservations as quickly as possible because space will be limited.

The tour will convene at the Landmark Apartments, 10:00 A.M. The Landmark is located at 215 Piedmont Ave. NE. A box lunch will be provided courtesy of the Committee.

Cont'd on Page 2.

SOCIAL SUCCESS: Our thanks to Mr. & Mrs. Q. V. Williamson for opening their home for the most successful party honoring newly-elected officials on January 14. We were sorry that due to space, invitations had to be limited to paid members and officials.

****

THANKS TO MR. SARGENT SHRIVER: For the nice comment in reply to Council letter regarding incident involving VISTA volunteers - "We are aware of the fine work that the Council on Human Relations is conducting in Atlanta, and throughout the South, to foster social progress and eradicate conditions of poverty."

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THE ATLANTA INQUIRER has invited the Council to have regular weekly column in the paper.

****

REPORT ON ANNUAL MEETING, November 30, 1965:

1. Report of Nominating Committee, as reported in last Newsletter, adopted.
2. Resolution pledging support to Georgia Dept. of Family & Children Services for maximum standards for new child care centers.
3. Resolution of appreciation to Mayor Allen and the Atlanta CONSTITUTION for efforts for better housing.
4. Resolution of appreciation to retiring Council Board members.
5. Business session recessed, to reconvene at call of Board, for organization and finance matters, pending resolution of certain conditions.
6. Program of reports on Kirkwood, Vine City, Decatur, and Mechanicsville, by residents of the areas.

****

WE REGRET: That Miss Amanda Gibson, who kept our office going these past twelve months, has resigned due to ill health. We thank her for her great contribution to the Council and wish her well.

****

UPON REQUEST: We will be glad to send copies of a letter from Dr. Cothran outlining steps in submitting a program proposal to ECA.

****

COUNCIL HELP ASKED:

By National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, in study they are doing for OEO, Washington, in four cities, of ways to expand housing opportunities.

By the Vine City Improvement Association, to coordinate program planning and use of volunteers.

By Radio Station WACK Council of Women, to cooperate in establishing Citizens Information Services in several areas.

PLEASE NOTE: The enclosed statement on dues!

Have a good year and look forward to seeing you on February 28th.

Summary of .....

CITIZENS INFORMATION SERVICE

WHAT? Reliable, easily accessible information for the individual citizen, particularly of low income, on private and public, city, county, state and federal services available; information will be as answer to individual questions and also as general facts to encourage the use of new and changing services, such as Medicare, veteran services, training opportunities, planned parenthood, social security, scholarships, public utilities, libraries, loans, legal codes, parks, cultural services, etc.; to supplement and complement EOA services.

HOW? Through neighborhood based centers, staffed by local people, operated during hours when local people decide they need them, not "Nine to Five and Closed on Saturdays" as are most agencies serving the public.

WHERE? In any neighborhood where there is a place available and a local group interested in the service, primarily but not restricted to low income areas.

WHY? Living in cities has become so complex and the services available so specialized that those who know enough to use them are least likely to need them. Information vital to their being is rarely absorbed by those in the dull orbit of poverty.

There are many reasons why this is so ... The absence of friendly "local advocates" or those perceived by the poor or by the average citizen to be one of themselves; years of buck passing which have created a referral cycle, blunting persistence, initiative and self-respect, transportation and telephone costs from agency to agency to seek advice and help; fear of rejection or disappointment developed over years of discrimination in services.

WHO? Will be served? Anyone who comes for information.

Will serve? Volunteers, primarily from the neighborhood served, recruited through the local co-sponsoring group such as the Vine

City Improvement Association and units of the WAOK Council of Women, trained by the Council on Human Relations. Other overall administrative staff and coordinating responsibilities will be handled by the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, through a central committee, including representatives from areas served, those who perform the services and communication specialists.

WHEN? The program is moving ahead in several pilot areas. A basic information manual is being compiled and a basic training program developed.

IS IT NEEDED? "I understand that the board of directors and members of the WAOK Council of Women have expressed great interest for this much needed project."

"The Atlanta Branch, NAACP, endorses fully the program which the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations has developed...the people for whom the program is intended have confidence in the ..Council.. and its leadership."

"The Vine City Improvement Association is glad to work with you in developing this service at the Community House."

The above are a few reactions to the proposed service.

****

If you are interested in a Citizens Information Service in your neighborhood or in volunteering to work in one, contact the:

Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Room 207
Atlanta, Georgia 30303 Telephone: 523-1581

January, 1966.

2/10/66

Eliza Paschal -

See page 1 and 6 of society section. Perhaps you can take over to Journal-Constitution and see if you can't influence them to do similar coverage of Negro weddings, etc., in Atlanta.

Sam Adams

RE: spreads in the St. Pete Times on Negro weddings and article on nursery school children (Negro) at Palmetto center for pre-schoolers.

File

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS OF GREATER ATLANTA, INC.
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 532-1581
September 8, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc., an interracial voluntary membership organization dedicated to equal opportunity for all people in the Atlanta area, today deplored Tuesday's violence but charged that no one group, including SNCC can be held responsible for the disturbances in Atlanta and that the basic responsibility lies with Atlanta's lack of concern over miserable conditions in slum areas.

In a lengthy statement the Council spells out the deficiences in the city and county and warns that the elimination of one man or one organization is not the solution. They point out that the authorities cannot fail to be aware of the grievances of the residents of the troubled area and claim that only by default on the part of the community can any outside group gain control of the destiny of Atlanta. Instead, the Council concludes, Atlanta must face the bitter truth that only by a highly expensive and comprehensive rehabilitation program can the threat of further violence be eliminated.

Statement issued by Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 523-1581
September 8, 1966

The Atlanta community - Negro and white - will be making a sad mistake if it writes off Tuesday's disturbances in the southside as a plot of outside agitators, to be dealt with by replenishing the police department's supply of tear gas.

Whatever the immediate causes, the incident was another in a long series of warnings, that poverty and segregation breed conditions which cannot be solved through the personal courage of the mayor or the competence of the police to handle riots, neither of which has ever been in question.

An editorial comment on Tuesday's incident says "the trouble followed the damagogic pattern the country has come to recognize since this is no longer one of those peculiar southern problems".

Unfortunately the pattern is tragically familiar - slums, unemployment, poor schools, continued segregation and a police incident to spark it.

Tuesday's violence by whatever name is regrettable and the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta joins other citizens in the hope that it will not happen again. We also hope that the city will make full use of the courts to deal with any individuals or groups in the community whom they know to be perpetrators of violence but that at the same time it will intensify its efforts to alleviate the social and physical blight which inevitably results in such unfortunate incidents.

This incident has been repeatedly described as a riot. There appear to be as many different definitions of "riot" as there were spectators at the scene on Tuesday, numbers of whom say that it was not a riot. There was no looting, no shooting, no battles. Perhaps this was due to the competence of the police in preventing a riot for which they deserve the same praise as for stopping one. One newspaper reported that "by 4:20 p.m., the point at which the disturbance turned into a riot".. without any explanation of what happened at 4:20 to turn the disturbance into a riot. We urge the Police Committee of the Board of Alderman to prepare and make public a complete report of events as they occured so that they can be evaluated calmly and objectively. The question might be raised as to whether it was necessary to shoot in a residential neighborhood in themiddle of the afternoon to serve a warrant on a robbery suspect. Any charge of police brutality should be carefully considered, regardless of any brutality displayed towards the police. Whether charges of police brutality prove to be accurate or not, the fear of it is a real factor in the conditions which make for riots.

The community might well take this as an opportunity to examine and evaluate the entire police recruitment and training programs and the capability of the city to perform the required police function with the present level of the police budget.

As much as we deplore violence in any circumstances, the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta does <u>not</u> accept the explanation that "SNCC members were directly responsible for Tuesday's rioting".

SNCC members are not responsible for the conditions under which Atlanta citizens live in the Summerhill and Mechanicsville area.

SNCC members were not responsible for threat of rent strikes in that area a year ago.

SNCC members were not responsible for street demonstrations in the area during the summer.

SNCC members are not responsible for people living in houses which the housing code finds unfit for human habitation.

SNCC members are not responsible for children attending school half a day, in a building scheduled for repairs in the 1963 bond issue but which was by-passed.

SNCC members are not responsible for parking space for 4,000 cars in the middle of an area which has no parks for children to play in (and to whom the income derived from the stadium is very remote).

SNCC members are not responsible for the recent incident in that same neighborhood involving police officers and the wife of a ballteam member, an incident which, rightly or wrongly, has been described by "responsible Negroes" as a white wash of the police department.

SNCC members are not responsible for the policies of the Atlanta Housing Authority which makes public housing unavailable to many residents of this and other areas in dire need of decent housing.

SNCC members are not responsible for the fact that there is no Negro on the mayor's staff, or in any high position in a department of the city government.

SNCC members are not responsible for the increasing disparity between employment opportunities for whites and Negroes and the fact that present training programs are hopelessly inadequate to close this gap.

SNCC members are not responsible for maximum welfare grants which do not permit families dependent upon them to live in decency and dignity.

SNCC members are not responsible for the fact that there is no public agency in any of the governments of metropolitan Atlanta with a continuing and professional responsibility in human relations and civil rights.

SNCC members are not responsible for the fact that the leadership of metropolitan Atlanta has refused to acknowledge that these problem require continuing, professional attention, but has acted only in response to crises with emergency measures and has continually placed upon the aggrieved groups the burden not only of raising the questions but also of suggesting the answers.

To ask residents of the southside now to list their grievances in the first place contradicts the theory that "SNCC members are directly responsible", but more important it ignores the wearying succession of meetings and surveys and petitions of residents of that area and of other citizens during the past months.

Such a request ignores the authoritative report of The Community Council of the Atlanta Area, Inc., on this and other blighted areas.

It ignores the efforts of the Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta and neighborhood civic groups which resulted in the establishment of the Southside Day Care Center and other programs.

It ignores the surveys and recommendations made by the various EOA citizen committees, before and after the establishment of the EOA Neighborhood Center.

It ignores the requests of neighborhood leaders before the Atlanta Housing Authority and the Citizens Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal.

It ignores repeated statements before the Atlanta Board of Education by parents of the area.

It ignores the findings and recommendations of the Commission on Crime and Delinquency.

It ignores the continuous recommendations of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference since its organization in 1963.

We make no claims that the solution to the problems are simple. The solutions are complicated and costly. They require changes throughout the entire metropolitan Atlanta area, and they do not lie in Summerhill or in the SNCC office.

As each of us has had a part in creating the problems, so each of us must bear a part of the burden of solving them.

Responsibility for dealing with these matters does not lie with "Negro leadership" or with "white leadership". It lies with "community leadership". These affairs are too complicated and too important to the future of the entire community to be dealt with by any racially or economically determined segment.

They will continue to plague us all until we admit that we are all equally involved. Only by our own default will any outside group gain control of the destiny of Atlanta.

File

COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
OF GREATER ATLANTA

Statement distribute at meetingon July 11, 1966 at Cosmopolitan AME church, 105 Vine St., N. W., Rev. C. J. Jones, Pastor, Mrs. Ozella Smith is president.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION:

We the Citizens of the Vine City Community would like for the City of Atlanta and the General Public to know that we did not oppose the federal grant for a project to w ork with juvenile delinquents in our neighborhood. Rather, we endorsed the grant and the project.

Only after talking with representatives of the Vine City Council did we become somewhat leary. We wanted to know, since the organization was relatively new, who the officers were and what the proposed procedure was for adcquring a staff. When asked these questions, Mr. Black, who spoke for the Vine City Council, said that the organization "has no president only two chairman", who run the Vine City Council. A few minutes later Mr. Willie Williams came into the meeting and gave the name of the president, vice-president and treasurer after being asked the same question. This is where we got whiff of a bad smell. We called it "discrepancies in the organizational structure". Thus we moved to have the Nash-Washington Center Advisory Council supervise the grant and the program so the project might go on. We futher suggested that Mr. Black be continued as a part of the project. He is also a member of the Advisory Council of the Nash-Washington EOA Center.

We thought the general public should know that the Vine City Improvement Association had made requests and applications to the City Recreation Department for play lots in Vine City many months ago. The Mayor toured Vine City and called the heads of various departments together along with the Aldermanic Board to see what could be done to improve conditions in the Vine City area. Part of the conclusion was as follows: to clean the streets and sponsor a clean-up campaign to encourage home-owners and landlords to bring their property up to par. The City goverment s tated its intent to move forward as rapidly as possible in this neighborhood as well as in other neglected parts of our city. Mr. Black knew all of this, but he got a group of teen-agers and small children sprinkled with a few adults and started blocking the streets and protesting. He (Mr. Black) knew furthe r that the play lots were forthcoming when he started his group demonstrations.

The street and sidewalk improvements are not a Vine City Council project. It is a Vine City Improvement Association project and neither Mr. Black nor any other one person is responsible. It took group effort to get petitions signed by home-owners and landlords. Mr. Black just worked with other members of the neighborhood in this joint project.

We thought you might like to know that the 65 to 0 vote of confidence received by Mr. Black reported in an article carried by the Atlanta Constitution by Mr. Bill Shipp is erroneous. Who repres nted the Vine City Council at this meeting of the Vine City Improvement Association? Mr. Black was present with approximately a half dozen adults. The others were minors-two-thirds of them between 7 and 9 years old and the rest in their early or middle teens. These of course are too young to vote in anything but a youth organiztion. However, they had been "branwashed". When Mr. Black spoke they cheered and applauded. When someone attempted to speak who was undesireable to Mr. Black and the Vine City Council, they "boo-ed" and shouted them down.

It is reported that tension is very high in Vine City. But it's strange that only one man seeks to keep everybody else believing this is so. Every time it is reported in the paper or heard on the radio or seen on TV, it is always tied in with Mr. Black. If a riot comes, somebody will have had to build enough momentum to kick it off. There is only one person in Vine City who is always staging demonstrations or protest marches. That person is Mr. Black. He stages them after he finds out about already planned improvements so that he can tell people that he is responsible for the improvements.

We do not endorse the statement "black power". Nor do we want "white power". We want a voice in determining the sort of government, national and local, by which we are to be governed. We want a voice in determining who will represent us in that government. Since this is a government of the people, by the people and for the people, we want full participation in it.

If emphasis is put upon the individual and not upon the state, let us through the democratic process dignify the individual by helping him to dignify his community. Vine City is not divided, but there are those who would have the public think so. The people in Vine City are not worse than people, elsewhere. There are some homes that are beautiful inside and out. There are some solid citizens in Vine City; in fact, Vine City has produced some of the best citizens of our city.

The aims of the Vine City Improvement Association are:

1. Getting people registered and voting.

2. Additional programs for youth.

3. Increased participation in job training.

4. Improved housing though clean-up campaigns and the demolition of unoccupied houses that are rundown and dangerous.

5. Strengthening the family institution.

We need the City officials to lend a hand in helping us to help ourselves.

The Vine City Improvement Association

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL
ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 FORSYTH ST.. N. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Toward a Fair

and

Balanced View

Sometimes we are so close to a problem that it is difficult to see it calmly and clearly. And yet, it is often these very problems which we must try hardest to view without passion since we alone, as those directly concerned, can frankly work them out. The points and suggestions raised below represent the effort of a group of Southerners to bring at least a degree of calmness and clarity to a problem in human relations which, for too long, has been left in the hands of agitators and extremists. If some of the questions raised below touch the minds and consciences of our fellow Southerners, perhaps at least the first step will be taken toward easing the fear and hostility which disturbs us all.

1. Do White Southerners Have A Right To Be Judged As Individuals?

There is hardly a corner of modern Georgia which could not offer the finest human examples to disprove the old picture of the white Southerner as a shiftless, prejudice-ridden "Tobacco-Roader". Yet, one of the greatest hindrances to understanding and progress is the persistence of the belief that most Southerners are race-baiting bigots with a Bible in one hand and a gun in the other.

Suggestion: We might try discovering and giving due credit to the words and deeds of white Southerners which make for a truly Christian relation between Negroes and whites. We might further try to see that such positive stories get as much display and attention as are provided for stories of interracial strife and tension.

2. Do Negro Southerners Have A Right To Be Judged As Individuals?

Surely no fair-minded, thinking person would suggest that Atlanta-born concert artist Mattiwilda Dobbs, or Ralph Bunche deserves to be automatically branded as unintelligent, immoral, lazy, low-calibre — simply on the basis of color. And yet, this kind of judgment, and worse, is being made about thousands of hard-working, upright Negroes in Georgia and throughout the South. It happens every time we say, "Negroes are no good — they're all alike," or "Know one Negro and you know them all".

Suggestion: We might begin by asking ourselves how many Negroes, other than our servants or the criminals we read about, we actually know in our own communi-

ties. We might try to discover the positive contributions which Negro citizens have made and are making to our state and to the world. We might try hard to see each Negro with whom we come in contact — as each of us wants to be seen — as a separate and distinct human being.

3. Will Name-Calling And Hatred Improve Health Standards Or Lower The Crime Rate Among Negroes Or Any Other Group In The South?

It is unfortunate, but true, that those farthest down on the social and financial ladder generally have the poorest overall health record and the highest crime rate. Like the question of educational standards, these are serious matters. Too serious to be left in the hands of those who are interested only in converting them into easy headlines, or votes, or racial violence. Sooner or later we have to decide whether we are satisfied to publish figures, point accusing fingers, and blame all our unsolved problems on "an inferior race", . . . or whether we are just and reasonable enough to dig down to the roots of our troubles and begin working them out harmoniously.

Suggestion: We might try to find why fewer Negroes die when adequate hospital facilities exist, or how more Georgia-born Negro doctors can be induced to return to our Georgia towns to practice, or what lesson is to be found in the differences between crime and literacy rates which exist between Negro Southerners living in our worst slums and rural shacks, and those whose living conditions are more nearly adequate.

4. In The Long Run, Will It Really Help Us Or Our Children To Make Ours A State In Which Only One Opinion Is Permitted On Certain Questions?

Unless Hitler and Stalin were right, and Jefferson and Washington were wrong, free men have nothing to fear from the open expression of conflicting opinions. By the same token, we endanger ourselves and the hearts and minds of our children when we permit only the ideas that a dominant majority, or minority, wants to hear. The danger signs are already up in too many of our Southern communities. If in the future, there are still states in which American children and adults can act and think independently without fear of economic pressure, threats or force — then the children, white as well as black, whose parents have chosen the other road for them may grow up to find themselves crippled in a way none of us would like to see.

Suggestion: We might try to exercise, or at least to permit, the basic American "freedom to disagree" in the church, or club, or lodge to which we belong. We might try to encourage our newspapers, our political organizations to insure a fair hearing even to those with whom we disagree. Finally, we might, once in a while, speak up for what we ourselves feel to be right — even at the risk of somebody's coolness or displeasure. For no matter how we appear to others, there remains the inner looking glass, and beyond that, the eye of God.

* * * * * * * *

IF YOU SHOULD LIKE TO COMMENT ON, DISAGREE WITH, DISCUSS FURTHER ANY OF THE POINTS OR SUGGESTIONS RAISED ABOVE, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH THE *GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS,* 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

COMMITTEE ON APPEAL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
Post Office Box 202
AtlantaUniversity Center
Atlanta14, Georgia

AN APPEAL [redacted]

Atlanta has set the example of good will in many areas of our city. Let's keep Atlanta a place where people want to live and where people outside Atlanta want to visit.

Three years ago, 500 students were arrested in Atlanta when they tried to buy meals at eating places which are licensed as PUBLIC PLACES of Business. They were refused service because they were Negroes and when they refused to leave the premises, were arrested for trespassing, under a Georgia state law passed that same year.

Since that time, many merchants have opened their service facilities of their stores, including eating places, to all customers. One new restaurant and two hotels have opened their doors to all regardless of race or color.

We have waited patiently now for three years for some indication from the restaurant operators that they have plans for changing their policy of not serving Negroes. The general attitude has been that they have no objections to Negro customers , but that their white customers would object. We cannot believe that citizens of accsmopolitan center like Atlanta, who travel to all parts of the world and welcome visitors from all parts of the world, want this situation to continue or would object to service to Negroes on the same basis as service to whites.

We appeal to the fair-minded people of Atlanta to express to individual restaurant operators to the Restaurant Association, the Chamber of Commerce and to city officials their conviction that public places of business should not grant service to some and deny it to others on the basis of skin color, and that they themselves, as individual customers, would regard desegregation of restaurants as a happy combination of good business and true Americanism.

We make a special appeal to the city officials who grant the licenses for these places to do business to lend their efforts to make Atlanta a truly progressive city.

If you would like to help your city, won't you mail the statement below to Mr. Ralph Moore; the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights: P.O. Box 202, Atlanta University Center, Atlanta14, Georgia.

I earnestly recommend that all the restaurants in Atlanta admit people to their places of business without regard to color.

Signed: _____

Integrationists Set Big Atlanta Drive

An Atlanta civil rights group announced it is launching a new and more intensive attack on racial segregation in the city with massive demonstrations, civil disobedience, fasting and tougher terms of negotiation.

Ralph Moore, a past chairman of the Committee on Appeal for Human Right, warned of "massive demonstrations" and said 800-900 persons already are available for mass street sit-ins.

Spokesmen for the committee said at a press conference late Monday afternoon it has become necessary to resort to such measures because city and business officials are dragging their feet and "Uncle Tom Negroes have infiltrated the freedom movement."

THE PRESS CONFERENCE announcements came shortly after 13 white and Negro demonstrators were sentenced to 34 days each in Municipal Traffic Court on charges of blocking traffic and disorderly conduct - disturbance. The charges stemmed from a demonstration last Friday in front of segregated Leb's Restaurant when the 13 persons sat down in the intersection of Forsyth and Luckie streets and blocked traffic for several minutes.

Larry Fox, Negro student chairman of the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, attended the demonstrators' trial, then called a press conference immediately after their conviction.

He said the 13 prisoners refused the choice of paying a $34 fine each and instead have pledged to fast during their 34 days in jail. The actions of the demonstrators, he said, "have formally given notice that we are going to keep trying to desegregate Atlanta."

HE SAID, "We will continue street demonstrations until the situation has been remedied, until segregation has been eliminated in Atlanta."

Mr. Moore said demonstrations will be focused on Leb's Restaurant and on City Hall—Leb's because it is a "symbol" of continuing segregation in the private sector of the economy, and City Hall because qualified Negroes cannot obtain employment there.

He said, "Just replacing a white employe leaving City Hall with a Negro is not fast enough. We need corrective action."

Asked if this meant firing some white persons so that more Negroes could get on the payroll, Mr. Moore smiled and remarked, "I didn't say that. I said we need corrective action."

HE DID ASSERT, however, that Negroes should be employed in city government in the same ratio as their percentage in the general population.

He praised Mayor Allen for his support of President Kennedy's proposed public accommodations law but added the mayor still "has not exhausted his moral influence" in helping Atlanta Negroes to "achieve first-class citizenship."

"Since small, nonviolent demonstrations have been ineffective," he continued, "we're going to involve as many people in Atlanta now as we can." He said his organization was now able to marshal 800-900 demonstrators.

HE SAID, "Uncle Tom Negroes have infiltrated" the committee.

Mr. Fox pointed out, "In the past three years, some people who are not interested in the student movement have tried to infiltrate and water down our action."

He said attempts are being made to oust "the Uncle Tom types." He repeatedly declined to identify by name those members of the Atlanta Negro community that he considered "Uncle Tom types."

Mr. Moore added that in future negotiations with Mayor Allen, the committee will refuse to talk if the mayor includes "Uncle Tom Negroes" at the bargaining table.

He said demonstrators will start resorting now to street demonstrations "because the police, judges, officials and the state are not protecting them at restaurants."

"THEY HAVE SEEN people slapped, kicked and dragged and have done nothing," he said. He showed reporters a number of photographs allegedly showing a white person roughing up a Negro demonstrator during the Friday incident at Leb's while a police officer looked on.

At the demonstrators' trial Monday afternoon, presiding Judge Herschel Cole observed, "Their action certainly violates the peace and dignity of the city. They obstructed the traffic, and it seems to me it was deliberately planned."

William Petry, one of the convicted demonstrators, told the court the sit-in "was a protest to the city, not to the individual restaurant. We were using the intersection of those streets as a symbol of all Atlanta."

The convicted demonstrators are: Jimmy Robertson, William Petry, Robert Lee Bennett, Jerry Walker, Wayne Cole, Thomas Rachel, Charles A. Davis, Jan Hillegas, Taylor Washington, Barbara Ann Smith, Myrna Holt, Gladys Poole and James Harris.

GREATER ATLANTA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
41 EXCHANGE PLACE
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE
525-6468

Dear Pat -

Thought this might interest you -

Eliz P

"THE GIFT TO GI' US. . TO SEE OURSELVES AS OTHERS SEE US". . .

The way Atlanta treats non-white people is playing a part in shaping future international relations, according to a recent survey of foreign students attending Atlanta University.

A representative of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations made the informal survey before attending a conference in Washington, D. C., at which one of the topics discussed was the affect of Southern racial policies on American foriegn relations.

Half of the students involved are from Africa and half from Asian countries. Those from Asian countries were about equally divided in their opinions that race relations in Atlanta are "what you expected," or "worse than" or "better than you expected." One, however, who said they are about what he expected reports that after two years in Atlanta, he has had no association with white people and says "I was eager to make friends in America. It is unfortunate to say that I may go back without any friends. Your government sends Peace Corps to other nations to create friendship but unfriendly behavior of the people cannot win friendship of those who themselves come to make American Friends." Two said they had had difficulty meeting white people because they attend a "non-white" college, but one finds that because he is accepted by white people, many "Negro people think we are white too, even though we are really colored."

Most of the African students have had opportunities to know white as well as Negro Americans, but many added comments on their experiences and observations of racial practices.

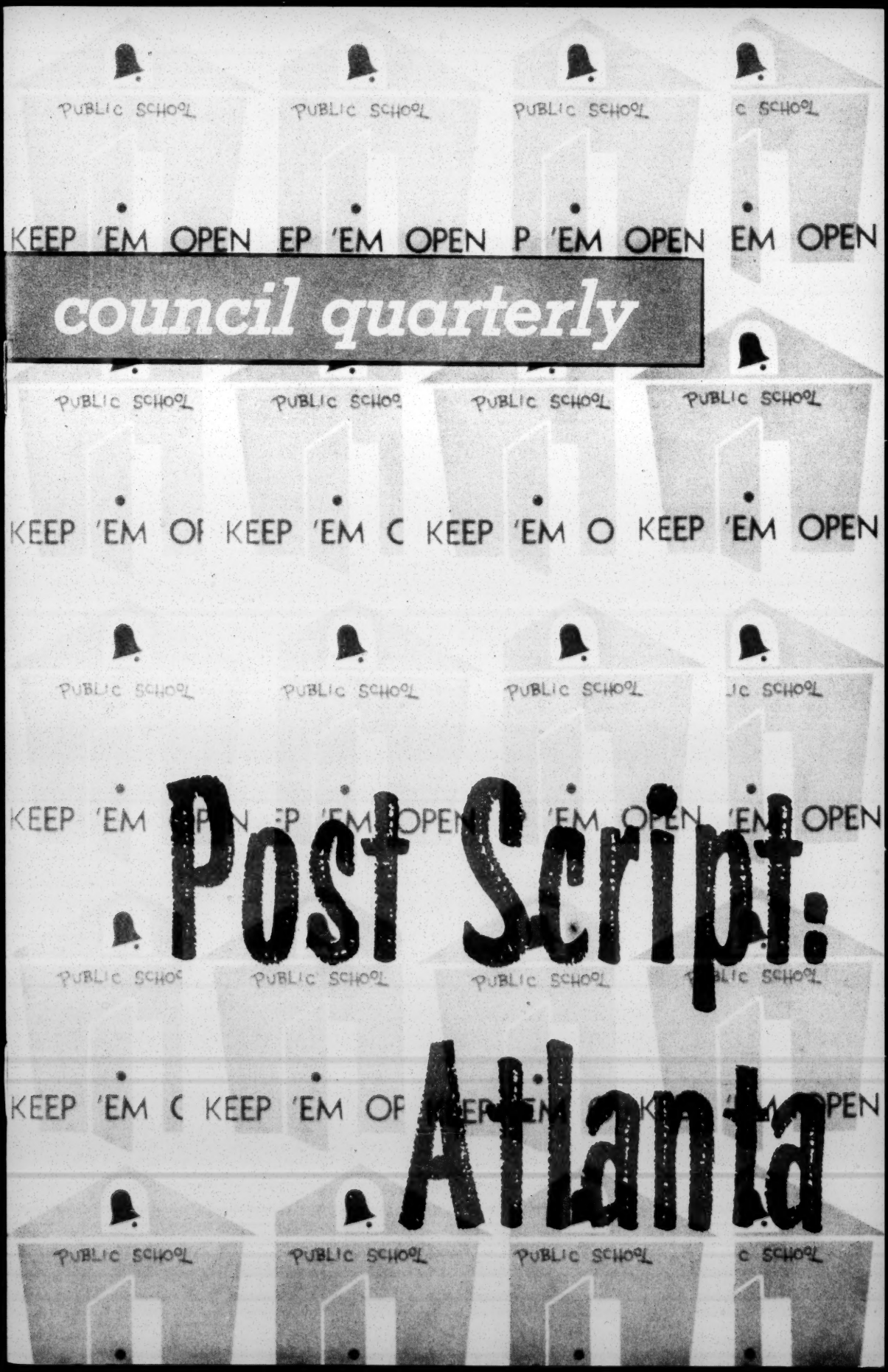
One reports that "before my arrival in the U. S. A., I learnt of the racial discrimination existing here but I didn't know it is so severe. . .countries in Africa hold the U. S. in high esteem but this discrimination is becoming more known to us - because more people are just realizing how serious it is - is lowering the prestige of America, that of the American whites especially". Another one observes "in my opinion, segregation in the South in general and in Atlanta in particular, is dead but it has not got a decent burial. .. there is a large and reasonable number of people who believe that a time has arrived to treat all human beings equal."

One student who has spent a year in Atlanta says, "race relations are such as will surprise a newcomer, because it is an unbelievable fact that one person could despise the other because of the color of his skin."

And another, after two and a half years in Atlanta writes rather sadly, "If what I have experienced in Atlanta is what the USA is like, I will never stay in this country. . .there is always an air of fear and tension when I walk downtown in Atlanta. I feel I should not stand in a line or enter a store because I don't know how many white people are looking at me with prejudice . . .If my stay in this country is to live to fear another race of human being, I am not ready to do that under any circumstances."

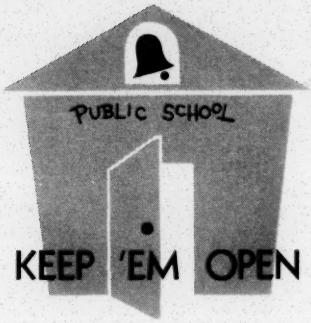
The majority of African students find race relations in Atlanta worse than they had expected. One concludes his comments by saying, "I always pray for better relations."

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
APRIL, 1962



council quarterly

Post Script: Atlanta



P.S.

Future historians may record that not only was Atlanta in prime shape to face school desegregation—maybe it was a little bit overtrained. Item: Zealous policemen apprehended two loiterers near one of the high schools who subsequently turned out to be FBI men. Item: Two teen age drum majorettes, bent on preserving their school's honor conked a segregationist demonstrator on the head with their batons. Item: the youths armed with a gun, knife and hate literature on school grounds were arrested, interogated, placed in the police lineup, brought to trial, sentenced and carted off to jail in two hours and forty-two minutes flat, probably a track record.

In the days just prior to D-Day, civic leaders appeared on television in around the clock, one-minute spots, to remind Atlantans of their civic responsibilities. Parents of school children received an outline of the ground rules for school attendance from Superintendent John Leston that read like a well-thought out battle plan. The Mayor provided the national press with news facilities rivalling a Presidential convention, plus free cokes, caviar, ham, biscuits, cookies and potato chips. He capped his efforts by a bus tour of the city at which he served as barker. Merchants and the Chamber of Commerce provided a sumptuous integrated cocktail party for newsmen at a downtown hotel. School opening got underway in a happy atmosphere of carnival and self-congratulation.

What were the elements that went into creating this atmosphere? Why did Atlanta succeed where New Orleans failed a year ago? Without delving into the subtle psychological differences between these communities, several factors provide the glaring contrast that spelled the difference between success and failure.

1. The leadership provided by Mayor Hartsfield, who has long made it perfectly clear that he supported the Supreme Court ruling as the law of the land, and would use his office to enforce it. The attitude of the Mayor of New Orleans by comparison, could be described as wishy-washy.

2. The posture of the Atlanta Police Department and its Chief, Herbert T. Jenkins. He served notice that he would not tolerate violence — notice served well in advance of school opening so that trouble could be prevented before it got started.

3. The cooperation of the school administration which, by its calm acceptance and well thought out plans, set an example for the faculty, the students, and the parents.

4. The editorial position of both Atlanta papers, which for three years has been hammering home the inevitability of school de segregation and the need for peaceful compliance. Here again, is a contrast with the New Orleans papers which did little to prepare the community in advance. Nor were the editorials which finally appeared as forceful or as frequent. All Atlanta television stations gave the school story

Atlanta...

priority public service attention in prime time. In New Orleans, only WDSU presented a fair picture to its audience.

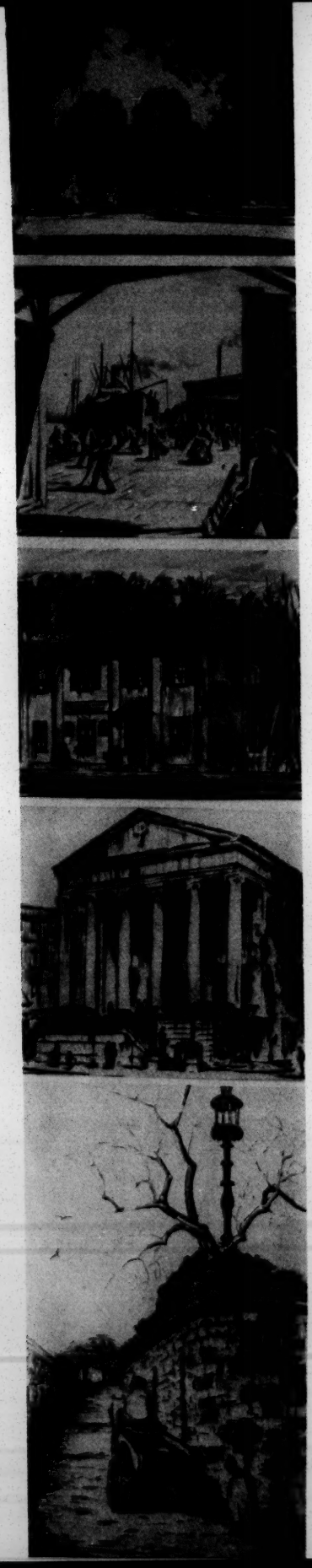
5. The non-intervention of the Georgia state government. Certainly the Governor and many legislators were bitterly opposed to desegregation. But they came to recognize that any violence would doom the state's drive to attract new industry and to promote economic growth. The Georgia Legislature declared against violence, and within the limits of their outlook, behaved responsibly. By contrast members of the Louisiana Legislature had urged their constituents to violence, even calling for lynchings and floggings.

6. The role of the voluntary agencies acting through OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools in September) and within their individual groups. No one can calibrate the exact impact of the three years of work done by HOPE and other voluntary agencies, or of all the sermons preached, the discussion groups held, the material printed. It is unsatisfyingly vague to say that they "created a good atmosphere" for school desegration. But without that healthy climate, the first day of school might have been a disaster. And it was not the community's leading citizens who showed the way, not the Chamber of Commerce or the leading industrialists, or society leaders. Although community leaders appeared on the scene at the last moment to give their stamp of approval to peaceful desegregation, it was the anonymous citizen, backed up by his voluntary organization which lent it character and direction.

7. The march of events—the riots at Athens and the trouble in New Orleans crystallized Atlanta's resolve that this should not happen here. The sentimental attachment of the Legislature for their Alma Mater did more than statistics or sermons to point up the dangers of massive resistance. When it came to an actual choice of closing the University of Georgia or complying with federal law, the Legislature wisely chose to save the University. The unladylike spectacle that the New Orleans demonstrators presented stiffened the resolve of many a housewife that Atlanta should not be marred by such ugly strife.

Much has been written about the historical significance of this first successful token desegregation in the deep South. And indeed, if violence had occurred on the day school opened in Atlanta, it is likely that racists would have taken heart all over the South and violence would have marked school openings in Dallas, Little Rock and New Orleans. That all southern school openings were peaceful is at least partly attributable to Atlanta's good example.

But in the midst of this heady talk of a major success, we must keep in mind the sobering thought that for Georgia, Atlanta's token integration is only a small first step. What remains is the continuing challenge of guaranteeing equal educational opportunity for all.



The

Sixty-five Savannahians are deeply involved in consolidating and expanding recent improvements in human relations.

The Chatham Human Relations Council is following up the success of its first project by taking action in other major areas: school desegregation, fair employment, recreational facilities, voter's rights.

Joining the organization, for most members, did not come from a sudden realization of the need for progress. The core of the Chatham Council members have worked together before on Savannah's human relations problems in HOPE, the League of Women's Voters, YMCA, NAACP and other groups. Rather, this group of dedicated acquaintances, along with the majority of "new faces" in the Council, felt that two recent developments made the Human Relations Council approach especially timely: (1) A 15-month boycott of stores on Savannah's main shopping street, by the NAACP had reached a deadlock when the Chatham Council was formed on April 17, 1961. (2) Savannah had a new mayor. The 15-month stand-off had convinced downtown merchants that some settlement was needed, and the new Mayor, Malcolm Maclean, had called publicly for citizen leadership in human relations. In this new atmosphere, Mrs. Frances Pauley, executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations, organized the local Council's first meeting.

About 40 persons attended this exploratory session at Christ Church, one of Savannah's best known houses of worship. Temporary Negro and white co-chairman simultaneously chaired the first few meetings. Merchants, doctors, lawyers, housewives, and teachers attended.

Savannah Story

At first, there were no students; later a few joined.

It was subsequently learned that merchants and people close to the city government were struggling to form a committee to end the boycott. The Rt. Rev. Albert R. Stuart, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Georgia, had agreed to head a committee of leading white citizens to end the boycott. This approach was demanded by the regional Woolworth's manager and supported by leading Broughton Street merchants.

Two members of the Chatham Council on Human Relations were members of the Bishop's Committee. They reported later that merchants decided the mode of desegregation in a plenary session with NAACP leaders and a few Committee members. The main Committee aim was to give massive prestige to any announced settlement. The moving force was a nucleus of city government officers and merchants eager to end the boycott.

At one point the secret negoations apparently broke down. In a timely move, the Chatham Council voted to submit a petition to the Mayor. It called for lunch counter desegregation, store use of courtesy titles for Negro patrons, and new employment opportunities for Negroes along with removal of discriminatory signs on stores' water fountains and rest rooms. Its aim was to gain at least 75 per cent participation on the petition from Broughton Street merchants, a likely goal. Also thousands of citizens' signatures were to be sought. The petition was addressed to the mayor and alderman as a demonstration of general agreement on the desegregation idea, if not a direct pact resulting from a conference.

After only three days, when about 150 white and 500 Negro signers had supported the petition, the Bishop's Committee was informed of the petition. A few days later the panel of leading white citizens' names was published in daily newspapers with the Bishop's announcement that lunch counters had been desegregated.

The other demands in the Council's petition were not treated in the Bishop's announcement. However, stores generally removed discrimnatory signs and began using courtesy titles—in many cases where lunch counters were not involved.

The petitions were delivered to the city with an explanation of their interrupted circulation and incompleteness.

On the agreed test day of initial desegregation, Council members were at all lunch counters in stores. They reported, as did the newspapers, that there was no violence or unpleasantness. Store desegregation was a complete success.

White Citizens Council members, the Klan, and other white supremacy groups have begun a boycott of the desegregated Savannah stores. While this has disappointed some managers, not all of whom were eager for settlement of the previous boycott, Broughton Street has remained firm. The new boycott, by keeping troublemakers away, aides peaceful desegregation.

Chatham Human Relations Council members continue to emphasize patronage at cooperating stores, encouraging reopening of charge accounts, partronizing desegregated lunch counters, helping consolidate new gains.

Continued page 11

Crisis and the Cl

By Martin L

Those of us who live in the twentieth century are privileged to live in one of the most momentous periods in human history. In a real sense we stand today between two worlds—the dying old and the emerging old. We are all familiar with the old order that is passing because we have lived with it and seen it in all of its dimensions. We have seen this old order in Asia and Africa in the form of colonialism and imperialism. Here at home, it takes the form of segregation and discrimination.

Living under conditions first of slavery and then later of segregation, many Negroes lost faith in themselves. They came to feel that perhaps they *were* inferior or less human. But the twentieth century industrial revolution brought with it a revolution in human relations. The coming of the automobile, the upheavals of two world wars, the great depression made the Negro's rural plantation background give way to urban industrial life. His cultural life was enriched through the steady decline of crippling illiteracy. His economic status rose with the growth of industry and the influence of organized labor and other agencies. The Negro masses began to re-evaluate themselves, and the Negro came to feel that he was somebody. With this new sense of dignity and destiny, came a new Negro determined by struggle and sacrifice to crumble the walls of injustice.

On May 17th, 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States handed down a new decision which nullified the old doctrine of "separate but equal". It said that separate facilities are inherently unequal, and that to segregate a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law. As a result of this decision in the area of race relations, we stand today on the threshold of the most constructive and creative period in our nation's history. In bibical language, we have broken loose from the Egypt of slavery. We have moved through the wilderness of segregation and now we stand on the border of the promised land of equality.

But the emerging new age has not come without some oposition. There are those determined to resist all the power and all the techniques they can muster—in Johannesburg, in Montgomery, or in Jackson, Mississippi. We see this resistance in the form of arrests, physical violence and legislative defiance. It is this pattern of advance countered with resistance that presents our nation with such a powerful moral challenge.

Whenever a crisis emerges in history, the Church has a role to play. It has a role to play because this issue is not merely a political issue; it is a moral issue. The Church can never evade any moral issue, because this is its primary concern.

Church..

in Luther King, Jr.

Let us look at some of the things that the Church must do in order to play a creative role in this transition period.

First, I think the Church should instill within its worshippers a world perspective, for when individuals have a world view, they cannot live in the valley of racial hatred.

Therefore, the Church must urge men to rise above the narrow confines of their individualistic concerns to the broader concerns of all humanity. For the new world that is emerging is a world that is geographically one, and we are challenged to make it spiritually one.

It is trite but true through our scientific genuis we have made of this world a neighborhood; and now we are challenged through our moral genius to make of it a brotherood. Whatever affects one individual directly, affects all indirectly.

We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality; we are all tied in a single garment of destiny. The Church must also make it palpably clear that segregation in any form is a moral evil which no Christian can accept. We cannot compromise on this point. Segregation is wrong because it overlooks the fact that all men are made in the image of God; wrong because it relegates individuals to the status of things; wrong because it substitutes on I-it relationship for the I-Thou relationship. Segregation is wrong because it distorts the personality and damages the soul; it gives the segregator a false sense of superiority, while leaving the segregated with a false sense of inferiority.

The Church must also seek to get to the ideational roots of racial prejudice. Racial prejudice always develops from suspicions, fears and misunderstandings that are groundless. The Church can play a great role here by showing the irrationality of many of these beliefs. The Church can reveal that the idea of a superior or an inferior race is a myth that has been refuted by the best evidence of the anthropological sciences; the Church can show that the Negro is not inherently inferior in academic, moral and cultural standards. The Church can show that where conditions of inferiority exist, they are environmental, not racial; that poverty and ignorance breed crime whatever the racial group may be. It is tortuous logic indeed to use the tragic results of segregation and discrimination as an argument for their continuation.

The Church must reveal the true intentions of the Negro and the colored peoples of the world—the intention not to dominate the nation or the world, but to live as free human beings, with dignity and worth.

The Church must seek to open channels of communication where they have been closed as a result of this period of transition. Men can

never rise to their full maturity when they are seeking to live in monologue rather than dialogue.

The Church also should go out into the field of social reform. It is not enough to clarify the ideas. The Church must develop a social action program and take a stand wherever economic and social injustice exist. One of the best ways that the Church can take action is to remove the yoke of segregation from its own body. We must face the tragic fact that the Church is still the most segregated major institution in our society, and when we stand on Sunday morning to sing, "In Christ There Is No East or West," we stand in the most segregated hour of Christian America. How often in the Church do we have a high blood pressure of creeds, and an anemia of deeds!

Here and there churches are courageously integrating their congregations; here and there local ministerial associations are taking concrete stands on major issues. These actions are very significant, but we must admit that they have been far too few. We must also admit that the pronouncements that have come from the major denominations have moved down to local congregations all too slowly. It will be one of the tragedies of history if a future Gibbon is able to write that at the height of the twentieth century, the Church proved to be the last bulwark of segregated power.

What are the prospects for realizing the bright promises of a just society? We must realize that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. We must realize that privileged groups never give up their privileges without strong resistance—they never do it voluntarily.

In this great drama of freedom that is taking place on the stage of modern history, we cannot be merely detached spectators, we must be concerned participants. For this problem will never be solved until enough people come to see that racial injustice is wrong, and until they are willing to work passionately and unrelentingly for its doom.

Yes, there is need today for an Amos in the modern world, to cry out in terms that echo across the nations, "Let judgment run down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream." There is need in this world for a Lincoln to remind men that nations cannot live half slave and half free. There is need today of a Jefferson to cry out once more "All men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights . . . among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. There is need today for a Mahatma Gandhi to remind men once more that non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. With these insights, we will be able to bring into being the dreams and the ideals of a new world.

Ours is not an easy road. Some will be scarred and bruised before the victory is won. Some, like Paul and Peter, will have to spend a few days in jail before the victory is won. But God grant that you will be part of that creative minority and help arouse the dozing conscience of the nation and the world, knowing that in the struggle there is the power of God working with you. For there is something in this universe that justifies James Russell Lowell in saying:

"Truth forever on the scaffold
Wrong forever on the throne;
Yet that scaffold sways the future
And, behind the dim unknown
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch above his own."

From: Executive Director, Georgia Council on Human Relations

Subject: Progress Report

There has been so much activity this summer that it is hard for me to begin to put things in their proper order. Here are just a few of these heartening summer events: Lunch counters in Savannah desegregated, the Macon Golf Course desegregated, Columbus buses quitely desegregated, four Atlanta high schools peacefully desegregated.

And the changing climate in Georgia is reflected too in our own Council. Our membership has increased 49% since March 1st. We have been able to expand our activities and prepare new material for you.

But there are many thousands of Georgians who have a more compelling reason for this change in attitude. They have come to realize that practical considerations are only secondary. Deep in their hearts, they know that discrimination is morally wrong.

This moral conviction can have far reaching results not directly connected to the struggle against racial discrimination. For with it, we can surely expect an improvement in political leadership, a deepening of religious convictions, and great progress in our educational system. Why? Because many Georgians have come a little closer to truth.

Frances Pauley

Frances Pauley

Things are looking UP at LOCKHEED

As a catalyst for social change, nothing beats a defense contract. The one billion dollar Air Force contract awarded to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation at Marietta, has already brought some profound changes in its wake, changes that will not only affect the plant itself, but hiring in other southern industries, and even educational opportunities for Negroes all over the South.

When the United States government awarded the billion dollar jet cargo contract to Lockheed, 31 of the 500 Negroes working at the plant submitted affidavits to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities, charging "overt discrimination" in working conditions, seniority and promotional opportunities, as well as segregated facilities. The affidavits specifically, claimed that Negroes were barred from plant apprenticeship programs, thus cutting them off from advancement, and dooming them to custodial or janitorial jobs. The Equal Employment Committee pledged that it would recommend to the government that the contract be cancelled if Lockheed would not cooperate in eliminating these conditions. It therefore came as no surprise when on May 25 Courtlandt S. Gross, promised an intensified effort to wipe out racial restrictions and to open jobs for Negroes in engineering, profes sional, administrative, supervisory and skilled clasifications.

What progress has been made under this new agreement?

1. Segregated plant cafeterias have been abolished, along with separate rest rooms and drinking fountains.

2. The Lockheed Management Club for the first time invited the plants two Negro production supervisors and a Negro mathematics analyst to its monthly dinner.

3. An intensive search by management for qualified engineering and management posts is under way. According to Harold Arnold, director of Vocational Services of the Atlanta Urban League, "Lockheed in making a sincere effort to fill all jobs on a non-discrimnatory basis.

As part of this new hiring policy, company recruiters recently visited five Negro colleges and put out feelers to a number of others.

4. Perhaps most important, company recruiters have also visited Negro high schools to obtain candidates for its apprenticeship program, and several high schools graduates are already participating in this on-the-job training program previously closed to them.

A major problem facing management is to find properly qualified Negroes for both proffessional jobs, at the college level, and for the apprenticeship probram at a high school level.

Here we see a dramatic example of how segregated education puts Negro students at a disadvantage. For the Negro high school has neither the physical plant, the teaching equipment, nor the enriched curriculum that the white high school does, and these educational shortcomings place Negro high school graduates under a burdensome handicap when they compete for skilled jobs. If young Negro men and women are to take full advantage of expanding job opportunities, they will have to receive the educational opportunities they have so long been denied.

Although it is still to early to tell definitively whether this compliance is just a token to satisfy the Equal Employment Committee, or part of a long-range human relations project, these changes at the very beginning of the contract period must be considered hopeful.

Even greater opportunities may follow, for the ten year contract with the Air Force will mean adding about 3,000 workers to the payroll in the next 18 to 24 months.

The "Plan for Progress" has implications far broader than the Marietta area. Lockheed is the largest private employer in the Southeast. Its $100,000.00 payroll equals the combined income of Georgia's cotton and tobacco crops. Its 76 acres under one roof make it the biggest aircraft manufacturing unit in the country.

If this complicated industrial giant could change the patterns of discrimination into a "plan for progress", there is reason to believe that other southern industries with defense contracts could do the same.

In any event, the Equal Employment Committee, headed by Vice President Lyndon Johnson has made it clear that it intends to use the Lockheed pact as a model in its drive to eliminate employment bias in companies working on government contracts.

THE SAVANNAH STORY CONTD

Meanwhile the Council has continued its meetings—in a synagogue and the penthouse of a recently opened savings institution, and has developed strong school and employment committees, among others. The Council's Human Relations group has publicly requested discussion of schools at a school board meeting. The employment committee will begin studying federal employment segregation practices in Savannah.

The Council has been most fortunate in its chairman, the Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, who repeatedly displayed unusual tact and ability to aid members to reach decisions with dispatch. Mr. Holmes had been appointed some months earlier by the Mayor as Savannah's first Negro to serve on the city recreation commission.

With an active executive group, the Chatham Council ordinarily meets monthly, but during the lunch counter desegregation activity met as much as twice a week. Average attendance at the meetings has been about 35 members.

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Mrs. Daniel H. Hollums, Secretary
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Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director
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Sliz Paschall

Atlanta

~~Georgia~~ Council on Human Relations

~~63 Auburn Ave.,~~ N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

41 Exchange 37 Pl. S. E.

THE
UNIFICATION QUESTION.

Address of Gen. G. T. Beauregard to the People of Louisiana.

FELLOW CITIZENS—I have been made the subject of ungracious and illiberal observation here and elsewhere because of my support of resolutions recommending a closer union of all the members of the permanent population of the State, to promote faithful administration and wise and provident legislation. The ends proposed are not only unobjectionable, but patriotic and praiseworthy.

The complaint is of the means. Those means consist in a candid and frank acknowledgment of constitutional and legal facts which none can deny, and the conforming of our conduct to those provisions of the existing Constitution of the State of Louisiana, which are as follows:

"ART. 13. All persons shall enjoy equal rights and privileges upon any conveyance of a public character: and all places of business or of public resort, or for which a license is required by either State, parish, or municipal authority, shall be deemed places of a public character, and shall be opened to the accommodation and patronage of all persons, without distinction or discrimination on account of color."

"ART. 135. All children of this State, between the ages of six and twenty-one, shall be admitted to the public schools or other institutions of learning, sustained or established by the State, in common, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition."

These articles have been enforced by legislation, which gives to any party whose rights thereunder have been denied, "a right of action to recover any damages, exemplary as well as actual, which he may sustain, before any court of competent jurisdiction."

It cannot then be denied that all the citizens of the State have been placed upon terms of equality in their civil and political relations. No preference is given on account of complexion, capacity, employment, pursuits or the holding of property to any individual or class. The superiority that the possession of these may attain depends upon the voluntary recognition by persons differing in complexion and capacity, and of different employments and degrees of education. The suffrage of every man of lawful age is to be counted at every election as of the same value.

My proposition is, if possible, to unite these various conditions of men into a common effort to improve the condition of the State; to remove, if it can be done, all questions that are special to any of these conditions from the contest, and to fix the hearts of all upon higher and more important aims. The strife, hostility, distrust and estrangement that have followed from such questions have placed our State under the control of the depraved, dishonest, over reaching and corrupt. The reputation of the State has suffered, its credit blasted, its finances disordered, its honor stained, and public and private prosperity retarded under the influence of the strife and the use made of it by the artful and selfish adventurers, who have employed power to accomplish these disastrous results. In our distracted condition, after the general elections of last November, we appealed in vain to Congress for relief; the Administration has, moreover, thrown its powerful influence on the side of our corrupt, usurping State government, and we can evidently hope for no assistance from our sister States. We must therefore look only to ourselves for salvation, which can only be secured by making a firm alliance with all classes of our population to rid us of those vampires who are sucking the very life-blood of our people, whites and blacks.

It is manifest that nothing but the forbearance of the colored people prevents them from subjecting common carriers, and all keepers of places of public resort, to such losses and annoyances as would speedily compel the practical acknowledgment of their rights or the abandonment of business. A multiplicity of suits, the result of which (so far as our State courts are concerned) could not be doubtful, would soon exhaust the endurance of the most violent prejudice. Meanwhile during a series of years, the obstinate denial of these claims of our colored fellow-citizens by the whites has been the means of arraying whites and blacks, almost solidly, in bitter political hostility against each other.

It has driven the blacks into an unnatural coalition with a horde of unscrupulous adventurers, who have thus secured the political power of the commonwealth. How have they used it? To what a sad condition have they not reduced the State! It is an oft told tale, which I, a son of Louisiana, holding her honor

dearer than "the ruddy drops which visit this sad heart," have no disposition to repeat.

I may be mistaken in supposing that a frank and cordial concession of absolute and practical civil, as well as political equality between all citizens, without discrimination on account of race or color, as proposed in this movement, would remove the last barrier which opposes the political co-operation of good men, of whatever color, for the regeneration of the State; but I am earnest in my conviction that I am not mistaken.

Experience seems, at all events, to have demonstrated two propositions quite conclusively, viz: 1st, that without such co-operation the redemption of the State is impracticable; 2d, that such co-operation cannot be secured on any other terms.

Besides, I am profoundly convinced that no sound and lasting system of political philosophy can be constructed under existing facts in Louisiana, at least, which does not recognize such equality. Every such system must square itself so as to consist in all its expressions and implications with the fundamental fact of impartial suffrage. When we are asked *why* we refuse to admit colored people to the enjoyment of public privileges on a footing of equality with other citizens, it is not sufficient to say that in so doing we merely exercise a right for which we are not compelled to give a reason. There must be some reason or motive at the foundation of all human conduct. And if at the basis of this course of conduct participated in by the mass the white people of the State, there does lie a reason so powerful as to defy the provisions of the constitutions and laws and the decrees of courts, it certainly concerns the colored man to inquire whether, carried to its logical consequences, it does not threaten other rights, of which he already has the full enjoyment Yet I would ask any one to state why a colored man should not participate in these public privileges, which would not be a better reason why he should not serve on a jury, why he should not hold responsible offices, nay, why he should not possess the right of suffrage itself!

We are bound to give this great experiment of Republican self-government, on the basis of impartial suffrage, a fair trial; and as long as we assume a position antagonistic in principle to his rights, and thereby drive the colored man into opposition to us, if harm results we must lay the blame upon ourselves, rather than on the system.

I am persuaded that the natural relation between the white and colored people is that of friendship. I am persuaded that their interests are identical; that their destinies, in this State where the two races are equally divided, are linked together; and that there is no prosperity for Louisiana which must not be the result of their co-operation.

I am equally convinced that the evils anticipated by some from the practical enforcement of equal rights, are mostly imaginary, and that the relations of the races in the exercise of these rights will speedily adjust themselves to the satisfaction of all.

I take it that nothing but malice or stupidity could find anything either in the letter or spirit of the unification resolutions which contemplates any interference or dictation in the private social relations of the people. These lie entirely outside the domain of legislation and politics. It would not be denied that, in traveling, and at places of public resort, we often share these privileges in common with thieves, prostitutes, gamblers, and others who have worse sins to answer for than the accident of color; but no one ever supposed that we thereby assented to the social equality of these people with ourselves. I therefore say that participation in these public privileges involves no question of social equality. By the enjoyment in common of such privileges, neither whites nor blacks assert, or assent to, social equality, either with each other or even between individuals of the same race.

I have not proposed to myself any advantages from the resolutions referred to. I do not seek or desire office or emoluments. I have in view but the restoration of Louisiana to the place of honor from which she has fallen.

I surrender no principle, nor do I separate from any friends. I unite with those who, upon a candid consideration of the circumstances they do not control, have to extract from them the greatest amount of good that they allow of

If there be any who can propose other and better means, I shall not be backward in adopting them. But it is very clear to my mind that the strength of a State consists in the harmonious, cordial, contented union of all the good men of the community in honest efforts for the improvement and progress of the whole. It is equally clear that strife, discord, disunion and distracted efforts and pursuits will produce nothing but weakness and disappointment. The base, selfish, unscrupulous and mercenary always profit from confusion, disorder and the disintegration of society.

This is a full, candid, and to my mind, accurate view of the situation, and I shall regulate my conduct accordingly, so as to free ourselves from "carpet-bag" rule, and the improper interference of the Federal Government in our State affairs.

G. T. BEAUREGARD.

NEW ORLEANS, July 1, 1873.

NOTE—By "carpet-baggers" I refer to those corrupt and unscrupulous individuals who come here only to occupy office and despoil our people.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I
NAME

The name of this organization shall be the GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, a non-profit, eleemosynary organization.

ARTICLE II
Purpose & Policy

Section 1.

Its purpose is to carry on in the greater Atlanta area an educational program for the improvement of economic, civic, cultural and religious conditions in the area; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all people in the area; to reduce intergroup tensions and their causes; to promote intergroup understanding; to cooperate with the state, regional and national agencies in the attainment of these desired objectives.

Section 2.

This organization is an affiliate of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. This is a non-profit, non-political organization. No part of its activities shall be the carrying on of propaganda, supporting or opposing any candidate for public office, or attempting to influence legislation.

ARTICLE III
Membership

Generally, any person who is in accord with the purpose of the Council may be a member. The Executive Committee shall have the right to refuse membership to any person if it is deemed in the best interests of the organization.

ARTICLE IV
Officers

The officers of the organization shall be the Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairmen, Treasurer and Secretary. Their duties shall be those customary to their respective offices as outlined in Roberts Rules of Order, and such duties as may be assigned to them by the Executive Committee, or the membership.

ARTICLE V
Executive Committee

Section 1.

The Executive Committee shall be composed of the officers and not more than twenty (20) members. They shall be chosen from the membership from a cross-section of the metropolitan area for a term of two years.

Section 2.

The Executive Committee shall have full charge of the property and business of the organization, with full power to manage and conduct same, subject to the instruction by a majority vote of the general membership at a business meeting.

Section 3.

Any vacancies occurring between annual meetings on the committee may be filled by a majority vote of those remaining on the committee.

ARTICLE VI
Meetings

Section 1.

The general membership shall hold at least two business meetings a year at such time and place as designated by the Executive Committee. The annual meeting shall be held in November, at which time a program will be discussed and adopted.

Section 2.

The Executive Committee shall meet at least six (6) times a year.

Section 3. Quorum

One-third of the members of the Executive Committee will constitute a quorum for the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII
Finances

Section 1.

The fiscal year shall be from October 1 to September 30.

Section 2.

Annual dues including membership in the Georgia Council on Human Relations shall be negotiated by the Executive Committees of the two organizations.

Section 3. Budget

A budget shall be submitted by the Executive Committee to the membership at the annual meeting for approval.

Section 4.

The financial relationship of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations and the Georgia Council on Human Relations shall be under such terms as the Executive Committees of the two organizations shall agree.

ARTICLE VIII
Nominations & Elections

Section 1. Nominating Committee

The Nominating Committee shall be composed of three people. The chairman and one member are to be elected at the annual meeting, the third to be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Section 2.

Report of the Nominating Committee shall be sent to the membership not later than ten days in advance of the annual meeting. Immediately following the report of the committee at the annual meeting there shall be an opportunity for nominations from the floor.

Section 3.

Elections shall be by secret ballot, if there is more than one nominee for each office. A majority vote of those members present shall constitute an election.

Section 4. Staggered terms of officers and members of the Executive Committee.

The Chairman, First Vice-Chairman and up to ten (10) of the members of the Executive Committee shall be elected in even years. The Treasurer, Secretary, Second Vice-Chairman and up to ten (10) members in the odd years. All terms of office shall be for two (2) years. At the first election following the adoption of these by-laws the Chairman and First Vice-Chairman and up to ten (10) members shall be elected for two years, the Treasurer, Secretary, Second Vice-Chairman and up to ten (10) members for one-year terms.

ARTICLE IX
Committees

Section 1.

The Executive Committee shall appoint such committees as it deems necessary to carry out the program of the Council.

Section 2.

There shall be a Membership Committee which shall organize and carry out a membership campaign at a time specified by the Executive Committee.

Section 3.

There shall be a Finance Committee whose duty shall be to cooperate with the state Council in planning and executing fund-raising for the organization. The chairman shall serve on the Finance Committee of the Georgia Council.

Section 4. There shall be a Budget Committee whose duty shall be to bring to the Executive Committee a budget at the meeting prior to the annual meeting.

ARTICLE X
Amendments

These by-laws may be amended by a majority vote of the members present at the annual meeting provided a notice, containing the proposed changes, has been sent to members ten (10) days in advance of the meeting, or at a special meeting called for this purpose, provided a notice containing the proposed changes has been sent to members ten (10) days in advance of the meeting.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The GREATER Atlanta Council on Human Relations is an organization of individuals, who join and participate as individuals. They elect the officers and directors, adopt the budget and generally direct the policies and activities of the Council. The board meets monthly. Membership meetings in the past year have been held on the average of once a month, tho not at a regular time. The Council circulates to all members a monthly Newsletter, which reports on Council activities and gives general information in the field of human relations in Greater Atlanta.

The present by-laws designate "Cobb, DeKalb & Fulton" as"Greater Atlanta". There are very few members in Cobb County and no activities directed toward that area. There has been formed this year a Decatur-DeKalb Committee, to give particular attention to matters in that area, but this operates like any other committee of the Council, under the general direction of the board, not as a separate DeKalb Council. The board has acted on the assumption that it is important that members of the Council in different parts of the metropolitan area be able to support each other and not be isolated from each other by reason of residence. It is hoped that next year the Council can increase its efforts in other parts of the metropolitan area.

The Greater Atlanta Council is an affiliate of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. The Atlanta chairman is an ex-officio member of the Georgia Board, and all members of the Atlanta Council are members of the Ga. Council. Local matters concerning the Greater Atlanta area are the responsibility of the Atlanta Council & policies are set by the members and directors of the Atlanta Council. Statewide matters are the concern of the Georgia Council. This year, the Atlanta Council becomes responsible for membership and finances in the Greater Atlanta area, with certain obligations to the Georgia Council in these areas.

Under a two year agreement beginning in February, 1960, with the Unitarian Service Committee, Inc., the Un. Ser. Comm. assigns a member of its staff, who is acceptalbe to the USC and the Council, as executive director of the Greater Atlanta Council.

The Southern Regional Council, according to its bulletin of June 6, 1961, "consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council". It was chartered in 1944, at which time the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, active since 1919, merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The SRC gives financial and professional assistance to state Councils, but has no "organizational" relationship with the Ga. or the Atlanta Council. Some members of the SRC staff have joined the Atlanta(and thereby the Ga.) Council and are active in it as individuals.

The work of the Atlanta Council is carried on by members working as individuals and in committees on a volunteer basis. They include research, writing, cooperation with other human relations agencies, direct action, public education, attendance at public and private meetings, and other such activities in the name of the Council,and individual efforts to improve human relations in personal and professional contacts. The Council puts people in touch with each other and people in touch with activities which would normally interest them but which because of our segregated society they may not feel free to attend, and circulate information about matters of importance to the well being of human relations in the area.

The membership has more than doubled during the past year. Area of activity during the past year include Atlanta school desegregation, Grady hospital, merit employment, churches, eating facilities, theaters, etc., student council,foreign visitors, DeKalb County.

December, 1961

FAV
VJ

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Which comes first --the jobs or the training? Is automation eliminating work or creating work? Are jobs increasing at the same rate as the labor force? Do labor unions restrict jobs? Are wages high enough to maintain a necessary consumption rate? What are the various training programs available? What are the answers to these questions in terms of the Atlanta area?

To try to get some idea of possible answers to these and similar questions, I have within the past few weeks talked with officers of the regional office of the Bureau of Employment Security of the U. S. Department of Labor; the Atlanta area office of the U. S. Department of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship Training; the Atlanta office of the Georgia State Employment Service, which deals with the local manpower development training program; Mr. Dennard at Carver School; Mr. Moore of the Atlanta Labor Council; some local labor union representatives; and DeKalb Area Trade School, and I have at least examined the Georgia Skill Study, conducted for the Georgia Department of Labor by Dr. John Fuller of Georgia Tech and various Department of Labor Bulletins on Manpower Research, Job Guide for Young Workers and BLS reports, including the one on Income, Education and Unemployment in neighborhoods for the Atlanta area.

The impression one gets is the need to deal with all of these pieces as part of a whole --for some one person representing each of these interests and resources to come together to explain his side of the picture so that those trying to advise potential workers will speak from a view of the total picture rather than an isolated part, here and there.

Some of the people in the training field say there is a danger of training facilities going unused because of the difficulty of recruiting potential trainees (partly because of past experience when jobs were not open to Negroes. Some of the "job" people say that it is not realistic to train people for jobs that are not going to exist and that we already have persons trained to fill jobs that we know about. Some training is conducted as an educational program, with no responsibility for employment assumed by the training agency. Some training is done on the job, with more contact with possible employers.

Following are some of the facts about the Atlanta area that need to be explored:

1) Vocational Schools: Smith-Hughes and Carver in Atlanta are both desegregated and offering a variety of courses, also applications from Negroes for new DeKalb Area Trade School. New Atlanta Trade School will open within a year. Are recruitment programs effective? Are training programs realistic?

2) Manpower Development Training Programs: The MDT Act of 1962 "authorizes the training of unemployed and underemployed persons in occupations in which there is a reasonable expectation of future employment...Workers are trained only in occupations for which vacancies are available." Persons enrolled in these programs receive a training allowance of $14 a week if they are 19-21, $28 a week if they have had 3 years previous work experience and are heads of households. Tuition costs are paid by employment service.

Local representatives say they can tell from their order file where vacancies and opportunities exist. In the Atlanta area, the only program in which an individual may enroll currently is a class for cooks. Classes in drafting, auto mechanics, auto body and fender work, and mechanics helper are in session but are clos d to additional enrollment. Persons interested must register with the Georgia State Employment Service, 61 Trinity Avenue, contact Mrs. Calhoun. Area Supervisor is Mr. Larry Robinson, Georgia Department of Labor, JA 4-2411, Extention 376.

Is this a realistic training program for the metropolitan Atlanta area? How can voluntary and business groups help? At whose initiative can programs be explored? Are job orders at the Georgia Stat Employment Service a realistic basis for predicting employment? Are the results of the Georgia Skill Study used by the Employment Service? To what extent does the traditional separation of "Negro" and "white" jobs affect the "employability" of those who would otherwise qualify for training?

3) Apprenticeship Training: The U. S. Department of Labor Bureau of Apprenticeship Training sponsors programs which are planned and administered by labor-management committees in specific industries. Individuals must apply first with union, then proceed through testing at vocational school, interviews with committees, etc. Some programs now have waiting lists; others are accepting applications.

Information must be secured from each ot the following unions which do have apprenticeship programs: Printers, Millwrights, Electricians, Carpenters, Ironworkers, Leathers, Painters, Bricklayers, Mechanists, Plumbers, Pipefitters, and Sheetmetal. Could there be one central information center for these programs to releive individuals of need for locating and going to each union office? Could there be other programs in which voluntary groups could help? To what extent do old patterns of "racial jobs" influence applications for apprenticeships?

4) Equal Opportunity Employers: With the present emphasis on jobs, there has been less public concern over "equal employment opportunities." There is still need for the list of Atlanta area companies with government contracts to be enlarged to include some indication of types of work done and jobs available in these. To what extent does the physical location on "equal opportunity employer" interviewers when they come to Atlanta and stay, for example, at the Heart of Atlanta Motel, affect job opportunities for Negroes? Could Mr. Mattson, Industrial Relations Director for Lockheed,

who is on an Advisory Committee to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, be of help in creating more community-wide acceptance of equal employment practices? To what extent do policies of office building operator figure in the picture (e.g., an employee at the Candler Building told a potential occupant that said space would not be leased for an interracial office staff.)

5) Opportunities in Greater Atlanta Area: The Georgia Skill Study Report on the Greater Atlanta Metropolitan area predicts for period of 1962-67, annual job openings in the number of 5,599, with net annual training requirements in the number of 3,973. Breakdown of annual job openings and training needs is: technicians 346-262; skilled 912-717; clerical 1,833-1,628; other 2,501-1,403. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures give August, 1963 unemployment figure for Metropolitan Atlanta at 3.9% of labor force, as compared with the national rate of 5.2%. Atlanta civilian labor force is currently 490,850. Do the job predictions indicate that there will be enough jobs for predicted labor force in the next 5 years? Will rate of job growth keep up with rate of labor force growth in Metropolitan Atlanta? Are current training programs and plans for training realistic in terms of job predictions? Does discrepancy of median income for whites ($6,000) and nonwhites ($3,000) have significance in these plans? What are the implications for guidance? What are the implications for older workers?

6) Civil Service and Employment Service: Voluntary agencies and schools and individuals receive calls constantly now for help in finding a specially trained person to fill a specific job. What are the public recruitment agencies, such as civil service (on all levels --local, state and national) and local branches of the Georgia State Employment Service (which in turn is affiliated with the U. S. Employment Service) doing to encourage, find and build up rosters of such persons? Are we helping when we all try to fill in to find "a trained Negro"? Is there anything more that could be done increasingly to find these persons through normal channels and have some reasonable certainty that they will be selected and actually appointed through normal channels? Will training programs based on USES job orders be realistic if the GSES is bypassed by employers?

7) Automation: What is its net effect? The Chairman of the U. S. Industries, Inc., recently told a Senate Committee that "the contention that automation is not going to eliminate many jobs" is the most seductive of myths about automation...'The hard truth...is that modern automated equipment requires very little maintenance. If it did not, it would not pay to operate it; and if the equivalent number of workers replaced by automation were required to build the machines and systems, there would be no point in automating.'" What is the picture in the Atlanta area? Could Dr. Walter Buckingham, Chairman of the Georgia Tech School of Industrial Management, staff officer for the Senate Labor Committee which drafted the new training programs and author of "Automation and Its Impact on Industry", be of overall assistance in considering community policies? Dr. Buckingham in a recent article in the Journal-Constitution magazine stressed the need for imagination in creativity in conceiving of totally new kinds of jobs.

8) "Climate": This is a favorite role of many individuals and groups, to create a favorable climate... What is the climate for hiring Negroes on an equal basis in the Atlanta area? How much resistance is there, from employers themselves, from the public? Who is doing what to gain acceptance of the idea of seeing Negroes in Atlanta working as receptionists, as clerks, as chahiers, as parking lot attendants, etc., in public offices, other than U. S. Government, in banks, in stores, in offices, etc. Is it time for some "Manifestos" in this direction? Could the Chamber of Commerce, the City Personnel Board, the Central Improvement Association, etc., help with this "image"?

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Against all this background, the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations proposes an informal, private working conference with local representatives of the Bureau of Apprenticeship Training, Manpower Development Training Program, various vocational education programs, Labor Council, Chamber of Commerce, Georgia State Employment Service, private employment agencies, and individuals familiar with the Georgia Skill Study and general business trends, on the one hand, and on the other, individuals working in the field of guidance and placement at the Atlanta University Center, the Council on Human Relations, Atlanta Urban League, NAACP, YWCA, YMCA, Friends Service Committee, SCLC, Operation Breadbasket, Committee on Appeal, and others, with a clear responsibility (imposed or self-assumed) in this problem.

If you would like to participate in such a small, informal, invitation-only session which would include discussions of further community programs and action, please so indicate and give your suggestions as to any additional individuals or groups that should be included. I would appreciate hearing from you by October 21 so that we can proceed with our plans.

GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Atlanta, Georgia

Telephone: 523-1581

YOU ALL ARE WELCOME.....

Laws and customs change from day to day, sometimes from hour to hour. There are degrees of "segregation" and "desegregation" -- "segregated" may mean no Negroes or it may mean Negroes and whites segregated within the same facility. It is customary to make changes in racial policies without public announcement, which is at times necessary and desirable.

This does make it difficult, however, for those affected to secure accurate information. Periodically the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations compiles a list of places which as far as we can determine, are open to all. We welcome additions and corrections. This list is accurate as of October, 1963, to the best of our knowledge.

EATING PLACES

YWCA Cafeteria, Edgewood and Ivy
YMCA Coffee Shop, Luckie Street
Stouffeur's, Downstairs in the Merchandise Mart
Top O' the Mart (also Stouffeur's)
Rich's Magnolia Room and other eating places in the store
Davison's Tea Room and other eating places
Grant's
Jacob's Pharmacies
Sears-Roebuck
H. L. Green
Kress
McCrory's
Lane's Drug Stores
Franklin Simon's
Walgreen's
Woolworth's
Newberry's
Emory University Food Service Center
Herren's
Yohannon's
Caruso's
Johnny Reb's
Crossroads
Seven Steers (downtown)
Miami Buffet (downtown)
Dale's Cellar
S & W
Mamma Mia
Rex Fine Foods
All 4 Howard Johnson Restaurants
Davis Fine Foods at Luckie Street, Marietta Street and Pryor Street
Town House

Most Hotels and motels will arrange private interracial parties.

HOTELS

Peachtree Manor Hotel
Hilton Inn
Air Host Inn

Other hotels will accept Negro convention delegates up to ?% the total number of delegates

CULTURAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

Atlanta Art Galleries
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra Concerts
Actors Equity Production
Theater Under the Stars (at Chastain Park)
Jewish Community Center
Quaker House
Copa Atlanta
Wit's End
Neighborhood Movies: Gordon, Emory, Lenox Square, Cherokee, Hilan, Plaza, Atlantic, Techwood
Downtown Movies: Pocket, Academy (including Shakespeare Festival), Loew's, Fox, Rialto, Roxy, Rhodes, and Peachtree Art
Drive-Ins: Bolton, Fulton Blvd., Glenwood, Peachtree, Piedmont, Scott, South Expressway, Steward, Thunderbird, and Starlight
Stone Mountain: all facilities, including Stone Acres Plantation, and Stable of Thoroughbreds (old autos)
Atlanta City Golf Courses
Atlanta Public Library - all branches
Decatur-DeKalb Library
All facilities owned and operated by City of Atlanta
Recreational facilities operated by City of Decatur, excluding pools

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

All colleges and universities in the Greater Atlanta area
Certain Atlanta public schools
Catholic Parochial schools
Trinity Presbyterian School
Smith-Hughes and Carver Vocational Schools
DeKalb Area Trade School
Grady Hospital x-ray and technical schools

ORGANIZATIONS

Active Voters
Atlanta Association for Gifted Children
Atlanta Chapter, American Association for the United Nations
Greater Atlanta Council of Churches
League of Women Voters (of Atlanta;;of DeKalb County)
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Democracic Forum of Fulton County and DeKalb Democrats
Republican organizations of DeKalb County and Fulton County
Alcholics Anonymous
Metropolitan Atlanta Mental Health Association

HOSPITALS

Of the 16 hospitals in operation in the Atlanta area listed as members of the Georgia Hospital Association, 10 do not admit Negroes as patients. Grady and Aidmore provide segregated services. DeKalb General, South Fulton, and Kennestone provide separate wards or wings for Negroes and whites. St. Joseph's is an integrated hospital.

CHURCHES

All Episcopal, Catholic, Unitarian-Universalists; most others open to visitors, but policies vary with individyal churches.

EMPLOYMENT OFFICES

All locations of Georgia State Employment Service. Jobs listed in the Help Wanted ads of the ATLANTA CONSTITUTION and THE ATLANTA JOURNAL are not listed according to race.

TRANSPORTATION

No segregation on busses or in taxi service

November 7, 1961

Mrs. George Dumbauld
Houston Council on Human Relations
3605 Fannin Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Dumbauld:

I have just read, with the greatest interest and appreciation, the copy you sent us of the report of the Mayor's Negro Law Enforcement Committee, The Houston Murder Problem: Its Nature, Apparent Causes and Probably Cures. Dr. Bullock and his committee certainly did a fine job of research and of graphic presentation of the findings.

I would very much like to have another copy of this report, if this is possible. Also, I would like to ask that a copy be sent to Chief Herbert Jenkins, Atlanta Police Department, 175 Decatur Street, S.E., Atlanta, Ga. If there is a charge for these two copies, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:A

October 15, 1964

Mr. Charles Kelly
Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Kelly:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Harry Akin, Austin
M. J. Anderson, Austin
Sam Bloom, Dallas
Hank Brown, Austin
Cecil Burney, Corpus Christi
Ernest Estelle, Dallas
Hector Garcia, Corpus Christi
Joaquim B. Gonzales, San Antonio
Mack Hannah, Houston
P. E. Haggerty, Dallas
Rev. Luther Holcomb, Dallas
Leon Jaworski, Houston
Stanley Marcus, Dallas
Carl E. Reistle, Houston
George I. Sanchez
George H. Starke, Dallas

William Steven, Houston
C. A. Tatum, Jr., Dallas
William Thomas, Jr., Houston

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

March 4, 1965

Mr. Charles Kelly, Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Kelly:

Ordinarily, I would have sent you a draft of the research design for our housing study either today or tomorrow. However, a conference scheduled for today with the most knowledgeable person on housing patterns in Atlanta had to be postponed until next week.

I'll hold off sending a draft for a few more days, since I hope to meet with our "consultant" early next week and because some important criticisms and changes may come out of that meeting. But, meeting or no meeting, you will hear again from me by the end of next week.

I shall be making a trip to the New Orleans area over the weekend of March 20-21 to retrieve my car. If, about that time, a mutually profitable meeting could be scheduled for me with your housing committee and, most desirably, with person(s) who might direct the research

into housing patterns in Houston, I would be very anxious to add a Houston visit to this trip. The dates I'm suggesting are March 18 or 19, or 22 or 23. If, by then, you could have a tentative budget drawn up for the project, it would make possible discussion of the financing of the project.

Let me hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

April 7, 1965

Mr. Charles Kelly
Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Kelly:

A number of projects and events have been cleared up; we are now ready to proceed with the study of southern housing patterns. There have even been tentative decisions made on which cities we would prefer to study, and on how much money the SRC can afford to spend for each study.

Because of the early , strong interest in the housing research project shown by the Houston Council and its housing committee, we regard Houston as among the "chosen" (cities), providing that satisfactory research and financial arrangements can be made. This means, simply, that first a capable research man must be found for the Houston study, to direct and especially to write up the study; second, it means that we must be able to afford him.

Therefore, I am very interested in the progress you've made to date on compiling the basic statistics on Houston and Houston housing, as outlined in my research design. Also, do you have a project director in mind?

Do let me know soon how things stand with the Houston survey. If, and when, it is warranted, I can still come down to Houston to make more formal and final arrangements.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

P.S. The final research design will be the draft which you already have, almost as is.

October 15, 1964

Mrs. Harry McAlpin
President
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
13321 Aiken Road
Anchorage, Kentucky
a
Dear Mrs. McAlpin:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Robert Begley, Richmond
Barry Bingham, Louisville
Bert Combs, Lexington
Frank L. Stanley, Sr., Louisville
Hal H. Thurmond, Hopkinsville
William Wood, Harlan
Wilson, Wyatt, Louisville
Whitney M. Young, Sr., Lincoln Ridge

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 28, 1964

Mrs. Harry McAlpin
Chairman
Kentucky Council on Human Relations
13221 Aiken Road
Anchorage, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. McAlpin:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by members of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

October 15, 1964

The Right Reverend
Monsignor Alexander O. Sigur
Acting Chairman
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
Box 532, USL Station
Lafayette, Louisiana

Dear Monsignor Sigur:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

C. J. Dojoie, New Orleans
Dr. Albert W. Dent, New Orleans
Camille Gravele, Jr., Alexandria
Dr. John A. Hunter, Baton Rouge
Harry B. Kelleher, New Orleans
Charles Keller, Jr., New Orleans
John G. Lewis, Jr., Baton Rouge
Henry L. Mason, New Orleans
Leon Sarpy, New Orleans
Edgar Stern, New Orleans
Bascom Talley, Jr., Begalusa
B. B. Taylor, Baton Rouge
Rev. Louis Twomey, S. J., New Orleans

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 28, 1964

The Right Reverend
Monsignor Alexander O. Sigur
Acting Chairman
Louisiana Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 2512
Lafayette, Louisiana

My dear Monsignor Sigur:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by membess of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information .

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

October 15, 1964

Reverend Duncan M. Gray, Jr.
Chairman
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 266
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Gray:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, Tougaloo
Duncan Gray, Oxford
Father Bernard Law, Jackson

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

The Interpreter

a publication of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations

A VOICE OF COUNCIL

ANNUAL MEETING OCTOBER 27, 1966

On October the 27 at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson the Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations will be held. The meeting will begin with a session of the Board of Directors at 12:00 noon in the Victory Foyer.

At 1:30 registration for the general session will get underway. At 2:00 P. M. the meeting will have its official beginning. The highlight of the meeting is to be a dinner address by Roger Wilkins, Director of the Community Relations Service in Washington, D. C. Mr. Wilkins holds a most important position in our government and he is well known for his creative work and dynamic speaking. The dinner banquet will be at 7:00 P. M. at the Heidelberg. This is the only part of the meeting for which there will be any charge.

The meeting is open to the public and guests are invited to both the afternoon session and the evening banquet. Tickets for the banquet may be ordered from the State office of the Council or through members of the Council who are to be designated at a later date. We are expecting a large turnout for the banquet so get your reservation in to the State office as soon as possible.

The afternoon agenda is not yet complete, but it will include a business session for the purpose of electing new board members, the presentation of a financial report, the Director's report and a discussion of future program plans. If anyone has any specific business they wish to bring up or anything they think should be included in this important meeting, the State office would appreciate a word to that effect.

I would like to make ____ reservations for the Dinner Banquet of the Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations scheduled for Oct. 27, 1966 at the Heidelberg Hotel, Jackson, Mississippi beginning at 7:00 P. M.

Adults $4.00 _____ Check Enclosed _____

Students $2.00 _____ Bill Me _____

Return to 306 First Federal Building, Jackson, Mississippi

The Mississippi Council on Human Relations is a private non-profit organization composed of Mississippians. The purpose of the organization is to work in the areas of education and council to further a community of wholesome and free relationships for all people to the end of equality and responsible citizenship. The organization is not related to any church or political party. The structure of the MCHR is a State Council with local chapters. The State board members are:

Rev. John Aregood
Mrs. Ann Ashmore
Dr. A. D. Beittel
Dr. Robert Bergmark
Mr. A. A. Branch
Mrs. Jesse Brent
Rev. T. B. Brown
Rev. J. W. Carroll
Mrs. Emmanuel Crystal
Mrs. Marge Curet
Mrs. Paul S. Derian
Rev. Powell Hall, Jr.
Mr. Evans Harrington
Mr. H. Power Hearn, Sr.
Mr. Aaron Henry
Mrs. Ann Hewitt
Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr.
Dr. Leon Whitney
Mr. William Lynch
Rev. E. A. Mays
Dr. Perry E. Nussbaum
Rev. Charlemagne Payne
Dr. Matthew J. Page
Dr. George E. Powers
Mr. I. S. Sanders
Mr. Sid Sicotte

MCHR Officers are:

Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., President
Rev. Henry Clay, Jr., Vice-President
Rev. N. Machesky, Vice-President
Mr. John B. Pettus, Vice-President
Mrs. W. I. Schutt, Secretary and Treasurer
Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Director

The offices of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations are located in Room 306, First Federal Building, corner of Capitol and So. State Streets in Jackson.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Membership Application

I am in sympathy with the purpose of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and I am glad to become a member.

I enclose my check as indicated to support this endeavor for a community of wholesome and free relationships for all peoples to the end of equality and responsible citizenship.

Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____, Miss. Zip Code _____

Contributing Member.....	$ 5.00
Sustaining Member.....	10.00
Sponsor.....	25.00
Patron.....	100.00
Student Member.....	3.00

Please Mail Application to:
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Bldg.
Jackson, Mississippi

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE HELD

On September 29 the State Office sponsored a Leadership conference on "Mississippi's Poverty Programs." Some forty state leaders and representatives of the Office of Economic Opportunity were in attendence at the meeting at the Admiral Ben Bow Inn in Jackson.

Points of interest that came up during the meeting revolved around such themes as "How to Desegregate Your Headstart." It was pointed out that many people across the State think that Headstart is a Negro program when in fact it is designed to aid any child of a poverty target area.

Representatives of two programs stated that they had been able to desegregate their programs, but that it took a lot of door to door canvassing and selling of the Program.

Another important point that came up was the suggestion that most of the opposition to the Poverty Program in Mississippi does not come from racial prejudice but from persons who oppose the $1.25 minimum wage that the program leads into. More than one leader had met with this kind of opposition. While this situation offers some degree of hope for race relations, it presents the same problem in a more subtle and just as serious way.

A third subject for lengthy discussion had to do with internal problems in local programs. Some leaders suggested that many poverty programs do not discriminate on the basis of race, but that they pick and choose employees who are not Civil Rights activists.

Probably the most heated issue of discussion had to do with who should run a program on poverty and how poverty boards should be selected. Some leaders supported appointed boards, others strongly favored elected boards and some felt that a mixture of the two methods worked best. Tied in with the selection of boards is the issue of the participation of the poor and the decision making process of a given board. While some leaders did not see these factors as matters of primary importance, others felt that the involvement of the poor in the beginning stages of a program and in the continuing decision making process to be prerequisite to a good program.

Two other points of interest to the group had to do with the fact that no Mississippi congressman voted for the OEO Act, but that all have tried very hard to control it. It was also pointed out that while it is wrong to discriminate against Civil Rights activists in the hiring of a staff, that it is equally bad to structure a program in such a way that it gives forth the image of being a Civil Rights front organization.

Council Dues

As most of the members of the Council on Human Relations know the Council operates on an annual budget of about $32,000.00. At the present time most of this amount comes from the Southern Regional Council and private Foundations such as Ford and Field. Beginning with the present year the Council is going to have to move more in the direction of self support. We will always be able to get foundation support for special projects, but we are going to have to show that we run a self-sustaining organization in terms of our basic operation.

Many people who are interested in the Council and many who have been members in the past year have been a bit lax about paying their dues. As we enter the fourth quarter of the year these dues are badly needed. The quality of the program with which we finish the year depends in large upon more people coming through with financial support. Thus far this year almost $30,000 has come to us from the Southern Regional Council and the foundations. We really ought to send our dues in to the State office now.

It is also important that dues be paid for another reason. At the Annual Meeting some important issues are to come before the Council for a vote. Only due paying members will be eligible to vote on these important issues.

Chapter Organized in Oxford

The State office is happy to report that a chapter council has been organized in the Oxford area. This organization has been developing for almost a year now. In the early summer a group of serious minded people came together and set the machinery in motion. By August the chapter was organized with a set of by-laws and officers. Seventythree persons participated in the final organizational meeting.

The Reverend James Lock Jones, the Methodist Chaplain at the University, is the President of the group. Mr. Jones is a native Mississippian. After graduating from the School of Theology at SMU he returned to Mississippi and began his ministry. He is in his second year of service at the University. Last month Mr. Jones attended the quarterly meeting of the field directors for the Human Relations Councils across the South. This meeting was held at SRC in Atlanta. Mr. Jones was well received and had the opportunity to get a four-day look at Human Relations Agencies at work.

The people of Oxford are to be commended for this fine work. We look forward to many days of creative work together.

Urban League Comes to Jackson

As was announced at the end of the Meredith March, the Urban League is organizing a chapter in Jackson. They have already hired a staff and will have the installation of their officers at an organizational meeting Oct. 5 at the Heidelberg Hotel. The National Director of the Urban League, Mr. Whitney Young, will be present for this meeting. Many of the people in the Human Relations Council will want to participate in this fine work.

October 28, 1964

Reverend Duncan M. Gray, Jr.
Chairman
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 266
Oxford, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Gray:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by members of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
306 FIRST FEDERAL BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

LD
ML
Return Pw

THE REV. DUNCAN M. GRAY, JR., OXFORD, PRESIDENT
DR. D. I. HORN, WEST POINT, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. E. A. MAYS, LAUREL, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. DONALD A. THOMPSON, JACKSON, SECRETARY AND TREASURER
KENNETH L. DEAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

TELEPHONE: 948-0878
948-0879

May 12, 1965

Pat...

Regarding our discussion of the FDP and whether or not it is third party in orientation; I've tried to work through this with a good number of the people involved. I come up with this conclusion. There is real evidence that the intention of the FDP is to be a pressure group within the structure of the democrat party. Some SNCC workers think this is all that FDP ever wanted to be. Yet I meet others, who when under the influence of a few drinks, admit that the third party factor is real and present. My opinion is that this question has not yet been decided. I believe that the way in which things go in the next two months will pretty much determine the direction of FDP. I am learning two things here in Mississippi which relate to this subject. First, the Negro of the South is much closer to the Southern white than he is to the Civil Rights worker. Secondly, the democratic party is too strong for the FDP to really become third party. I see these two factors to be pushing FDP in the direction of being only a pressure group.

In a rather lengthy discussion (off the record) with the FBI yesterday, it was mentioned that they feel that much of the leadership of the FDP is in cities such as Seattle, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, New Orleans, New York and Detroit. However, they could not come up with the names of people in these cities who represent this leadership.

My visits with people from the Atlanta SNCC office cause me to think that much of the direction of FDP is to be understood in light of Foreman's interest in African affairs. John Lewis is pretty much motivated, as to direction, by the same. The black and white problem within SNCC grows worse each day. The day that I was in Atlanta last week was a period of real fighting. Some of the white SNCC workers resigned that day. They are presently meeting in Waveland...will be interesting to see what they come up with.

After talking with you, I saw Bob Parris (Moses). I asked him about talking with you. He seemed pretty open and I hope you did make an effort to see him. In my opinion, when all the cards are in, he will go down as one hell of a nice guy. And, for what it's worth, Bob does trust you and your work. So anytime it's convenient for you two to talk, I think he would be willing.

Things move along about the same here. Hope that this note does not add to the confusion of things. Look forward to seeing you in a couple of weeks.

P.S. I had a letter and special copies of all of the recent article from Novak. I'd like to try to convert him!

Ken Dean

File

Rec'd 6/1/66

The Interpreter

a publication of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations

A VOICE OF COUNCIL

CONFERENCE ON POVERTY PLANNED

On June 4th, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations will be sponsoring a conference of foremost importance on the topic: "Poverty and Mississippi." The conference will be held from 10:00 A.M. until approximately 4:00 P.M. at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson.

The meeting is designed to create better understanding between the poor people of Mississippi and agencies and other groups conducting poverty programs. Due to the wide variety of organizations participating, a large turnout is expected. Leaders from the United Church Women, NAACP Legal Defense Fund, the President's Committee for Constitutional Defense Under Law, Mississippians for Public Education, the Poor Peoples Conference, the American Friends Service Committee and the Child Development Group in Mississippi have assisted the Council in the planning. Five or six other groups have participated to a lesser degree.

The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, to be represented at the Conference by Ed Stanfield, Director of Field Activities, is providing $400.00 for travel assistance to some of the poorer people who might not otherwise be able to attend. Unfortunately, this money is not available to Council members. We would like to help everyone with travel expenses, but there just isn't that kind of money available.

A large delegation of representatives from various government agencies is expected, many of whom will be participating in the program. The program, which is still being planned, will involve a number of poor people from across the state. Many of the poor of our state have been involved in a unique educational experience over the last few years and as a result can well state their case. It is hoped that the members of the Council will become better acquainted with some of these people.

(Continued on Page 3)

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

On March 5, the Council on Human Relations sponsored a Leadership Conference of people from organizations working with problems related to poverty and race. Thirty-four representatives attended the meeting.

This was an especially beneficial meeting for many of us in that it cleared up a number of misconceptions about various organizations and programs which are operating in the state.

The Council has been approached by a consultant from a Community Organization firm that does work for the Federal Government. One of their representatives observed the Leadership Conference and has recommended that we continue the conference with some degree of guidance and assistance from them. Plans are being made along these lines.

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Dean A. A. Branch
Mrs. Jesse E. Brent
Rev. T. B. Brown
Rev. J. W. Carroll
Rev. Henry Clay, Jr.
Mrs. Emmanuel Crystal
Mrs. Marge Curet
Mrs. Paul S. Derian
Rev. Duncan M. Gray
Rev. Powell Hall, Jr.
Mr. Evans Harrington
Mr. H. Power Hearn, Sr.
Dr. Aaron E. Henry
Mrs. Ann Hewitt
Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr.
Rev. Bernard Law
Mr. William Lynch
Rev. Nathaniel Machesky
Rev. E. A. Mays
Dr. Perry E. Nussbaum
Dr. Matthew J. Page
Rev. Charlemagne Payne
Mr. John B. Pettus
Dr. George E. Powers
Mr. I. S. Sanders
Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt
Mr. Sid Sicotte
Rev. Leon Whitney

MCHR Officers are:

Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., President
Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt, Sec.-Treas.
Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Director
John B. Pettus, Vice President
Rev. Nathaniel Machesky, V. P.
Rev. Henry C. Clay, V. P.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
Membership Application

I am in sympathy with the purpose of the Mississippi Council on Human Relations and I am glad to become a member.

I enclose my check as indicated to support this endeavor for a community of wholesome and free relationships for all peoples to the end of equality and responsible citizenship.

Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____, Miss. Zip Code _____

Contributing Member.....$ 5.00
Sustaining Member..... 10.00
Sponsor..... 25.00
Patron..... 100.00
Student Member..... 3.00

Please Mail Application to:
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
306 First Federal Bldg.
Jackson, Mississippi

Continued...Poverty Conference

The program will be in two parts, separated at noon by a 90-minute lunch break, during which the Board of the Council will be in session. The Council is not accepting the responsibility for lunch provisions. The afternoon session will begin at 1:30 P.M. and will last until about 4:00 P.M.

Council members will receive a more detailed account of the plans for the program in about two days. Do plan to attend this meeting, and if possible bring a new friend to get acquainted with the Council.

STUDENT INTERN IS WITH COUNCIL

Kalamazoo College in Kalamazoo, Michigan, has as a part of their required studies a field program. Under this program sophomore students are available to nonprofit organizations such as the Mississippi Council. The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta presently has two of these interns working with them.

Dan McKeon came to work with the Mississippi Council on May 1 and will remain until the end of June. He is making use of his studies in History and Political Science to help us with research problems and the evaluation of social change. We're glad to have Dan working with the Council. You will be seeing some of the results of his research soon.

TAX-DEDUCTABLE STATUS OF COUNCIL

One of the necessary steps in the growth of a Council is its recognition as a non-profit, tax-exempt organization. Thus far the Council has not been able to get this recognition.

There are two steps in the process of application for this status. The organization must be chartered as a non-profit organization by the state in which it operates. After it is chartered as such, then application is made to the Federal Government for tax-exempt status.

Over a year ago, our lawyers filed an application for a charter from the State of Mississippi. Since then, the Council has not been able to influence the Governor to release the requested charter. A number of influential persons have written the Governor about this matter, but he has not seen fit to take action. Two persons from outside the state, who are friends of the Council, asked the Governor about the application. He replied that he wasn't making charters available for the Klan groups, therefore, he couldn't give one to the Council.

In a way this position makes a lot of sense politically, but it remains that the Governor grants charters to the Citizen Councils just for the asking. This stance is not very befitting an official of this rank.

Another way that an organization can obtain tax-exempt status is by declaring itself a non-profit association. This is the route that the Council will most likely have to follow. Under this method the organization must prove by its constitution and by-laws that it is a non-profit and non-sectarian association. In order for the Council to qualify, a few changes will have to be made in the wording of the constitution. This is to be cared for at the next statewide meeting of the Council.

COUNCIL RECEIVES BOOK GRANT

With the assistance of a $2,000 Field Foundation grant, the Council has purchased and is now distributing 1800 copies of James Silver's book, Mississippi: the Closed Society. The grant was assigned to the Council by the Southern Churchmen (Nashville) under the directorship of the Reverend Will Campbell.

The purpose of this project is to make available a book that most Mississippians should read to persons who might not otherwise be able to get a copy.

Continued 5

Continued...Book Grant

Thus far the Council has given approximately twenty copies to individuals at Jackson State College and 100 copies to the AFL-CIO. A number of libraries across the state will receive hardback copies for their perment use.

If you know of a person who you think would appreciate a copy and who otherwise might not be able to obtain one, please notify the Council.

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR RESIGNS

William Silver, who has been serving for eight months as Associate Director of the Council, has recently resigned this position to work for the Young Democratic Club of Mississippi. Mr. Silver plans to enter law school at Harvard this fall and he wanted to devote his full efforts to strenghtening the Young Democrats in these remaining weeks.

Mr. Silver, in his eight months with the Council, began work with student groups on a number of college campuses across the state. The most significant results were achieved at Millsaps, MSCW, Ole Miss and Jackson State. Work was also started at Rust, Mississippi College, Tougaloo, Mississippi State and Mississippi Southern.

This work will be continued, but there are no plans to hire a new associate at this time.

OXFORD ORGANIZES A COUNCIL CHAPTER

On the night of May 13, fifty-two persons from the Oxford area met to start organizational work for a human relations council. Evans Harrington, professor of English at the University, called the meeting and presided until a temporary chairman was elected.

The Reverend James Jones, director of Methodist student work at Ole Miss, was elected temporary chairman. A temporary board was also elected to help complete the organization work. In the next few weeks the board will decide on a set of by-laws and other business procedures to present to a called meeting for the purpose of creating a formal organization. The Oxford group is to be congratulated for this fine show of interest in creating an even better quality of community life in their area.

It is hoped that we can organize at least four more local councils in the next few months. If any person feels that his area is ready for this type of work, the state office is eager to help.

THE SUMMER MONTHS

Many Mississippians have asked what is likely to happen in the state during the summer months. It is true that the Civil Rights groups are beginning to take on a new face. Poverty programs, political interest and international affiars have cut deep into the resources of most of the Civil Rights groups.

The newly oriented forces are more interested in international problems and their relationship to the local scene. This is a step that will follow quickly for many Negroes, but which will not be so easy for most white people. At this time it seems that Mississippi will not experience much of the threat of violence that will come with these new efforts at change.

Programs such as CDGM, STAR, the Delta Ministry and the FDP have involved most Mississippians who are interested in problems of poverty and race. Each of these organizations is working on local problems, and is so involved with this work, that no change of direction is likely in the near future. While this is the case for Mississippi, the urban areas of both the South and North are likely to see a new kind of activity coming from the Negro ghetto.

Many signs indicate that racial problems are far worse than any of us suspected. If this is the case, we would do well to move as rapidly as possible. It may well be that we are now at the very crossroads that will determine the near future.

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
306 FIRST FEDERAL BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

File

THE REV. DUNCAN M. GRAY, JR., OXFORD, PRESIDENT
DR. D. I. HORN, WEST POINT, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. E. A. MAYS, LAUREL, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. DONALD A. THOMPSON, JACKSON, SECRETARY AND TREASURER
KENNETH L. DEAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

TELEPHONE: 948-0878
948-0879

June 6, 1965

Dear Pat...

Just a note or two which might interest you. Bob Parris (Moses) is on his way to New York-Washington to do a summer project. Bob along with another worker or two is planning to try to bring to bare a pressure which will get results concerning the Viet Nam situation. It is my understanding that this project is not an official part of the SNCC program, but I do think that Bob goes with the full blessing of SNCC. Just how he plans to go about this project, I'm not sure. I expect him to try to involve some Eastern and Northern students.

In my opinion this step is a forerunner of what we can expect of SNCC in the near future. I think they are going to come out with programs which will involve economic and political factors which reach beyond the state and national boarders. Of course they have all ready been doing such. But they have spent some time researching and preparing themselves so that they might be able to put these things together for the public. Moses will be attempting to show how the poverty problems of Mississippi are directly related to the war in Viet Nam.

Here in Mississippi the emphasis is presently upon the organization of co-ops, credit unions and labor groups. New are: (1) MFLU, the Miss. Freedom Labor Union. (2) The Poor Peoples Corporation under the direction of Jesse Morris. (3) MEATF (called meat), the Miss. economic assistance task force. There are others, but these seem to be the most effective.

We had a good AFL-CIO meeting on Saturday. There were about 200 present at the integrated meeting at the King Edward. Labor folk here are not nearly as strong as I had thought. Claude Ramsey is trying to organize the adult democrat party by making use of the NAACP. This is a nice effort, but it's like trying to organize the wind! The Young Democrats are still trying to organize...and if it weren't for a crazy press, we would be able to get off the ground.

The work with the council comes along. A council got organized last week in Laurel. Another is getting underway in Yazoo City. Then I've actually had the White Citizen Council folk of Canton sit down with six Negro leaders. Canton will get worse and better, but will eventually come out for the good. One real problem there...there is a real effort to go private with the school system. We'll know more about that soon.

That's it from here. Sorry that I didn't get by for the meeting there last week. Look forward to seeing your article on the students.

Yours,

Ken Dean

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
306 FIRST FEDERAL BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

THE REV. DUNCAN M. GRAY, JR., OXFORD, PRESIDENT
DR. D. I. HORN, WEST POINT, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. E. A. MAYS, LAUREL, VICE-PRESIDENT
THE REV. DONALD A. THOMPSON, JACKSON, SECRETARY AND TREASURER
KENNETH L. DEAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

TELEPHONE: 948-0878
948-0879

File

LD ✓
PAL
Det PW

June 22, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat,

Today I interviewed Mary Sue Gellatly who has been working in Shaw. Presently, there seems to be between 900 and 1,000 workers out, mostly in Boliver and Washington counties. Some are tenant farmers, but the greater number are day laborers. In Tribbett (Washington county) 13 families have been evicted from the Andrew plantation. This totals 60 people. The men are living in tents there near Tribbett. The women and children are in Greenville in a school dorm. They are about to be evicted.

The labor union walkout started in Shaw and involved about 100 workers. These 100 plan to suffer it out. It caught fire in other towns, taking on the form of wildcat strikes.

It looks like the strikes will fail. After two days workers were brought in from nearby areas.

It is to be noted that most of the picking is now being done by machines. In the next season or two, the chopping will be replaced by chemical warfare on the weeds.

George Shelton, a 19 year old Shaw Negro who was unemployed and who is a product of the freedom schools led the work at Shaw. Three COFO staff workers have been closely involved: Robert Scoville, a 19 year old white, Robert Wilde, a 25 year old white college graduate, Mary Sue Gellatly, about a 23 year old white college graduate. As for the future these people will try to move to integrate into the two local industries. Secondly, through co-ops ~~coops~~ and such they will try to start their own businesses. The COFO staff workers think that about two thirds of the population will be out of work in the near future.

Related to this situation is an incident which took place in a public school in Shaw. Some of the kids who had attended freedom schools destroyed property at the school. The local officials have arrested eight civil rights workers. The three I have mentioned are among those arrested. They are charged

with accessory to a crime and contributing to the delinquency of a minor. The total bail is $1400 for each person. Only one person is out thus far. It is thought that Shaw officials are trying to stop the civil rights movement by issuing a prison sentence to these eight workers. You will be interested to know that police handling the case used electric prods to get signed statements from the juveniles, the statements implicating the eight workers.

Hope this helps. Call any time.

Sincerely,

Kenneth L. Dean

KLD:sm

Pat - They say the Miss. Freedom Labor Union will succeed .... by being a union organized of the unemployed!

Ken Dean

June 23, 1965

Dear Ken:

It was good talking to you yesterday. If I had any sense at all I would have remembered to tell you about the subject of this letter and not spoiled my record of very seldom writing them. Anyhow, there is a good bunch of northern-volunteer kids in what sounds like a pretty bad county in Alabama, Choctow, right on the Mississippi border. I got to know them last week conducting a workshop at the SCLC orientation for them. I thought if you ever got down that way, maybe you could drop in on them and bring them good cheer, etc. Address: % Miss Dorothy Wright, P.O. Box 226, Lisman, Alabama. Phone: 398-3683.

Thanks again for the good information in various notes and letters. Looking forward to seeing you if you do get over here.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

Mr. Kenneth Dean
Executive Director
Mississippi Council on
Human Relations
Capitol at State Street
Jackson, Mississippi

File

MISSISSIPPI COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
306 FIRST FEDERAL BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

TELEPHONE: 948-0878
948-0879

LD ✓
PA ✓
Return to PW

THE REV. DUNCAN M. GRAY, JR., OXFORD, PRESIDENT
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THE REV. DONALD A. THOMPSON, JACKSON, SECRETARY AND TREASURER
KENNETH L. DEAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Dear Pat,

Good coverage on the work having to do with the Federal Courts in the South. The news of radio and TV mentioned it, and better coverage came by way of newspapers. Seems to me that this should have concrete results in important areas.

Suppose Al has brought you up to date on Mississippi. A pretty good response from across the state concerning our state meeting. Some professors from conservative schools are now asking for more information. The area of politics is still the most important fight here, and I see no change in the near future.

It was good to visit with you on my recent trip to Atlanta. I look forward to further visits.

Yours

Ken Dean

File PW

AN EVALUATION OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN MISSISSIPPI
BY KENNETH L. DEAN

Like some of the other organizations present today, the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, too, is a fact finding organization. We are involved in research and education to further our ends. For the past two months the Council has been involved in a study of the attempt at school desegregation in Mississippi. We have conducted private and group interviews, had students and parents fill out questionaires, had students write essays, and we have talked with teachers and whole families. Let me emphasize that we have involved both parents and students in this project. We do not claim to have done a study that has the final word concerning the educational experience of the student, but we do feel that we have done a study that is valid in terms of what has gone on in the matter of community support and the desegregation experience.

The study was not conducted wholly by the staff of the Council. We involved professional staff members from almost every major college in the state, plus some professional sociologists and psychologists.

The assumption behind today's report is that the school experience of any student is expected to be a good, wholesome, and just experience. For this reason it is necessary that I deal with the problems that we have uncovered. The Council usually does not involve itself in this kind of report. It is our method to analyze a problem and then attempt to bring the good in the state to the focal point of that problem. We all know that we have problems, but there is sufficient good

in the state to cure these problems.

When I first discussed with a friend of mine working for the Civil Rights Commission the possibility of giving this report, I thought that there would be thirty-five or forty civil rights oriented people as the audience. I later learned that this was not the case, but the facts do not change with the audience...as you will see.

Two points have been made obvious from our study. There has been almost no accomplished school desegregation in our state. With only .35 of one percent school desegregation, Mississippians are still able to claim that they are 99.44 hundreds percent pure. Of the small number who have been involved in this test to see how Mississippi would respond to desegregation, 60% did so because they were encouraged and assisted by a Civil Rights group. Only 3% said that thay did so because they received a freedom of choice letter.

Secondly, there has been no desegregation of the school systems in our state for reasons other than the absence of meaningful numbers of Negroes. Modern educators, even in Mississippi, are telling us that the educational experience goes far beyond what takes place in the classroom. They remind us that the "whole child" goes to school and that education takes place only when the social, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, and physical needs of the student are met. This has not yet happened in Mississippi. For example, a student teacher at a local high school was told that she was to treat the Negro students in her class just like they weren't present.... that that was the agreed way between the students and the

teachers. Or to take another situation where a few Negroes are in attendence. At the present a school program for entertainment in the evening is being planned. It is designed to exclude the Negro students. This end is being achieved through a controlled sale of tickets.

Informed educators also tell us that what happens on the way to school, in the lunchroom, in the extra-curricular activities, on the athletic field, and on the way home is as important as the classroom experience. Yet, over 60% of the parents of Negro children in the white schools say that their child is not wanted at school. 62% say that their child can not take part in extra-curricular activities. 30% of the high school students say that there is no support whatsoever between them and their teachers. 45% say that they are segregated in the cafeteria. 60% say that it would help if they could ride a desegregated school bus. And it seems that no effort is being made to correct these problems. Only the day before yesterday, a school teacher in Jackson circulated an announcement concerning a lecture at a local college. On the bottom of the announcement was written "White only", thus the announcement was read only in classes that were all white. This was reported by a white teacher in whose class the announcement was supposed to be read. Both the college and the high school concerned are operating with federal funds.

Too, we are being told that the student must have the opportunity to assimilate and express his school experience in the near normal family and community setting. Acknowledging this as true, in recent days we have seen our more informed

citizens rise up in arms over an attack on an empty building in Greenville, yet say or do almost nothing about the fact that over half of the Negro families with children in the desegregated schools have been subjected to extensive harassment. We really have misplaced our values. 28% of the parents have been pressured or fired by their employer. 7% have lost their housing. 22% have lost their credit at the bank. 5% reported a cut in or a loss of welfare assistance. 47% have had threatening phone calls, crosses burned or been the victims of some form of physical intimidation.

It seems that officials at both the local and national levels have made plans for school desegregation without ever having stopped to think seriously about the educational process. It appears that a conspiracy is underway to violate both the civil rights and the natural rights of Mississippi Negroes who wish to attend tha school of their choice. While HEW officials were in town recently to discuss with the school officials the guidelines, a Negro student at a local white school had his clothes cut to shreads by his classmates while he participated in a physical education class. The teacher who reported this incident said that to his knowledge nothing had been done to discipline the guilty...or even to determine who the guilty were.

One teacher reported that there is agreement among some teachers who have Negro students that they will all give failing grades to the Negro students. This subject was discussed openly and freely in the faculty lounge.

In one of the systems where the school desegregation test has gone fairly well, a Negro teacher reported that she was instructed by her superior, who is white, to give low grades to her students who have brothers or sisters in the all white schools.

The efforts at school desegregation have not been all bad, but for the most part school officials and teachers have not assumed their responsibility as educators. At this point I am reminded of a story that is told on our friend Ross Barnett. When a trustee escaped from the state prison Ross is reported to have said that if you can't trust the trustees, then who can you trust? That seems to be the feeling of the Negroes. They are saying, "If you can't trust the educators to help us with education, then who can we trust?" The day after the HEW officials, whom I have already mentioned, visited Jackson, a local principal was asked by a group of faculty members if there was really going to have to be faculty desegregation. The principal replied that he didn't think so, and that at any rate he sure hoped not.

One high school student reported that some of his teachers still tell what is referred to as "nigger jokes" in class but that he substitutes "African" for nigger. Another reported that when she told her principal that her classmates were calling her nigger that he replied that a lot of students had nicknames.

Our research indicates that there are situations on the Coast and in Hattiesburg that could grow into an acceptable and wholesome experience. On the other hand, almost all the

rest of the state, where there has been a test of desegregation falls far short of the mark. A situation ixists in the Delta Counties which should receive immediate attention. Children should not be subjected to what is going on there. Many of you here know this better than I, for it is you and your children about whom I am talking. But perhaps there are others of us who do need to hear.

It is difficult to decide whether or not we can look to the future with hope. We are confronted with a justice problem that has been clothed in faith language. I'm afraid that the signs of the past and present are not conducive to the kind of faith relationship which you are being told to enter. Lawyers and Civil Rights people read the HEW guidelines as tho' they were prose, as tho' there are definite words there that have definite meaning concerning school desegregation. But the majority of the people in the country seem to think that the guidelines are political poetry and have to be interpreted, if they do not go so far as to being a riddle.

Negro leaders say that they see no real hope for other Negroes who want to attend the school of their choice under normal conditions. They say that only a few people in the world are motivated to continue to go somewhere when they are continually harassed and told that they are not wanted. If we are to move from the experience of this past year, from somewhere there must come a definite and clearly defined assistance. We certainly have not had this from the local level and to date no word of good news has come from the national level. But there is a backlog of strength and courage in the Negro

community. Federal examiners opened the doors to this strength in the area of registration. But freedom-of-choice letters are a poor substitute in the school desegregation effort. It is a sad experience for people to receive such important letters when the truth of the matter is that many of them can't even read.

Is it that we are doomed to a slow, long, drawn out process in our efforts to adequately educate the people of Mississippi. We should have learned from the Ole Miss crisis of '62 that the longer you delay the more time you give the forces of evil to build up their resistance. It would be helpful if some moves could be made to correct present problems. There's really no excuse for segregated buses or segregated cafeterias. There's no real reason that white students have to continue to step back and clear the way when a Negro student comes down the hall. Or for the white students to move to the other side of a classroom when the Negroes come in to be seated. These may seem like small matters, but they are important.

One of the purposes of the work of the Council is to help in creating a process of clear communication. Negro leaders have told me that it would be particularly helpful to them in their plans if before they leave today they could know the exact meaning of "significant progress" as it is used in the guidelines. If they could know the meaning of "substantial progress" and what these two terms mean in relationship to each other.

I would like to close by reading an essay written by a young Negro lady in the 12th grade. Out of a list of seven subjects she chose to write on, "I am sometimes sad at school because..."

"Sometimes I am sad at school because out of the whole student body, it seems that I have only six friends--the six Negro students. Often while sitting in the library with a whole table to myself and students throwing paper across the room, I have felt like quitting school for good.

Sometimes, when we are together, (Negro students), I feel good, because I know that I have friends. But, the attitudes of the majority of white students make me feel as if I could scream. Many of the students would be friendlier, if they were not afraid of what their friends would say or how their parents would feel.

Even in class with another Negro student, I often feel left out. We can sit up in class and our Home Economics teacher will carry on a conversation with everyone in the class except us. Even when the Seniors got their name cards, everyone was exchanging cards and completely ignoring me.

The only times that I am ever really happy at school are Friday evenings and when the 3:30 bell rings at the close of the school day.

Whenever I have extra time at school to think, especially when someone has been bothering me, I think about the War in Viet Nam and wonder how it is that my brother, a Negro, is good enough to be sent to fight for the white's country, and yet his sister isn't good enough to associate with white people."

*Page 3, line 13, support should be rapport.

LE
AV

please go over this, & get together with Vernon on it

VJ - please reply

file

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the cause of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."

—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 301
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

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Rec'd 10/15/64

October 13, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Knowing that Paul is out of the country, I am sending you the brochure prepared by the Durham Council as a result of the study made this summer by Ed Barber.

I am working closely with Dr. Watts, chairman, and other in Durham. Mr. John Wheeler sat in for a short time on one of our meetings and is in agreement with plans made for using this report. I am enclosing a letter I prepared for Dr. Watts' signature which will be sent to all persons interviewed. It would be helpful to us to have your advice on whether you think this should eventually have widespread publicity. Mr. Wheeler seems to think that this would be desirable at the proper time.

I am enjoying my work and I only hope that the results will be gratifying to all of us. I feel that the scope of activity for the Council in North Carolina is unlimited. My problem is one of selection.

You will be interested to know that two new councils are forming--one in Goldsboro and another in Wilmington. This requires rather extensive travel for me.

I understand that the state directors are to be invited to the meeting in November. I look forward to seeing you then.

I hope you are entirely recovered.

Every good wish,

Cordially,

Helen Adams

Helen Adams
Executive Director

DRAFT

Dear Mr.

The Durham Council on Human Relations believes you will find the attached report of special interest. You will probably recall that Mr. Ed Barber interviewed you last summer as part of a study he conducted on the employment situation as it related to our Negro citizens.

We are grateful to Mr. Barber and his wife. This young couple, both southerners, devoted their month's vacation to serve the cause of better human relations. Mr. Barber is with the publishing firm of Harpers, in the Text Book Division, and Mrs. Barber is concluding studies on her Ph. D. degree.

Mr. Barber undertook the study of Negro employment or the lack of same because he recognized as we do, that economic condition of Negroes must improve if we are to have a whole and healthy community. Such improvement is long overdue and equal job opportunity is now written into laws.

Mrs. Barber performed an outstanding service for our community working daily with little children from disadvantaged homes in a school readiness program.

We call your attention to the "Introduction" of the report which was prepared by Mrs. Martin, member of the Council's executive committee.

You will note that neither your name or the name of your firm is recorded in the report.

We wanted you to read the report and to ask you to give it thoughtful consideration. This was in essence a scientific sampling, and from the text it is quite evident that Durham is "out of step" in developing a sound employment policy. We need your help to change this situation as rapidly as possible in a spirit of good will and cooperation.

Should you wish to discuss the report further or if you have any question, please let me know. A return card is enclosed. We shall ask a member of the committee who worked on the report with Mr. Barber to call on you.

Sometime in the near future, after the report has been given to the press, perhaps we might hold an open meeting for the entire business community to discuss the present situation and the future.

Yours truly,

COPY

WHAT'S AHEAD

For

The NEGRO JOB SEEKER

IN DURHAM, N.C.

INTRODUCTION

This report is based on a survey made under the sponsorship of the Durham Council on Human Relations during the period of June 26 through July 17, 1964. The interviews were made personally by ED BARBER who, on his own time and at his own expense, visited the twenty-seven stores, offices and plants in Durham which were considered the main possible sources to which Negroes might look for employment, provided the Civil Rights Bill and the Fair Employment Policy were faithfully adhered to by the management of the respective firms.

Except for three of the offices, the exact identification of these firms has not been stressed because it was felt that anonymity would best serve to project the over-all picture of the employment situation in Durham as it affects the Negro. (It is presumed that most of these firms will be easily identifiable by the townsfolk due to the fact that they are some of the largest and best known, and because their hiring policies are already familiar to that sector of the Negro community which has been employable in and around Durham for the past several decades.) The main purpose of this survey, however, was to provide the groundwork for some effort to improve the total employment situation, rather than to stir up emotions by dealing in personalities.

The three offices identified by name are tax supported by the citizens of the City and County of Durham, both Negro and white, and any discriminatory hiring practices on their part should be pinpointed and brought into focus for some immediate action to rectify the situation.

The essence of the Ed Barber survey is in the following summary prepared by Delores R. Marvin, a member of the Durham Council on Human Relations.

A Report on the Prospects for Employment of Negroes in Durham Based on a Survey of Twenty-seven Business Offices

Mindful of the somewhat ineffective Fair Employment Policy agreement locally, and the current national effort to wage "war on poverty", it was the concensus of the Durham Council on Human Relations that a survey on the employment situation in Durham would cast some light on a local problem that has long been recognized as a contributing factor to the well-known pockets of poverty existing in certain Negro areas.

From an economics point of view, the growth and progress of a city are primarily dependent upon the economic independence of its total population, regardless of race. It may be concluded, therefore, that a city which practices or even condones a discriminatory employment policy defeats its own purpose, when that purpose is to grow and progress.

This survey was made in an effort to gain some idea as to what effect the employment policy of Durham's various business firms had on the general economics of the city.

Consistent throughout the interviews were indications that the hiring of Negroes generally, on levels above common labor and janitorial services, is going to be a long, slow process if left to the choice of the individual employer.

One stumbling block to what might possibly lead to more frequent hiring of Negroes is the policy practiced by Durham's own tax-supported Employment Security Commission. It appears that the appropriation to run this office depends on the number of persons placed on jobs. Since "most of the large businesses in the Durham area" send him job orders which exclude Negroes altogether, according to Mr. Berini, head of the Commission office, this puts him in a "too delicate position to attempt any sort of racial balance in the placement of jobs" from his office. Not caring to risk alienating his clientele, he simply never sends out a Negro to fill a job unless the employer specifies a Negro, or indicates that a Negro would be acceptable. According to Mr. Berini, "this is very rare."

The office of the Employment Security Commission, itself, was found to be segregated, employing only two Negroes who use a separate entrance to get to their jobs on the employment compensation side. There are no plans to hire Negroes in the main office where a staff of about twenty-three do the interviewing and testing.

When questioned further on this, Mr. Berini's contention was that "in an earlier attempt to merge the scores and qualifications of Negro and white workers, the results put the Negroes low on the list, and since hiring is done on a merit basis," he felt "the prospects of future hiring are even slimmer now than before desegregation of the office."

Continuing with a report on the City's tax-supported offices, it was learned that Durham's City Manager, Hardin Hughes, was aware of the employment problems, but seemed to favor the "gradualist method" of integrating, "if ever." Of the City's nine hundred employees, there are none in the City Hall except janitors. In other posts, there are fifteen on the police force, ten firemen (all in one engine house), and a few water meter readers. Only recently were Negroes hired to sweep the streets and read meters, but the interviewer got the impression that hiring will accelerate in time, though very slowly.

In the office of Durham County Manager Swindell, less than twenty per cent of a total of some 250 county employees are Negroes. None are above the janitorial level in the courts, the tax collector's office, the office of education or any other office in the County Building.

Mr. Swindell, a native of Durham and a graduate of Duke, consistently referred to Negroes as "darkies", and felt he had made a great concession when he appointed a Negro superintendent of janitors. In a general attitude of annoyance, he referred to some difficulties with Lincoln Hospital "because they wanted more than their share of welfare money."

Department Stores Covered

Store "A" had three Negroes working as sales clerks who had been hired as the result of a boycott. There were perhaps a dozen who had been working at this store for some time, however, in janitorial service, warehouse jobs and in a service station connected with the store. The manager said their performance was "satisfactory," and outlined plans to add two or three more Negroes to the sales force by the first of 1965.

Store "B" stated through its relatively new manager that it operated on an "open hiring policy," and indicated a belief that all Durham stores do so. There were five Negroes working as salespersons on the floor and a number of others in traditional jobs.

Store "C" had promoted its original five Negro employees from their jobs as elevator operators and one or two other menial jobs to sales clerks in various departments in the store. The chief merchandise receiver is a Negro and the janitors and several warehouse employees are Negroes. The

manager expressed a strong belief that further progress on integrating his employee force would be slow, and would promise to make no effort in that direction. It might be pointed out here that the store's manager indicated great annoyance over the use of the free public telephone on the first floor by a group of Negro youngsters who, he claimed, tied it up for long periods of time.

Real Estate Offices

Office "A" was strongly anti-Negro-bloc-vote, and anti-Civil Rights Bill and, mindful of the Rumford Act hassle in California, did not even notify Negroes of the homes for sale through its office. The person interviewed (a member of the City Council) stated that the few Negroes who did come in to inquire about homes were "cordially declined service." Although considerable FHA money passes into the hands of this real estate firm, the management sees its function as strictly that of representing the wishes of its clients, and left no doubt as to its attitude on the prospects of including Negroes.

Office "B" represented somewhat of a contrast. The manager expressed the desire to employ a Negro solicitor since much of the insurance and mortgage business was with Negroes. Indicating his personal interest in civil rights activities in Durham, he mentioned a special effort on his part to integrate public accommodations. As to plans to add a Negro to the office staff, he stated his intention to do so following the retirement (soon, he thought) of one elderly, hard-shell segregationist member of the present staff.

Supermarkets

The one supermarket in the survey was an A&P store. The manager has two Negroes in menial jobs, but said he had trained three as checkers and sent them to a new branch store (newest one opened is on Fayetteville Street). Naming one Negro produce chief in another store, he refused to give the total number of employees, recommending the chain's assistant district manager for further information.

Utility

The Gas Company was completely evasive, refusing to even discuss employment. The interviewer was referred to the head of the local union for details, but the manager did venture the statement that no Negro has applied for an office job in five years.

Banks

Of the several banks in Durham, only two were covered in the survey.

Bank "A" avowed an "open policy" on hiring, citing the seven Negroes working as porters, errand boys and change counters. (There was some curiosity as to whether the one local Negro bank would be called upon to integrate.) This bank is one using the services of the Employment Security Commission, and the person in charge of hiring below the management level stated that the occasional Negro referred had not been able to pass the tests. A remark made by him was to the effect that, as a general rule, the banks were resisting integration.

Bank "B" has a Negro bookkeeper and indicated the desire to hire a second. The progress report on the first bookkeeper, product of a local Negro business college, was "slow but satisfactory." The second girl, on a trial period as bookkeeper, was sent from North Carolina College. Out of a total of 137 employees, the only other Negro employees were two maintenance men. The interviewer got the impression, however, that this bank was sincerely interested in adding to its Negro contingent. It seems several of its branches already have Negro tellers and bookkeepers and that the personnel manager visits N. C. C. regularly seeking qualified prospects for these jobs in Durham.

Telephone Companies

Both telephone companies serving the city were visited.

Company "A", the largest, is not integrated above the janitor level. Efforts to secore one or two Negro linesmen (the lowest job classification) had not met with success. When asked about plans to include Negroes in the office personnel as operators, clerk-typists, etc., the president said they "preferred to start with a Negro linesman only." The interviewer managed to extract a promise that this company indicate to the Employment Security Commission that such a job was available to a Negro. Although the personnel manager seemed genuinely anxious to do something about the hiring policy, he made it clear that the president runs the show.

Company "B", handling long distance calls only, employs about 185 operators on all shifts. There are no Negro operators. Although about fifty persons are employed as secretaries, electricians and linesmen, hiring policies in these categories were not discussed. However, questions with reference to Negro operators turned up the cozy, though not unusual practice of allowing the present operators to select their personal friends and relatives to fill the vacancies as they come up or as additional operators when needed.

There seemed to be no strong objection to hiring Negro operators (they are working for the company's Raleigh district), but it was pointed out that not many applied and that those who did apply showed up badly on the various

qualifications tests given. (The Employment Security Commission never referred Negroes.) When asked how Durham operators felt about the possibility of accepting a few Negro operators who had requested transfer from other districts, the manager stated frankly that three or four per cent of the entire staff said they would quit. The interviewer noted that he still showed concern for the problem to the extent that he took the name and address of Nat White as a contact for possible future consideration. Recommending that this should be followed up, perhaps by the DCHR, a bi-racial committee, in the words of the interviewer, "this seemed the most hopeful business visited so far."

Hospitals

Only one of Durham's hospitals was included in the survey (unfortunately, Duke was not). However, the hospital covered hires two hundred Negroes out of a total of six hundred employees. Except for the Negro manager of the hospital's cafeteria, the other 199 Negro employees fill jobs such as groundskeeper, janitor, cook, etc. The director says he has instructed his staff to hire anyone who is qualified. Occasionally, Negroes apply for jobs as typists, he claimed, but have not met the qualifications.

The nursing school, which is run by the hospital, meanwhile, serves as a source to draw upon for clerical and other types of hospital jobs. There are no Negroes enrolled and the director feels the situation is "too sensitive" at this time to attempt integration.

Although Negroes are treated in the out-patient clinic, this hospital has never taken a Negro in-patient. The director said he would welcome a test of this to ascertain if it is a policy, and hoped a few Negroes would apply for admission. He believes, however, that Negroes who can pay prefer Duke Hospital because of the superior treatment and care. It was the concensus that more Negroes should apply as a simple means of breaking down what might be just a traditional practice rather than a hard and fast "policy."

This hospital director wants to integrate his office personnel with a "first-class" person, but has had no qualified applicants. Here is a definite opportunity for the right person.

Auto Sales Rooms

Sales Room "A" employes five Negroes out of a total of thirty-five employees. All serve as mechanics' assistants, porters, washers or janitors. There are no Negro salesmen, although the manager doesn't feel that discrimination exists in his business. The interviewer noted a very definite negative attitude on hiring Negroes as salesmen.

Sales Room "B" had a personnel of forty and hires Negroes on the janitor and wash boy level only. The manager, obviously a hard core segregationist, told the interviewer he "hopes the time never comes" when he hires Negroes for office work. He believes they are "incompetent" and expressed the usual stereotyped notions concerning Negroes and the "injustices" imposed upon whites by the Civil Rights Bill. The interviewer's reaction: "Hopeless -- and too insignificant to be concerned about." (Forty per cent of this dealer's trade is Negro business.)

Sales Room "C" has two Negro body mechanics, one motor mechanic, one in the parts department and a number of others in the usual janitor and wash boy categories. The total personnel numbered about seventy. Unwilling to give an estimate of the percentage of business done with Negroes, the owner felt that "a portion of the Negro population would be miffed" if he hired Negro salesmen. An assistant manager reacted with surprised disbelief at the suggestion.

Restaurant

The one restaurant on the agenda for survey had already closed its doors to go out of business by the time the survey got around to this category. Stubborn in his refusal to serve Negroes in his restaurant, he blamed the Civil Rights Bill for putting him out of business.

Drug Stores

The main drug store, representing a chain of three with a total of seventy-five employees, hires two Negro clerks in a branch store and some janitorial and warehouse Negro personnel. The manager has no plans to hire additional Negro help and feels his race relations are good.

Industrial Plants

No. 1 plant was a laundry which had previously hired a Negro driver who, shortly thereafter, was replaced by a white driver. Upon investigation, it was learned that the Negro driver had parked the truck in front of the laundry one morning and, without an explanation, never reported for work again. His territory was disolved and there was no plan to hire another Negro driver, although most of the plant personnel are Negroes. There are none in the office.

No. 2 plant was a drapery company employing between three and four hundred women. Although this plant is located in the Negro area, the manager is unwilling to hire Negro women because he fears his present women employees will object. Before hiring a dozen or more Negro men, he polled his men employees, but he has no plans to poll the women in the plant.

This factory is a particular irritant to the Negro community, being right in their midst, and the interviewer felt strongly that firm action should be taken against it to obtain jobs for more of the people in its own locale.

No. 3, a mill, follows the merit employment system, according to the manager, and has signed the Fair Employment Practices agreement. Declining to quote exact figures on the number of Negro employees, the personnel chief stated that accurate records are furnished to the government with every bid on a government job, and that whites and Negroes work side by side on most jobs in the Durham plants. As the company's major labor relations man, the personnel chief was interested in learning about the North Carolina Council on Human Relations, and seemed satisfied that race relations were above reproach in his company. They do not hire through the Employment Security Commission.

No. 4, a tobacco plant, also refused to quote figures on hiring, but claimed the company signed the Fair Employment agreement. This plant has hired through the Employment Security Commission and the manager said figures on Negro employment had been given to the Labor Department.

No. 5, a machinery plant which the manager said had been in "tight straights" due to a bad business slump for the past two years. The total personnel had been cut from nine hundred to around 350, meanwhile. Good progress had been made in hiring Negro machinists before the layoffs, but these, being the last hired were the first to be laid off when business slowed.

Four unions in the factory negotiate for themselves and do not discriminate, according to the manager. The interviewer was favorably impressed with the management at this plant.

No. 6, a research center, assured the interviewer that its national hiring policy was a completely open one, and that the center was willing to hire as many qualified Negroes as could be found. But again, the difficulty of finding the required qualifications was cited as one reason for so few Negroes being there. Transportation was thought to be another handicap at the present time. A Negro Ph.D. in chemistry had recently been hired.

No. 7, a construction company, hires about eighty people, half of them Negro. The owner of the business says they are "no better or no worse" than their white counterparts. Most were concentrated in the mason's group which is the strongest construction union in the area. Stating at first that perhaps plumbing and electrical work would be hardest for Negroes to get into, the owner later said he did not believe discrimination existed in any of the trades. His own policies stressed quality of workmanship above race. On this he seemed rigid, though fair.

Certain recommendations were made as a result of the findings in the foregoing interviews. They are summarized on a separate sheet.

The original reports as submitted by interviewer Barber are in the files of the Durham Council on Human Relations. This summary was prepared by Delores Marvin for special release.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon his observation of the reactions and the general attitudes of the various individuals who represented management at the firms he visited, Ed Barber has offered certain recommendations which, he feels, would strengthen efforts toward the integration of employment opportunities in Durham and vicinity. In essence, they are as follows:

1. The counsellors at North Carolina College should develop a closer liaison with the all-white Durham business area. Contact with the individual managers and/or heads of the personnel departments on a regular basis would be helpful in laying the groundwork for a better understanding, and would serve to break down the initial resistance to the idea of hiring a Negro.

   A great handicap was believed to be a breakdown in normal job procurement procedure. There is no known office or employment bureau where qualified Negroes can apply and be assured of placement without regard to race or color since the Employment Security Commission is not only loathe to take steps to eliminate discrimination in its job referrals, but actually contributes to the problem by its own practice of hiring white office help only. It is recommended, therefore, that the ESC be by-passed until such time that this tax-supported agency can be brought into line with the sources of its existence.

2. Because Negroes have not been hired generally in the white-collar (and most blue-collar) job categories, there is scant opportunity to learn what various skills are required by the local businesses and industries. For this reason, it is possible that the programs of the local business colleges and of N. C. C. are not tailored to fit these requirements. A study of such requirements might be useful in setting up a more consistent program for those young people who plan to earn their livelihoods in Durham.

3. Regular contacts, not more than six months apart, should be made with Durham business men who indicate a willingness or desire to hire Negroes on the white-collar levels. As soon as an exact description of the qualifications for such jobs are given, those familiar with the Negro labor pool should set about finding the individuals who meet these requirements. (This method might serve to eliminate or cut down such excuses as: "We would hire them, but they do not meet the standard requirements.")

4. It is suggested that such hard-core segregationists as were uncovered in the personal interviews might be handled by the com-

munity as a whole. For example, a selective buying practice or boycott might work wonders with the automobile dealers, while a picket line could possibly prove more effective with some of the industries and offices where no breakthrough seems likely otherwise.

5. The facts in this report should be made known to the City's opinion leaders, both white and Negro, and to all civic and/or church groups known to be working for a better understanding of the entire problem of race relations. Distribution of the report should include the political heads of the City, from the Mayor's group through the City Council; both Chambers of Commerce; the North Carolina Fund heads; and any other organization or individual, local or otherwise, whose influence might be helpful in eliminating the causes which contribute to such economic deprivation.

In conclusion, it is firmly believed that, in establishing the necessary liaison and performing the contact services between employer and potential Negro employee, through the active communication which has already been initiated within the membership itself, together with the sincere intentions of those individuals who have and will become personally involved, that the Durham Council on Human Relations can be the City's most valuable non-political bi-racial group.

Respectfully submitted by
Delores R. Marvin for
THE DURHAM COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

October 15, 1964

Mrs. Helen Adams
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street - Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Adams:

As you know we were instructed by the SRC Board to notify the state council that is to receive the George Mitchell Award, not later than October 1 of the year the award is to be made. We plan to make an award this year but cannot do so until such a time that we have your membership report.

The Award is to be based on percentage increase of a state council during the preceding year from September to September. We have reports from Florida, Arkansas, and Virginia, but no report from your state. Please may we have it as soon as possible so that we may determine the recipient, and notify same pursuant to our instructions from the SRC Board.

May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 28, 1964

Mrs. Helen Adams
Executive Director
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street, Room 301
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Adams:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by members of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

September 7, 1966

Mr. Will C. Allred, Jr.
Executive Director
North Carolina Council
on Human Relations
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina 28202

Dear Will:

Paul said he has written you regarding the problem of this endorsing of a pending bill in relation to tax exemption.

As to the handout itself, I have made some pencil suggestions for tightening it up. Generally, though, it seems to say what you want it to say. You have to be aware that good newspapers will always rewrite a handout, no matter how well you write it. So I tend to concentrate on getting into the handout exactly what I want it to convey -- rather than worrying too much about making it conform to various journalistic styles and fetishes.

I kind of look sourly on preparing quotes for attribution to other people. Why not just get them to put it in their own words?

I'm glad to see you working on this kind of thing. Pertinent, intelligent comments in the paper are always so desperately needed, and it helps build an impression and awareness of the organization. Good luck on the next one.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encl. -- 1.

NORTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

121 EAST THIRD STREET

CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28202

AREA CODE 704-376-6833

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William Pollard, *Treasurer Youth Educational Services*

September 2, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Please look over the attached draft release in support of the Civil Rights Bill of 1966 currently under debate. I have some reservations about making a statement, and we may not, but should the Congressional events prove propitious we may. At any rate, I want to be prepared.

Pat, I have never prepared a press release before. Would you critique this as to form and content. Is it a statement that would attract notice and be carried by the press of the state? Do you have any advice about distribution?

(Note (1), (2), (3) and (4) with blanks. It is the intention to get various of our members of public note in North Carolina to agree that their names be inserted in the appropriate blank. They can agree to state what I have drafted or substitute something of their own -- or not say anything.)

I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible!

Thank you!

Sincerely yours,

Will C. Allred, Jr.

Will C. Allred, Jr.

WCAjr/b

"To strive to improve the economic, civic, social and cultural conditions of all the people of North Carolina without regard to race, religion and national origin, through research, education, communication and dissemination of pertinent information."

BP

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

April 28, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Thank you for sending me a copy of Mr. Allston's good letter to the News and Courier. Miss Allston is a member of SCCHR. She was a former resident of Charleston, but the address from which she pays her dues is P.O. Box 23, Flat Rock, N.C. Perhaps it may be a little early for her to return there. I feel sure that she will be sufficiently well known in Georgetown, which is a small place, to receive your letter addressed to her there.

Thank you for referring my letter of inquiry concerning the Voter Education Project to the Director. I am writing him on today's mail and hope that you will contact him or Paul Rilling to see my letter, and give me the benefit of your reaction.

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah
Dictated 4/26

April 25, 1962

Mrs. Alice Spearman
South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

The enclosed reprint is made from a very nice letter which appeared in the Charleston News and Courier April 13. We would like to send an acknowledgement to the writer if possible. So far, we have not been able to get closer than to ascertain that there is a Georgetown, South Carolina. It occurs to me that if anyone in South Carolina knew who she was, you would. We would like to send a note of thanks if you do know who she is, and her address.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

PA:bp
enc.

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

This is not to say that all ... free."

News & Courier — April

Miss Charleston

Our compliments today are offered Miss Carol Bennett, who has been crowned Miss Charleston of 1962. She appears to have the requisites for this position of municipal honor and trust. Miss Bennett is 21 years old, has black hair and blue eyes, attends Palmer College and was sponsored by the Lions Club. The contest was organized by the Junior Chamber of Commerce. To all connected with the event, including the dozen other beautiful entries, we express gratitude for a wholesome community effort.

Dollars For Votes

The Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial pressure group with headquarters in Atlanta, has obtained a large sum of money for the purpose of putting Negroes on voting lists in the South.

A total of $325,000 has been made available by outside sources to conduct a voter registration drive under the direction of an NAACP lawyer from Arkansas. Organizations supporting the campaign include the Congress of Racial Equality, the NAACP, the Non-Violence Co-ordinating Committee, the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity, and the National Council of Churches.

The drive aims to pack the voter rolls so that a bloc vote can be delivered on election day. This attempt to use money to build a political machine in the South is another phase of the continuing attack on this region.

It's Not Free

Black And White

To The News and Courier:

Your many excellent editorials give me a sense of reassurance in these troublous times, but "Dollars for Votes" in April 8 made me pause in regret.

The opening paragraph is a statement of fact, but with a regrettable inference — and so throughout the piece. I consider that the Southern Regional Council is an organization with good aims and many good members hoping to further those good aims, and who give it money. I have done so myself and was a member until I moved away and was not near enough for participation. To my mind the Southern Regional Council should have many more good members and would have them if only we could open our eyes and stand up to our problems.

Do we hope to keep the Negro off the voting lists in South Carolina? Would it not be much wiser to use our influence to promote Negroes of character instead of leaving things to be run by the worst the politicians can put in? Did not the better element among Negroes stand by us in the horrors of Reconstruction, largely because Hampton was wise and strong enough to have it so? Is there no Hampton now to say "My people, black and white"?

SUSAN LOWNDES ALLSTON
Georgetown.

News & Courier April 13, 1962

The Last Bronzial

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

May 3, 1962

Mrs. S. L. Allston
Georgetown
South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Allston:

All of us at the Southern Regional Council were gratified to read your good letter in the Charleston News and Courier about the Council and our Voter Education Project and want to thank you for it. Your plain and fresh description of the Council is very good for us and your remarks on Negro voting are good for everybody. We appreciate your appraisal and I, especially, appreciate your nice simplicity of expression in this windy day and time.

Sincerely,

Margaret Long
Director of Information

ML:jf

May 25, 1962

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
The South Carolina Council on
Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

Sorry to be so late in giving you my opinion on your foundation request.

I understand from Paul Rilling that the request has been submitted. Therefore, I'll limit myself to general opinions. The request was well done, and the programs sound. My major concern is that you have asked for too much from one source, particularly since the amount requested exceeds by so great an amount the current SCCHR budget. I am afraid that the Foundation may feel they cannot give all of the requested amount, therefore will give nothing.

Needless to say, this is one time when I'll be delighted to be wrong.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

PA:bp

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

May 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Paul Rilling paid a good visit yesterday en route to Charleston. He stated that he had turned over to you the rough draft of our proposal to the Field Foundation. I hope I understood him to mean that he can see how we in South Carolina might benefit by a professional staff to work intensively in the areas described by us.

Mr. Rilling did raise the question of a staff on which there might be three white women. Presumably he overlooked the fact that the proposal called for two men and two women. It is true that both women recommended are white and that the two men are Negro and white.

There is an angle to this matter of a bi-racially balanced staff with which we are familiar. It would seem that SRC is less aware of it, and it may be that we should make it quite explicit to Mr. Hahn; namely, that SCCHR's program has been heavily weighted in information and program service to the Negro community. The only Negro organizations in South Carolina with executive staff are the Palmetto Education Association and the NAACP. As we know the State, we believe that it would be fair to say that the Council includes a more widely representative membership than either of these groups.

Some of the newer Negro organizations have almost no organizational structure or membership in the State and have been working cooperatively through us, especially Mrs. Septima Clark and formerly Miss Ella Baker, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. SCLC has based Mrs. Clark in South Carolina and we have used her line services through a number of our groups and plan to continue to do this. Her presence in South Carolina is almost like having another SCCHR staff member.

I shall greatly appreciate the benefit of your experience and incisive criticism at as early a date as possible.

Let me thank you for your willingness to pinch-hit for us last Sunday. We may yet have to call upon you.

Fondly,

Alice N. Spearman per cah

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/cah

To: The Field Foundation, Inc.

From: The South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Re: Request of a Grant for a Comprehensive Development Program in the State of South Carolina

Background

For many years South Carolina has done little to face the realities, and their meaning for people, of being one of the most backward states in the entire United States. The many cultural lags: social, educational, economic and political, are such that they support and nourish each other. Hence, it has become increasingly evident in the day-to-day work of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations that to try to deal with the race question in a limited frame of reference or to define it as a major problem per se is an inadequate analysis of the situation. To be complacent about such a fragmentary effort is to be guilty of serving as an apologist for the practice of evasion. It is with a strong conviction therefore that an urgent appeal should be made for a more comprehensive development program in the State of South Carolina that this proposal and request are being made.

Historically, political power has been strongly entrenched in South Carolina. The "race issue" has been notoriously exploited to maintain the "status quo", but perhaps seldom with more success than in the years since the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision on public school segregation. A confidential study made recently by a reputable scholar at the University of North Carolina has further verified the nature of local power blocs in South Carolina and their close-knit organization at the State level. It is against this deeply entrenched power, which dominates the economic as well as the political life of South Carolina, that efforts for democratic advances must be made. Demands for conformity have served to keep separated from each other, in fact often ignorant concerning each other's ideas, those persons who would take any initiative for producing changes; "divide and rule" has seldom been better demonstrated as an effective method of using people to keep themselves down!

Since the fall of 1954, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations has served as an alert "seeing-eye", a source of reliable information, a

sounding board and clearing house. Through its wide-range contacts and program services, it has gained needed insights and skills in discovering and drawing together decent people who want progress. Many of the persons who work with us continue to do so unofficially however, lest they be subjected to reprisals. Fortunately, there are occurring noticeable changes from an environment of fear and confusion, conformity and stand-patism to a much more relaxed, and positively oriented one, in which educational and economic progress are being aggressively sought. The stepped-up program for economic development has been led by the young Governor of South Carolina, assisted in the main by younger economic leaders, lay and professional. These leaders are somewhat impatient concerning the older leadership which has too long "called the plays"; they show a permissive attitude toward change, even in race relations and in non-discriminatory treatment of Negroes.

Now is the time to move ahead with vigor in a positively oriented frame of reference to help quicken the thawing process of those resources and allies for change which have too long been frozen assets!

Now is the time also to engage in a wide-spread program of adult education concerning the federal programs for development available to assist the many low-income and deprived citizens of South Carolina, many of whom are Negroes.

Now is the time too to provide a rallying point to all citizens of good will who want to work in the best interest of all people for progress and for democratic advances.

Proposal

In order to meet the present challenges and opportunities, a much more comprehensive development program is needed. It is proposed that a closely knit staff of competent professionals, skilled practitioners, be employed; that each staff person carry major responsibility for development of the potential for progress in clearly defined areas, while at the same time being responsible for contributing to the over-all program of strengthening needed efforts for progress. The executive director under the direction of the executive and program committees of the Council would serve as coordinator for the program.

The following projects are proposed with staff persons to develop the potential in each group described below: (These are listed in an order

of priority determined by careful study of needs, resources and possibilities.)

A. White people in South Carolina, who have been relatively inactive, unorganized and inarticulate, In the present more favorable climate, it is known that resources and allies will be found in most of the following groups: federal and state employees, labor unions, social workers, educators and teachers, media of communication personnel, business and industrial leaders (especially the younger ones, and newcomers to the State), veterans organizations, women's groups, youth groups, etc.

B. Negro and white students in the colleges and universities of South Carolina. Because of the lack of relevancy of the educational offerings, the absence of any resource either for bi-racial communication or for involvement in public affairs, the extreme provincialism of most students; and because the S.C. Student Council on Human Relations has demonstrated both its need and effectiveness, it is proposed that this program be expanded and enriched.

C. Negro and white low-income families in the twenty-three South Carolina counties which have been declared eligible for development under the federal programs of area redevelopment. Two major needs exits: 1) to inform persons about the availability of programs designed to assist them, and 2) to help assure that the programs be as democratically and equitably administered as possible. Obviously, intensive work should be limited to one or two counties, but it is believed that effective work can be done extensively in all of the twenty-three counties. As in all projects, the Council would expect to make use of and cooperate with all others, presumably working for similar ends. This project can be developed in such a way as to step-up the economic security and political participation of this group of erstwhile "forgotten men".

D. Negro and white church-related youth and adults on an interfaith, interdenominational, and denominational basis. Because religious education in most churches in South Carolina focuses primarily on individual salvation and other-worldly concerns, there is need to harness the potential inherent in the Judeo-Christian teachings concerning brotherhood and social justice.

Request

It is requested that an annual grant be made sufficient to make

possible the employment at as early a date as possible of four professional staff persons to work intensively in the four areas outlined above and in line with the proposal as set forth. Because the problems with which this staff will be working are the product of many years growth, it would be unrealistic to think that they will yield to even the most skilled and persistent effort, unless provision can be made to sustain the work over a period of time; not less than three, but hopefully for five years.

The following budget is proposed on an annual basis to make possible the comprehensive program outlined herein:

Cost of four (4) professional staff members @ $10,000.....	$40,000.00
(This figure would take care of salaries, travel costs, staff and non-staff; needed stenographic services; preparation and purchase of program materials; etc.)	
Administrative costs	4,000.00
(Included would be additional office space; equipment and supplies; postage; telephone; ~~and~~ bookkeeping services; etc....	
	$44,000.00

May 30, 1963

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ledeen:

Les Dunbar has asked me to reply to your letter of last week, and I am happy to do so.

The Savannah-Chatham County case does represent a new approach in the courts by segregationists; in fact, it represents an attempt to reverse the Supreme Court's decision of 1954, as Judge Elbert P. Tuttle noted in his decision of last week (see enclosed news clip). In view of the Fifth Circuit's ruling last week, it would appear this approach has about as much chance of being accepted as Governor Wallace does of stopping the integration of the University of Alabama.

So far as the personalities, or so-called authorities, in the case are concerned, you are right in thinking they are members of the Race and Reason sect. Their doctrine, one closely akin to the very kind we were fighting a world war against only yesterday, has been repudiated and refuted by numerous authorities on numerous occasions. By separate attachment, I am sending you various statements, comments, etc., which are an answer to Race and Reason and these so-called authorities.

Another interesting aspect of the Chatham County case was the attempt of the segregationist side to show that integrated schools would be harmful to Negro children. The findings of a young psychiatrist who has been attached to SRC's staff for the past two years indicatedjust the opposite, and I am sending a copy of a speech he made this month to American Psychiatric Association at their annual meeventiion in St. Louis.

Ltr, Mrs. E. C. Ledeen
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
May 30, 1963

I am hoping these materials will be of help to you, but please feel free to call upon us should you wish further information about this or other matters.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

May 20, 1963

SB please see me

Ross Green Art. by Otto Klinberg

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

L-8
L-13
L-29
L-32

Last week the Savannah-Chatham County school case hearings were front page news stories in "the State," which, as you know, has wide circulation throughout South Carolina. The enclosed editorial indicates how seriously a large segment of South Carolina public opinion will take the testimony of the "scientists" brought in for the white intervenors in the case.

Is this a new approach in the courts by segregationists? If this succeeds, even as a delaying tactic, it seems to us very likely that this ~~method~~ procedure will be used in South Carolina where hearings in the first public school desegregation cases will be ~~heard~~ scheduled in the next few months. For this reason, we would greatly appreciate any research which SRC may be able to to concerning this evidence and the personalities introduced in the case.

B. Coles
Muse
Race + Reason

My impression is that these are the same "scientific" sources from which Carleton Putnam drew his conclusions in his Putmam Letters. I seem to remember that Dr. George, professor emeritus, of UNC, was announced a few years ago by one of the scientific societies, but I am a bit hazy about the facts.

It would be helpful to us to have data concerning these persons and an evaluation of the case by SRC. ~~of the hearings~~.

It was interesting to note that the hearings were covered on the scene by W.D. Workman, author of the Case for the South, and ultra-conservative member of the State editorial staff. His personal opinion would no doubt agree with the testimony of the group of witnesses for the white parents.

We shall appreciate your help from SRC in researching this. Best of wishes to you and other staff members.

Sincerely,

Libby Ledeen

Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director

ECL/cah

C.C. Mr. Paul Anthony

P.S. Am sorry this letter was not already dictated or else the transcribing was confused. Don't have time to do it over -

May 15, 1963

The State

HENRY F. CAUTHEN
Editor

HARRY R. E. HAMPTON
Co-Editor

W. D. WORKMAN
Associate Editor

ROBERT A. PIERCE
Managing Editor

Education or Integration?

IT MAY BE TOO MUCH to hope that the United States Supreme Court will soon reverse its 1954 de-segregation. But it is not too much to ask that the federal courts face the facts of integration as clearly as has District Judge Frank M. Scarlett of Georgia.

In refusing to order the integration of the Savannah-Chatham County schools, Judge Scarlett has properly placed education as the prime goal of public schooling. He has taken the position that children of both races stand their best chance of learning and developing within their own racial grouping.

II

What makes the Scarlett ruling in Georgia case really significant are these two factors:

For the first time in the current litigation over school mixing, due consideration in a judicial hearing has been granted to *white* children and to *their* rights under the Constitution.

And, again for the first time, the rationality and desirability of racial separation in schools has been accepted on the factual bases of evidence and experience.

Despite the efforts of Negro attorneys to inject prejudice into the legal proceedings, the attorneys for the white children and the judge himself gave their attention to scientific findings of fact, to the studies and conclusions of acknowledged authorities in the field of "group dynamics" and to the broad picture of race relations.

The evidence, undisputed and unrefuted at this hearing, showed conclusively that there are significant and measurable differences between white and Negro children in physical characteristics, in mental achievements, and in social behavior. Furthermore, these distinctions were shown to be of major importance in developing an effective educational program for youngsters of both groups.

In essence, the Scarlett ruling gives legal backing to the educational premise that it is virtually impossible to devise a school program capable of serving the needs and meeting the abilities of *both* groups in a single, integrated system. Inevitably, the children of one race or the other would suffer scholastic damage in the setting of academic standards, with attendant friction, conflict, and aggression within both groups.

III

Judge Scarlett has concluded, out of an abundance of uncontradicted evidence, that there is a reasonable basis for maintaining separate schools where whites and Negroes are present in substantial numbers.

We commend to the public and more particularly to the federal judiciary a thorough study of his ruling, and of the testimony upon which it was based.

The case of Stell vs. Savannah-Chatham County Board of Education may herald the restoration of reason and right to the controversy over race-mixing. It deserves the serious and soul-searching study of every American, black or white, who is genuinely concerned with giving all children the best education possible.

June 13, 1963

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ledeen:

I can not imagine what happened to the material we sent you before, however, we are sending you another batch, herewith.

Sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

June 12, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Thank you very much for your letter of May 30, giving information about the Savannah-Chatham County case. We thought, of course, that this evidence would have no influence at all in the higher courts, as has been demonstrated.

I do, however, hope that you will send on to us the material which you indicated would come by separate attachment. We still have need for as much information as possible concerning "the authorities" introduced in this case.

Certain high placed individuals in South Carolina are continuing to introduce in their talks and in the press what they term as "new scientific data" revealed in the Savannah-Chatham County case. As yet, I have not received the information concerning the Race and Reason sect, nor a copy of the speech made by Southern Regional Council psychiatrist.

Thank you so much for your helpful letter and for any information which you may forward to us.

Cordially,

Elizabeth C. Ledeen
(Elizabeth C. Ledeen) (Mrs. J. D.)
Program Director

ECL/cah

October 30, 1963

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ledeen:

I am happy to accept your kind invitation to participate in the student conference of the South Carolina Student Council on Human Relations, December 6-7, at Penn Center, Frogmore, South Carolina. I shall be prepared to bring the opening address on Friday evening, but doubt very seriously if I can remain throughout the conference and lead one of your workshops. In all probability, I will have to leave Saturday morning ~~or~~ at least by noon, to return to Atlanta.

I shall inform you at a later date as to time and mode of arrival. I feel fairly sure, however, that I will arrive in Savannah via plane, and if someone from Penn Center can meet me, fine, otherwise I will drive from Savannah to Penn Center.

Give my regards to Mrs. Spearman, and to Mr. Jones. Looking forward to sharing in your program on December 6. I am

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJJr:nm

L.W.D please advise

PA - thinks it's a good thing, if funds are available

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

October 21, 1963

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

At a meeting of our S.C. Student Council on Human Relations committee yesterday, the students asked me to extend to you an invitation to serve as a leader for our student conference to be held December 6-8 at Penn Center, Frogmore, S.C. We sincerely hope that you will be able to include us in your schedule.

Our conferences bring together a good cross section of concerned, mature students from some 20 colleges in the state for a consideration of problems of mutual concern. At the presenttime we feel keenly the need for a comprehensive appraisal and overview of the present situation in the South, which I know that you will be able to present. It is our hope that we may take a new look at the most recent thrust in the civil rights field, as well as broader aspects affecting human relations in the region.

In line with our objective, we are requesting that you give an opening address on Friday evening, December 6, and stay with us throughout the conference, if possible, to lead one of the workshops. I shall, of course, send you further details about the program as it develops.

Please let me hear from you as soon as possible concerning the conference. I assure you that South Carolina needs you desperately! Personally, I covet an opportunity for our students to get acquainted with you and for you to know them. Every adult leader who has met with our student conference has felt that this was an outstanding group. Ask Connie Curry about this.

Best of wishes to you.

Cordially,
"Libby" Ledeen
Elizabeth C. Ledeen (Mrs. J.J.)
Program Director

ECL/cah

November 27, 1963

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ledeen:

Your letter to Mr. Henry J. Keating, and enclosures thereto, has been erroneously sent to me. I have as of today, sent it intact directly to Mr. Keating.

I noted with interest the enclosures, and would like to have a copy of each. If this is possible, may I hear from you at your earliest possible convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

LWD

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

November 29, 1963

Mr. Vernon Jordan — VJ
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Vernon:

Your letter came this morning, saying that you had received the letter and material directed to Mr. Keating. Thank you so much for sending this on to him. I do not know how this mistake was made, but in the rush of getting the mail off such a thing doubtless happened. Maybe he has received your letter and will return it to me. I hasten to write you again.

We are delighted to know that you can be with us for the Penn conference. When I wrote to you originally, I had meant to suggest that you bring your family with you. Penn is a wonderfully relaxing, comfortable place and it would be good for our students to have an opportunity to get acquainted not only with you, but with Mrs. Jordan as well.

The program committee is now suggesting that we schedule for Friday evening your talk and one by Dr. James McBride Dabbs, presenting two aspects of our total program for the weekend. We would like for you to speak on the general subject which Alice gave Paul Anthony: "The New Revolution in The South and The Nation." If you have another title which you prefer, please send me the information as soon as possible. Dr. Dabbs has been asked to focus on "Response: The Moral Demands of the Present." I hope this plan meets with your approval.

If you can possibly do so, please plan to stay through a part of Saturday. We would very much like your leadership in the Task Force group on direct action Saturday morning.

Please let me know the time of your arrival. If you need transportation from the airpprt perhaps it would be wise for you to get in touch directly with Courtney Siceloff, Penn Center, Frogmore, S.C. Connie Curry will no doubt be planning to drive from Atlanta; it may be you can get together on transportation.

Best of wishes to you.

Cordially,
Libby
Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director (Mrs. J.)

ECL/cah
Enclosures

Challenge and Response

CONFERENCE OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA STUDENT COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

to be held

December 6 - 8, 1963 Penn Center, Frogmore, S.C.

LEADERS

Mr. Vernon Jordan, Associate Director Southern Regional Council, one of the South's dynamic young Negro leaders.

Mr. James McBride Dabbs, Author of "Southern Heritage," President Southern Regional Council and South Carolina's senior statesman.

Faculty members, University Pastors and Students.

PARTICIPANTS

Students from the colleges of the state. YOU are asked to invite a small group of mature, concerned students from your college who would welcome an opportunity to share ideas, to think together concerning some of the pressing issues and needs of today, and to seek ways of response. Include in your invitation some of SCSCHR's "veterans," (the guys and gals of former conferences), some new Freshmen and Sophomores and international students.

FEATURES

Dialogue Groups for confrontation on Feelings and Fears - - -

Task Force Groups on Immediate Jobs to be done
In the Community
On the Campus
In Our Churches
In Direct Action

Films - Drama - International Hour
Recreation Par Excellence - Service of Worship

All of this in the relaxed, friendly atmosphere of Penn Center.

Please detach the registration form below and send in as soon as possible to the SCCHR, 1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, S. C.

NAME _____

College Address _____

Classification _____

Board and Room Costs will be $6.00. There may be limited scholarship funds available for students who cannot pay all of this amount. Please indicate on the registration form the fact that scholarship help is needed and designate the amount. There will be travel reimbursements on a minimal basis provided by the Southern Human Relations Project.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA STUDENT COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

Did You Know

. . . That the SCSCHR is unique, being the only statewide student Council on Human Relations in the South.

. . . That the Council since its organization has provided the only continuous channel for bi-racial communication for students in the state.

. . . That students from 20 colleges in South Carolina have participated in some phase of the Council's program in the two and one-half years of its history.

. . . That 375 students in SC have participated in conferences sponsored by the SCSCHR; others have been encouraged and assisted in attending significant summer training experiences such as the Encampment for Citizenship, Work Camps or Seminars.

. . . That an internship for work in the Human Relations field was set up by the Council and offered last summer to the Chairman of the SCSCHR, who carried out a significant community project, working under the supervision of the Executive Director of the Council.

You Do Know

. . . That there is a "reservoir of goodwill" (as has already been demonstrated) on every campus in South Carolina. "Goodwill" is ineffective in a vacuum. It must be channeled; given "hands and feet" and this is where the Council comes in.

. . . That opportunity unlimited awaits us in the changing climate of South Carolina for a stepped up program in student exchange; for community projects; for study together on many vital issues; and for continuing frank and honest confrontation.

. . . That the work of our Student Council on Human Relations must be expanded, made more relevant and meaningful if we are to meet the present challenge and move forward into the future.

In order to do this a much wider participation from each college is needed. The work of the Council should also be undergirded through memberships. Student membership is $1.00 per year. This puts students in touch not only with the work of the Student Council but with the whole program of the SC Council on Human Relations--the only biracial organization in SC working continuously to implement our democratic and religious ideals of equality and brotherhood.

File

LWD ✓
PA ✓

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

December 12, 1963

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

It was wonderful to have had you attending our student conference as one of the leaders. Our student chairman and other of the student leaders were quite distressed when they realized that you had left without an adequate expression of thanks for the outstanding contribution which you made. May I convey to you our genuine appreciation for your excellent talk and helpful participation in the discussions.

All of the students in attendance seem to feel that the conference experience was "great." Naturally there were inadequacies and our plans for the future were not as clearly defined as some of us hoped. However, it was a good conference and you helped make it so.

We shall indeed appreciate it if you will send us a copy of your address, as I requested. Even though it is not written out completely, we would like your full notes. May I ask that you include the challenge which you gave at the close of your address, using the Negro spiritual to illustrate the contemporary situation?

I was disappointed that the very excellent group of students who came in Saturday afternoon did not meet you and have an opportunity for informal discussion. We had another carload from U.S.C., Clemson, and Furman University. You will just have to come again!

Again our thanks to you and very best of wishes from us all.

Cordially,

"Libby"

Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen
Program Director

ECL/ft

October 14, 1964

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

As you know we were instructed by the SRC Board to notify the state council that is to receive the George Mitchell Award, not later than October 1 of the year the Award is to be made. We plan to make an award this year but cannot do so until such a time that we have your membership report.

The Award is to be based on percentage increase of a state council during the preceding year from September to September. We have reports from Florida, Arkansas, and Virginia, but no report from your state. Please may we have it as soon as possible so that we may determine the recipient and notify same, pursuant to our instructions from the SRC Board.

May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 15, 1964

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Alice:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Charles E. Daniel, Greensville
H. D. Monteith, Columbia
Mayor David McCleod, Florence
Dr. T. C. McFall, Charleston

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Same letter sent to the following Councils on Human Relations:

Tennessee, Virginia, Houston, North Carolina, Mississippi

Louisiana, Kentucky, Georgia, Florida, Arkansas, and

Alabama.

October 28, 1964

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Pursuant to directions given the staff by members of the Development Committee Meeting on September 29, we are enclosing a list of foundations located in your state.

We are confident that you will make every good use of this information.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:slw

March 5, 1965

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

We have just received a report of the Civil Rights Commission on discrimination in farm and other rural programs. This 136-page report touches on some of the topics you raised in your pencilled comments on the back of your letter to Paul Anthony. It should be of special interest to Mr. James -- although possibly it will only confirm what he, you, and we already know.

We have, insofar as I know, only one copy; I can't send you one. However, you may obtain it from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20402. The price is sixty cents a copy.

The complete title is Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs: An Appriasal of Services Rendered by Agencies of the United Stated Department of Agriculture. (A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights; 1965.)

I should be stopping in to see you at Columbia either late this month or during April, most likely on a Friday or a Monday afternoon, extending a weekend trip into South Carolina. Then Mr. James, you, and I can discuss more fully common research problems and interests. I'll give you all possible advance notice on the date.

Yours cordially,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

November 6, 1968

The Rev. Paul Matthias
Executive Director
The South Carolina Council
on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

Here, at last, is the draft for your pamphlet. I think the arrangement is self-explanatory, the numbers on the back of the pictures corresponding with numbers I've put in the pamphlet lay-out pages, the copy for the pages attached to the appropriate pictures. You'll note several changes, the biggest one the putting of the pictures of children right after the introductory page -- on the notion this is more logical.

I hope you and Al Clayton were able to work out something on getting more photographs. Let me know. Where you need them most, I feel, is in the first half of the pamphlet, showing conditions.

One other thing -- you'll need a blank asking membership and/or money at the end of the last page. Also -- if you have difficulty filling in statistical blanks, let me know. We figured most of these would be easier for you to find than us.

Finally, Paul, don't forget what I said at the outset -- that the only condition under which I would write the thing would be that you feel completely free to change or reject. I mean that.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encls.

Set 1

TO LIVE AND DIE . . .

In South Carolina

We are a people with a history from which we can learn much, in which we can take some pride. We share a land blessed with great beauty, our mountains, our extensive piedmont, our luxuriant coast. We have in the past farmed this land profitably, but were wasteful of it; we have begun to be wasteful in a similar way with the land by pollutive industry. But a deeper tragedy has been the extent to which we have wasted our most precious resource, the people. We are a proud people, and we have accomplished much. We have worked together, not always in harmony, not always with fairness, but together. We have shared the good things of life, and we have endured some terrible things. We have not succeeded in making living in South Carolina all that it might be for all our people, to make the dying in South Carolina for them less tragic, less wasteful, less painful than it might be . . . But there has always been a will to work together so, a yearning in us that the life of all the people in South Carolina be all that the blessed potential of every human being warrants, to make joyful, not hopeless and resigned, the vow to live and die in South Carolina.

Set 2

TO BE BORN IN SOUTH CAROLINA . . .

. . . for many, too many, is not the beginning of that joyful miracle that childhood should be, but the beginning of a lifetime of misery, of stunted growth, of destroyed potential, of never having a chance. The lifetime for many who are born in South Carolina, for too many, is but a pathetic brief flickering, ended as it begins. The infant mortality rate in the state is 33 per 1,000 live births above the national average. For Negroes, the rate is 43.3; for whites, 22.7.

For many of those who survive birth, childhood is bleak, grim, an existence of aching and hurting illness, of hunger, with damage done in the first few years from sickness and malnutrition that lasts a lifetime, can never be corrected, damage to the brain itself and all the bodily parts. Many children born in South Carolina never survive the first year of such a life; in the poorest families, the rate of death during the first year actually is greater than the rate of death at birth. In one county in the state, the rate of death in the first year is 28.1 per cent, more than a quarter of all children born. For whites, in that county, the rate is 12.5 per cent; for Negroes, 39 per cent -- nearing one-half.

There were in the state in 1968, according to a Citizens' Board of Inquiry, 13 counties where conditions were severe enough for them to be designated as "hunger counties" among 256 in the United States requiring immediate and emergency attention.

The need for an adequate education to get along in the world, for a full education to give depth, quality, more meaning, more beauty to life, is not nearly met for all the children who are born in South Carolina. per cent of the young who start the first grade never finish high school. per cent finish four years of college. The illiteracy rate in South Carolina is .

And although the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1954 and educational authorities of the highest rank are agreed that separate schools for the races are inherently unequal, discriminating against the best educational interests of both races, there were in 1968 still only Negro students out of a total of going to schools that were not all-Negro.

We who live in South Carolina are failing many of the children who are born in South Carolina, failing them in the most basic responsibilities recognized by adults the world over to the young -- for a chance to survive at birth, for adequate food and medical care, for proper education.

For many, to be born in South Carolina is merely to begin to endure needless suffering until merciful death comes to end it.

Set 3

TO LIVE IN SOUTH CAROLINA . . .

. . . for many, too many, means to be housed in inadequate shelter -- unhealthy, ugly, degrading, uncomfortable shacks, shanties, slums. The cold of winter, the heat of summer, are torments to the people in such houses. Where there is the boon of heat in winter, it often means constant danger -- of asphyxiation, fire, burns, the latter especially a menace to children, unprotected grates, heaters, stoves in the paths of toddlers. People crowd together in these houses, whole families sleeping in one room, no privacy, no relief from one another, so that it is a commonly noted fact that children in such households begin early to close off their perception, literally cease to see and hear and smell the squalor they live in. Their homes, the places where they must spend the most of their precious childhood's time, to eat, to sleep, to play, to study, are literally too horrible for them to look upon.

Out of such homes come new generations whose human abilities for getting along in the world, for finding the full measure of life's meaning have been blunted and destroyed. Psychologically as well as by hunger and disease. In such homes brood and breed adult atrophy, fear, suspicion, hopelessness, hostility, rage, violence, adult abuse of liquor, drugs, adult destructiveness, pain, despair.

For black people who live in South Carolina, there is an added difficulty about housing. Many who might afford to live in better neighborhoods cannot because of discrimination

in the sale or rental of houses; for those of both races who feel that the opportunities of American life should include living among people of different races and backgrounds, the same process of discrimination is a deterrent.

Thirty-nine per cent of all houses in South Carolina were classified "delapidated or lacking one or more plumbing facilities" by the U. S. Census Bureau.

To live in the worst of such shelter in South Carolina is not really to live; it is, in the way of the children who close their senses to the horror, a living death.

Set 4

TO LIVE IN SOUTH CAROLINA . . .

. . . for many, too many, is to be seemingly caught in a trap of helplessness, hopelessness that begins at birth against uneven odds, continues through a childhood of physical, psychic, and educational deprivation, and settles into a rut of adult life in which misery, fear, perplexity and hopelessness prevail. Such adult life involves:

****Ill health and nothing done about it. There are 81 physicians per 100,000 people in the state as compared with 153 per 100,000 nationally. People who live in South Carolina can expect to die at the age of if they are white, if they are black, compared with a national average of .

****Lack of education. per cent of the people who live in South Carolina have not completed high school; per cent have not complete grammar school.

****Joblessness. per cent of the people who live in South Carolina are unemployed. per cent of families have less than $3,000-a-year income, this considered the minimum below which a family is said to be living in poverty.

****Low pay. The national per capita income in 1967 was $3,159. South Carolina's per capita income was $2,213.

****Discrimination. For Negroes who live and die in South Carolina, the residue of the unfortunate old patterns of prejudice and discrimination yet work needless hardships on lives and careers. Only half of the potential of Negro voters were registered in the last re-registration in 1968.

It is still more difficult for a black man than a white man to gain high-pay employment, to belong to a labor union. Though great progress has been made in recent years in race relations, it is still possible for many Negroes who live in South Carolina to feel themselves despised, second-class citizens, helpless, afraid, angry. Even where some of the rational reasons for these feelings have been eliminated, the feelings persist, a tragic psychological legacy requiring a going out of the way to show good faith and the friendly hand of shared citizenship.

****Displacement. People who live in South Carolina have seen in a relatively brief time of history great and basic changes in the economy, social order, morals, and technology of their civilization. Probably the most dramatic example of this are the numbers of farmers, white and black, who have found that the good knowledge and hard work that sustained them on small holdings a few years back no longer are sufficient in an age of mechanization and high-powered agribusiness financing. All of these displaced persons, whether it be an older person upset by what seem to him dangerously permissive tendencies in society, or a family forced to move by urban renewal or interstate highway construction, are in special need of the understanding and fellowship of the rest of the people who live in South Carolina.

These are but a few of the special conditions which affect significant numbers of people who live and die in

South Carolina, keeping them from having the kind of full life that we all want for ourselves and our fellow citizens. For many, living out a lifetime in South Carolina with knowledge of such problems, with knowledge that something can and should be done about them, is intolerable.

Set 5

WE ARE BORN TO DO MORE THAN WAIT FOR DEATH . . .

In strong and unkillable faith, this thought lives and makes life bearable for people most beset and crippled by the conditions we have encountered in these pages, in the photographs of this pamphlet.

So, too, the thought is a part of the strength of all the people who live in South Carolina.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations is an organization through which all of the people who live in South Carolina may find effective expression of this will that life must mean more than a mere waiting for death. It is an organization in which people in all circumstances may work together toward goals that are beneficial to them all.

Not a government agency, nor a huge, impersonal organization seeking to impose standardized solutions on individual situations and people without knowledge of their differences, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations is for all the people who live in South Carolina to work with the people and on the problems they in all the world know best. It is an outlet for the best instincts, that old tradition of being together in a hard situation, the universal human impulse to build and create.

It is an organization which defied waiting for death by -- doing.

Set 6

DOING MORE THAN WAITING . . .

These are the people of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, who have found a way to do something about conditions they want to change, who have discovered that many others feel the same way they do, people who are getting something done . . .

****Meeting together in one of the twelve local chapters to discuss problems and plans of action. Chapters elect their own officers, set their own policy under democratic procedures.

****Building a Day Care Center for children of working mothers and from homes where the beautiful budding of childhood might otherwise be blighted. This was a project of the chapter; other Day Care Centers have been built by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations in communities.

****Working together in a Youth Council. These groups, of them in the state, are an integral part of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. Their work includes

Other work with young people has included being the first applicant and sponsoring agent for Head Start programs in eight counties, establishment of five tutorial centers where college students worked with children needing educational

assistance, organizing and initially supervising SPEED-UP (Student Project for Educational and Economical Development for Underprivileged People) which involved more than 2,000 students and adults.

Set 7

DOING MORE . . .

One of the newer needs being met by the South Carolina Council on Human Relations is "Operation Gratitude," an effort to ease the way back into civilian life for the 13,500 South Carolina men being discharged every year from the armed services. The main purpose of the program is to help assure men who have learned under fire that competence does not depend on color that the experience does not have to turn to bitter ashes back home. "Operation Gratitude" is our way of saying thanks to South Carolina's returning servicemen," said Paul W. Matthias, executive director of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, in announcing the program. "Working through our twelve local chapters across the state and interested individuals in other areas, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations will put returning GI's in direct personal contact with bi-racial teams back in their home towns. These teams, through a cooperative effort with Project Transition, the Veterans Administration, the South Carolina Employment Security Commission, the Columbia Urban League, the Federal Housing Administration, South Carolina colleges and universities, and other interested agencies and organizations, will assist these veterans who request help in finding meaningful employment, locating adequate housing, and improving their educational status."

Set 8

. . . AND MORE

In cooperation with the South Carolina Commission for Farm Workers, Inc., the South Carolina Council on Human Relations has engaged in the exciting and effective new plan for doing something about inadequate shelter, the Self-Help Housing program. It is a basically simple program with important implications for all of the South where there is great need for building and public improvement, and a great supply of workers without jobs. The Self-Help Housing program lets men who need decent housing build, under qualified supervision, for each other at greatly reduced costs the houses they need. houses have been built in localities under the program, and more are planned.

DOING SOMETHING . . .

To Help People Continue Living in South Carolina . . .

One of the important new efforts of Southerners to solve some of their own problems is the southwide movement of low-income cooperatives. These are organizations of mostly poor people who band together and try through the sound business practices of the cooperaative to better their economic situation. There are credit unions, and sewing, handicraft, and purchasing cooperatives in the South, but by far the most of these efforts are agricultural. The groups by pooling their resources are able to purchase seed, fertilizer, and equipment more economically, and to market their crops more advantageously.

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations in its Rural Advancement Program (formed in , the first in the South) serves low income groups in 33 counties with organization of farmers' cooperatives and credit unions. A vital part of this work is providing information on government and private programs designed for their aid.

Here, members of an okra-growing cooperative in Berkeley, Clarendon, and Williamsburg Counties harvest a crop that through the cooperative method will increase their usual income by $300 to $500. Since most members before the advent of the cooperative were making less than $3,000 a year, such an increase might mean the difference between being able to stay on the land, continuing to live in South Carolina, or not.

Allowing such people to continue a work, a way of life they love, helping them avoid the dislocation and dismaying conditions of having to move to northern cities has been a strong facet of all the work of the Rural Advancement Project.

Set 10

TO LIVE . . .

Whether it be conferring with government officials and others at all levels, or merely being where we are as evidence of support and solidarity with all those who believe that life can be rich and full for all the people who live in South Carolina, the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, its staff and members, are alive with the knowledge they are able to do something about situations, instead of just talk. This has been the organization's distinction through a half-century of accomplishment. It is a private organization, not averse to cooperating with beneficial efforts of state and federal government, but not subservient or non-critical about either. It is non-partisan, the only statewide bi-racial group in South Carolina. If events of recent months, the tragedy at Orangeburg, the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Robert Kennedy, the other ominous and frightening threats to a just social order have heightened your own sense of wanting to do something, if you share our goal of a good life for all the people of South Carolina, we invite you to join with us.

PRESS RELEASE June 27, 1973

File

South Carolina Council for Human Rights
Suite 200, The Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201
(803) 253-8325
Contact: Paul Matthias

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Columbia. The South Carolina Council on Human Relations has changed its name to the SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS effective June 26, 1973. Action was taken affecting the change at the Council's Annual Membership Meeting December 9, and again at a called Membership Meeting February 17.

According to SCCHR President Theo Mitchell of Greenville, "We as Council members voted to change our name to reflect a fundamental change that had already taken place in the nature and direction of our organization. For over fifty years, the Council has been the major bi-racial state-wide organization working for better understanding among the people of our state, and for equal rights for all South Carolinians. During that time, the Council sponsored many of its own developmental programs aimed at correcting social and economic wrongs."

Mitchell continued, "As an organization, however, we came to realize the futility of attempting to compensate for, or provide our own alternatives to the institutional deprivation of hundreds of thousands of poor and middle income South Carolinians. We also recognized that unless and until we can establish true social and economic justice for all our people, there can be no lasting understanding or peace among us."

"This resulted in a conscious decision to direct our efforts toward the elimination of social and economic injustice in our state as our major purpose. We also decided that we would use the resources we have to demand and work for public

accountability from the governmental and corporate institutions who are both the principal perpetrators of injustice and the only sources of adequate redress," the Greenville attorney stated.

"It is in this spirit that SCCHR has developed as a force for positive change in South Carolina. The South Carolina Council for Human Rights will continue and expand this work, bringing the talents of its professional citizens to bear on institutional inequities, and providing a structure for citizens and consumers in South Carolina to effectively use their resources to challenge special interest influence and promote the public interest," Mitchell concluded.

Suite 200, The Columbia Building, Corner of Main Street & Gervais, Columbia, S.C. 29201 (803)253-8325

7-26

PRESS RELEASE

South Carolina Council for Human Rights

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY, AUGUST 26, 1973 Contact: Arthur Jones

Mr. Paul W. Matthias, Executive Director of the South Carolina Council for Human Rights, announced today the addition to the SCCHR staff of Mr. William G. Harden. Mr. Harden will be Director of the Council's Citizens' Information Service. In this capacity he will be involved in studying various governmental projects, such as but not restricted to, Title I and the Emergency Employment Act; relating his findings to the public; and working for corrective change.

Mr. Harden is a native South Carolinian--a graduate of Barnwell High School and Clemson University. He received his Master of Education degree from the University of Georgia in 1970. He is well acquainted with the problems facing the citizens of our state, especially in the field of education.

National attention was recently focused on Mr. Harden when his charges of misuse of federal funds in Orangeburg School District #2 were sustained by the South Carolina Department of Education.

The Council feels that Mr. Harden will greatly aid the progress towards its goal of creating a better South Carolina through citizen awareness of the problems faced by our state. Ultimately this citizen awareness will be marshalled into a citizens' lobby to influence state legislation.

Public Accommodations
Compliance in S.C.

Usual pattern:

I Urban areas moderate compliance but limited use in least friendly establishments. Larger, higher types have most conducive-to-use atmosphere.

Some hypocrasy and double dealing.

Continuation of traditional habits; smaller % of Negroes "eating out" than of "whites" doing so.

Ambivalence as to status serving as a

deterrent; and artificial increase in private clubs.

A law-suit in Columbia vs Maurice Bessenger of the Piggy Park chain of restaurants. Bessenger & Wallace supporter, very anti-Negro + a state director of an independent political group. Extremist.

VI Rural areas are relatively untouched. Sampling of tests made by NAACP et al. Little or no participation or follow-up by local Negroes. Their dependency and fear are important factors —

MORE

more able and aggressive Negroes have migrated. Almost no professional group except teachers + school principals who seem to think they have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

Demands for positive creative action should be made upon appropriate governmental agencies and various branches of govt — thus, taking burden for change off shoulders of those least able to carry it.

Suggest workshops called by financial business & industrial (over)

leaders who help to create positive climate in urban centers be used to motivate leadership in the rural + backward areas.

SCCHR has reported violations to the Fed Dist. Atty in a few cases and appropriate changes made — signs on ~~rest rooms on~~ bus stops, on rest rooms in filling stations, etc.

Alice Spearman

11-14-65

NOW

IS THE

TIME

TO WORK FOR A BETTER

THROUGH THE SOUTH CAROLINA
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

-An interracial organization working for
a better South Carolina since 1919!

THE SOUTH CAROLINA COUN
1330 Laur
Columbi

WHAT IS THE COUNCIL?

"An interracial organization working for a better South Carolina since 1919."

The first organization, brought about largely through the efforts of religious leadership in South Carolina, was known as the Committee on Interracial Cooperation. Later this group became the South Carolina Division of the Southern Regional Council, and in 1955 the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. The Council is no longer an affiliate of Southern Regional Council, although the two groups work cooperatively.

The SC Council on Human Relations serves as a channel for bi-racial communication in order that growth in understanding and constructive effort toward solving pressing problems of our state may take place.

WHAT DOES THE COUNCIL DO? - The 1962-1963 Program

Provided a channel for constructive communication through local councils on human relations, conferences, workshops, committees at the state level.

Served local councils on human relations in Beaufort, Columbia (two), Greenville, Jasper County, Rock Hill and Sumter and worked closely with concerned individuals in several other communities now attempting to develop local groups.

Held 5 District Meetings in the spring of 1962 in four of the State's congressional districts, bringing interested citizens together for a

consideration of pressing problems in the district, such as economic growth and job opportunities, technical and vocational training, education and health needs.

Conducted a Leadership Workshop in September and held an Annual Meeting in November, both of which focused on areas of progress in S.C. and effective ways of work in local communities.

Developed a Committee on the Church and Human relations which has sponsored "pilot" programs in the Columbia area--a Study Group for Church Women; and a Conference on "The Role of the Christian in a Time of Racial Change," have been held.

Sponsored a Student Program which has held two conferences during the year, bringing together 150 students from 15 colleges of the state; developed projects in community work, student exchange, high school visitation.

Co-sponsored a Rural Conference with Penn Center in February, 1963, to inform rural people of South Carolina about programs for rural areas, including federal and state aids and training opportunities. Representatives from state and federal agencies were speakers and consultants for this conference, which was attended by 213 people from 22 counties of the state.

Held a Citizens Consultation on Urban Problems and Potentialities on May 2, 1963, dealing with such pressing issues as Drop-Outs in the Schools; Jobs and Job Training; Problems of Low Income Urban Dwellers; and Economic Development.

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Mrs. Alice N. Spearman

Program Director
Mrs. Elizabeth C. Ledeen

. . . . . .

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1330 Laurel Street Columbia, S.C.

SCCHR members include people from all "classes," all faiths, all races; church leaders of many denominations, businessmen, educators, labor leaders, outstanding men and women in the professions. SCCHR invites you to become a member or a contributor.

April 13, 1962

Miss Katherine Jones
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Miss Jones:

In a recent memo to Paul Rilling you requested a clarification of the ICC ruling as it applies to bus stations. Paul asked us to get this information for you and we are enclosing a photocopy of the text of the order which appeared in the New York Times.

Hope this will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Levine
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

Enc.

July 9, 1963

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Kay:

Just a note to express my sincere appreciation for the many kindnesses extended by you when I was in Nashville last week. I am sure that shuttling me around prevented you from getting some things done that you planned to do. However, I trust that all was not lost.

I hope that our discussions proved fruitful and that we will be able to see the benefits of same in the near future.

As promised, I will assist you in any way I possibly can in East-Tennessee. It would appear that time will not permit me to spend more than two and a half days in the area however, I still look forward to hearing from you as to your plans in East Tennessee.

Thanks again. With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:Jr/nm

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Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible]
[illegible]-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Cy filed

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date July 12, 1963

To: LWD

From: VEJ, Jr.

Subject: Trip to, Race Relations Institute (Nashville) and NAACP Convention (Chicago) July 3 thru 5

Race Relations Institute:

I departed for Nashville around noon-time and was met at the Nashville airport by Kay Jones. We went directly to the Tennessee Council office where I met Council office personnel and was given a quick tour of the office.

After learning that Will Campbell was in the same building, I looked for him but failed to find him because of his absence from the city (by design[redacted] it would seem because of the presence of some Nashville National Council people at the Race Relations Institute).

I left with the Tennessee Council several hundred copies of my analysis of the President's Bill. We journeyed then to the Race Relations Institute where afternoon workshops were in session. Unable to find Herman Long and Carl Holman, who was one of the morning speakers, in addition to Hobart Taylor, we sought out Ruth Arnold. Ruth, Kay and myself spent a couple of hours discussing various council problems. Kay is interested in my helping her in the East-Tennessee area sometime around the first of August. She wanted me to spend a week in the area working with her. I assured her of my cooperation but not for that long a time. I inquired of Kay if she had ever considered a male associate director to act in the same capacity as do Ozzell Sutton and Oliver Holmes. She has thought about it but money poses a big problem. She did not appear too enthusiastic about membership campaigns. Rather she was more concerned with what to do about Councils which acted vigorously during racial crises, but are now virtually inactive. She solicited program suggestions for the re-activation of such councils.

Ruth Arnold displayed real love for SNCC, ~~as well as~~ contrasted by a kind of contempt for Wiley Branton. I somewhat subtly suggested that she was too vocal about both more especially the latter. Not only because I think she was wrong, but because I feel such talk is not healthly, even in the family.

I was impressed with Ruth's enthusiasm to do more than she apparently is doing with some emphasis on specialization, i. e., ~~Improvement~~ Manpower Training Programs.

Later I spent some time with Herman Long. Herman expressed real satisfaction with the success of the Institute. The enthusiasm was unusually high, probably as a result of events since Birmingham. We talked about many other things, too numerous to mention. He was, however, very pleased with the fact that the Council was represented by a staffer. He expressed equal pleasure with my having joined SRC staff.

Marion Wright gave one of the better speeches of the Institute. This fact was relayed not only by Herman, who was very high in his praise, but by numerous other persons in attendance. I am sorry I missed him because Dr. Kitagawa, who spoke on "Race in World Dimension," Wednesday evening, was rather boring to me. Also on Wednesday evening I had about a 10-minute chat with Steven Wright. To him I conveyed your best wishes and regards. He responded likewise.

After the evening meeting at the Institute I had the opportunity for additional conversation with Ruth and Kay, which proved very fruitful.

NAACP CONVENTION:

My train arrived in Chicago too late to witness either the parade or the outdoor meeting where Dailey and Jackson were booed and heckled. I did, however, get first-hand information as to what happened. It did appear that the demonstrations against Dailey were deliberately planned. This was evidenced by the fact that as Dailey and Wilkins led off the parade they were closely followed by a sign reading "Dailey, where are you leading us." (They were heading incidentally, to the East, which goes directly to Lake Michigan.) The Dailey hecklers consisted of a small and loud group that seemed to have taken most of the crowd by surprise. The Jackson demonstrators, though led initially by a small group, was joined in by the entire crowd. This is probably attributed to Jackson's standing reputation as a Dr. Tom especially in view of his appeal for a 60-day moratorium on demonstrations.

This convention was undoubtedly the most enthusiastic and highly spirited convention I have ever seen anywhere. Observers say that it was one of the best NAACP Conventions in many years. The reason for this is apparently obvious. The youth had a somewhat jolting affect on the convention. They did such things as;

1. Petitioned the Board of Directors for more emphasis on the Youth Programs, substantiated by more money -- additional youth as full-time and part-time workers, etc.

2. ~~Their~~ Demonstrations against the Hotel Morrison because situated in the bar ~~and in~~ near the lobby were two black-faced figurines. The youth demanded the removal of same and blocked entrances to the coffee shop, bars, and other

hotel facilities, until such a time that the management complied with their demands. Their demands were met.

3. They called for the formation of "Commando" groups -- similar to that in operation in Durham, North Carolina, to carry on direct action activities throughout the country.

4. They were most unappreciative of Meredith's statement -- calling them "burr-heads" -- charging their leadership ranks with lack of discipline and leadership. They revealed their indignation rather forcefully.

Thanks to Barbara Patterson's excellent statistical summary of school desegregation in the South -- supplemented by my corny glue-coating, I went over kind of big in the workshop on "Stepping Up School Desegregation." But for Barbara's research I very probably would have flunked.

I had an opportunity to talk to many people that you know. Guys from UAW -- John T. Logue, Assistant to the Deputy Vice-President, Eastern Airlines, (he is coming to Atlanta to talk to me about hiring Negroes to be counter girls for Eastern). Connie Motely, Roy Wilkins, June Shagloff, John Marshall, W. C. Patton, Ed Odom, and a host of others, all of them sent their best wishes.

I think we ought to consider putting out several of our publications at conventions such as these, for those persons in attendance. There seem to have been such a tremendous need for the kind of information that SRC dispenses -- oftentimes, this information was not available nor was there anyone present who could come up with the answers. There was also a lack of knowledge as to where you get the answers to some of these questions.

As an aside -- you might be interested to know that a friend took Shirley and me to Chicago's famous Playboy Club, where for a few minutes, I abandoned what little reserve I have, and my wife, to do the Twist with several of the "bunnies" featured at the Playboy Club. Needless to say, this event made the Chicago Convention more worthwhile.

VEJ:Jr

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TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue ● Nashville, Tennessee, 37212 ● CYpress 1-7544

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

July 18, 1963

TO: Vernon Jordan

FROM: Katherine Jones

RE: Trip to Bristol and other East Tennessee points

The Bristol Council on Human Relations has tentatively set a meeting with you as speaker on Thursday, August 1. This will be an evening meeting at the YWCA. Will you let me know as soon as possible if this date is possible for you?

I am just now writing to Johnson City about a possible date there before or after the Bristol meeting. Will you let me know if you have Wednesday or Friday nights free - July 31 or August 2?

I can meet you in Knoxville and take you by car from there to Bristol - about 150 miles. There is no satisfactory air transportation from Nashville to Bristol. You may find better connections from Atlanta. Southern Airways operates a bumpy little plane if you like to live dangerously.

Bristol has made some real progress in the few months of its operation, including desegregation of Holiday Inn, six restaurants and some bowling alleys. The great need is employment, and they are working on that, but it is complex and difficult.

If you will let me know what kind of schedule you desire, I'll work out further details.

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Rabbi James Wax, Memphis
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

2011 Grand Avenue ● Nashville, Tennessee, 37212 ● CYpress 1-7544

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

July 31, 1963

File

Mr. Vernon Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

The Bristol meeting is set for Thursday evening August 8. I think it will be satisfactory for you to arrive at 10 a.m., Knoxville airport. I will meet you there and we will go directly to Bristol. It is about a three hour drive. That should give you several hours to get some direct knowledge of Bristol. I've asked Sid Berman, president of Bristol Council to suggest contacts.

A Johnson City meeting cannot be arranged at this time because of vacation schedules of leadership there. At the suggestion of Rev. Frank Gordon, I am writing to Mr. Clarence McKinney, branch NAACP president to ask if he is available for a discussion.

Rev. Gordon is also leaving Knoxville this week and will be out of the state until mid-August. He had no requests to make for that end of the state. Therefore, I think you might plan to return to Atlanta sometime Friday afternoon. I'm sorry that vacations and change in plans have limited the original proposals we had for your time. However, I do think the Bristol meeting is important, and I'm looking forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Jones

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

August 13, 1963

The Honorable Edward Backus
Vice Mayor
P. O. Box 396
Johnson City, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Backus:

It was a real pleasure meeting you Friday evening at the meeting of the Johnson City Council on Human Relations. I trust that you will continue to attend the Council gatherings and take an active part in the deliberations.

As promised, enclosed are several articles that may be helpful to you as chairman of the Johnson City bi-racial committee. As I indicated to you on Friday evening, I sympathize with your very difficult role, yet I am confident on the basis of our brief discussion that you will be guided by that which is right and just. You have my very good wishes in your efforts.

My brief stay in Johnson City was a pleasant one and I look forward to visiting there again. My regards to Mrs. Backus with the assurance that one day in the not too distant future, my little Vickee will get to Fun-Town. I feel certain that will please Mrs. Backus.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJJr:nm
Enclosures

August 14, 1963

Dr. & Mrs. Eugene Kilgore
1505 East Watauga
Johnson City, Tennessee

My dear Dr. & Mrs. Kilgore:

During your absence I was privileged to visit Johnson City where I spoke to the local Council on Human Relations. Immediately upon my arrival, through conversation with several people, I was very much aware that you have been the moving force in eliminating segregation and discriminatory practices in Johnson City. I commend you for your efforts and encourage you to continue the fight.

My discussions with several people led me to believe that with a little more effort on the part of the entire Negro community, many of the problems in Johnson City can be amicably resolved. I sensed also on the part of one or two Negro leaders some satisfaction, that things were going along just fine; I am sure that you do not concur. I think that the chances of real success are so good and so near, that it is imperative that the Negro community move now and fast in every conceivable area.

I look forward to returning to Johnson City in the near future, and it is my hope that it will not be my bad luck that you will be vacationing.

If I can be of any assistance to you at any time, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

August 14, 1963

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Kay:

Thank you for providing me with the experiences of East-Tennessee. They were unlike any I have had anywhere since working in intergroup relations. Needless to say, I was somewhat appalled and frustrated by the seemingly apathetic and complacent Negro community in Bristol and Johnson City. I fear the conclusion that a little bit of freedom extended to a small Negro populous creates a kind of lethargy that is almost incurable. However, I have hopes that through your efforts they will be able to realize their potential for effecting complete equality.

Maybe we should have arranged to take some electrical prod sticks with us in the hope that unlike in Alabama and other places, they could have been of some positive use, when applied to the satisfied buttocks of Negroes in East-Tennessee.

I caught my plane without any difficulty and had the pleasure of having Lewis Sinclair as my seat companion. We had lively discussions.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

VIA AIR MAIL

January 21, 1964

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Kay:

I am coming to your annual meeting. I plan to arrive by Eastern Flight No. 162, 12:34 Tennessee time, and will depart on Eastern's Flight No. 133 Friday, if no other flight is available.

Paul said that you would make hotel reservations for me. I will get a cab from the airport to the hotel, so please do not worry about meeting me.

See you Thursday.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

January 28, 1964

File

TO: Vernon Jordan, Jr.

From: Kay Jones

We didn't succeed in getting Bill Willis to the SRC Board Meeting. I talked to him today, and he says his court schedule is such that he can't possibly leave Nashville this week. During the big libel suit trial, everything else got put off until this week. I regret his absence, because he is really just getting involved, and I am sure that attendance at the SRC meeting would deepen that involvement. I really don't think it feasible to recruit another representative at this date.

Will you please tell Paul Anthony or whoever is delegated to keep tab on reservations. None had been requested by Mr. Willis.

I do appreciate your coming to our annual meeting, and regret that that we weren't more hospitable. Do come back, and we will guarantee improvement in our reception.

Kay Jones

February 7, 1964

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Kay:

With the SRC Annual Meeting ended, and the SRC move from the 2nd to the 5th floor now completed, I have time to commend you on the very excellent and enthusiastic Annual Meeting of the Tennessee Council. I enjoyed being there and learned quite a bit. I think the esprit de corps that prevailed was a real tribute to you and your work for the Council.

I was glad to see the people that I met on our trip to Bristol and Johnson City in Knoxville, which sort of made me feel that our sojourn there was not in vain. Except possibly for Rev. Williams, who has not quite convinced me that he has been saved, despite his great affirmations of faith.

I plan to write Bill Willis this week. Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

April 7, 1964

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Kay:

You can count on me to speak at the dinner meeting of the Student Assembly in Jackson, Tennessee, May 2, 1964. I assume that you want me to talk primarily about the Civil Rights bill. I shall be happy to do so.

I cannot say anything at this time about my travel plans, except that I doubt seriously that I will come to Nashville and make that 140-mile drive, as a matter of fact, I don't even recommend that for you if you can possibly avoid it.

I'll leave accommodations up to you; anywhere will be all right with me. Be assured that I will refuse to stay in the Jackson Holiday Inn if it is segregated at that time. But if they are integrated, I will be glad to accommodate them.

Looking forward to working with you again.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

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Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
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Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
Miss Martelle Trigg, Memphis
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis
Rev. Dogan W. Williams, Bristol
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1106 19th Avenue, South ● Nashville, Tennessee 37212 ● 291-7544

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director

April 3, 1964

TO: Vernon Jordan

FROM: Katherine Jones

RE: Student Assembly in Jackson, Tennessee
Saturday, May 2, 1964

Since our journey into East Tennessee was so successful last August, I hope that you will be able to help out in Jackson, Tennessee as speaker at a dinner meeting on Saturday evening, May 2. They would like to have you there all day, but the night session is of special importance.

The student assembly will involve students from Lane College, Lambuth College and Union University - the three colleges located in Jackson. The day-long meeting, to be held on the Lambuth College campus, will be devoted to study of the Civil Right bill. The evening dinner meeting will draw townspeople as well as students. If the Jackson Holiday Inn is desegregated by then, the dinner will be there; if not, it will be on the Lambuth College campus.

The Jackson White Citizens' Council is the strongest (in number) in the state, and said to be the second largest in the nation. It has been effective in demoralizing the Jackson Community Relations Council, through harrassment and character assasination. However, there has grown up a fellowship across campus lines between Lane and Lambuth students. Last year it was limited to male students only, and known as "The Fellows". It was quiet, almost secret. This year it has included both men and women students from the three colleges, and recently has been meeting on the Lambuth College campus. Albert Porter has been a moving spirit, and has been joined by other concerned Jackson residents.

This is a significant development in Jackson which has been beset by harrassment and pressure from Jackson, Mississippi leadership. Ross Barnett, Medford Evans and others have been public speakers in Jackson, and their addresses have been broadcast over local radio stations. Students at the white colleges largely come from West Tennessee, and it is important that they become thoroughly familiar with the Civil Rights bill before they return to their homes for the summer.

(more)

The Jackson meeting begins at 10 a.m. They hope to have well informed discussion leaders throughout the day, with registration beginning at 9. You are their choice as speaker that evening. You have friends there, the Joe Merrys in particular, who join me in urging you to accept. If you can't come, is there someone else you can suggest?

You can arrive in Jackson on Friday evening or Saturday morning via Southern Airways from Memphis. You can also come to Nashville, and go by car with me to Jackson - 140 miles from Nashville. I doubt that there is anyway to get back to Atlanta on Saturday night, but we can get you to Memphis or Nashville that night if that would help. Can you let me know as soon as possible? I am convinced that this is the most important development which has taken place in the Jackson area in the past two years.

CC: Paul Anthony, SRC
Albert Porter, Jackson

Katherine Jones

October 14, 1964

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 -- 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Kaye:

As you know we were instructed by the SRC Board to notify the state council that is to receive the George Mitchell Award, not later than October 1 of the year the award is to be made. We plan to make an award this year but cannot do so until such a time that we have your membership report.

The Award is to be based on percentage increase of a state council during the preceding year from September to September. We have reports from Florida, Arkansas, and Virginia, but no report from your state. Please may we have it as soon as possible so that we may determine the recipient and notify same pursuant to our instructions from the SRC Board.

May we hear from you soon?

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 15, 1964

Miss Katherine Jones
Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
1106 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Kay:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations, Service, established under the Civil Rights of 1964.

Carl Carson, Memphis
Paul Christopher, Knoxville
Rev. Wayne DeHoney, Jackson
Buford Ellington, Nashville
Amon C. Evans, Nashville
Dr. Alexander Heard, Nashville
Matt Lynch, Nashville
Martin Ochs, Chattanooga
Edmund Orgill, Memphis
Greenfield Pitts, Nashville
John Wade, Nashville
A. Maceo Walker, Memphis
William C. Weaver, Nashville
Kemmons, Wilson, Memphis
Stephen Wright, Nashville

It may be that you can involve some of these poeple in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

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Mrs. Garland P. Fisher, Bristol
Rev. James D. Glasse, Nashville
LeRoy Graf, Knoxville
Mrs. Robert Harwell, Franklin
W. D. Hawkins, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. W. B. Hembree, Knoxville
Ernest Hooper, Murfreesboro
Mrs. John C. Hull, Nashville
The Rev. Robert Hunter, Chattanooga
Mrs. G. Stanley Ish, Memphis
Rev. Major J. Jones, Chattanooga
Mrs. Eugene S. Kilgore, Johnson City
Hunter Lane, Jr., Memphis
Matt Lynch, Nashville
Joseph L. May, Nashville
M. D. Merriwether, Jackson
Mrs. Robert M. Metcalfe, Crossville
Rev. John Charles Mickle, Memphis
Mrs. Hugh J. Morgan, Nashville
Mrs. Fred Muhleman, Chattanooga
Mrs. Robert W. Peelle, Oak Ridge
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
Albert Porter, Jackson
Mrs. R. D. Present, Knoxville
Hollis F. Price, Memphis
Merrill Proudfoot, Knoxville
Mrs. Tom Ragland, Nashville
Horace W. Raper, Cookeville
Ewell Reagin, Knoxville
Rev. John Rustin, Kingsport
Mrs. Earl L. Sasser, Nashville
Mrs. Bernard R. Schweid, Nashville
Clifford Seeber, Knoxville
Walter Sharp, Nashville
Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Mrs. Philip C. Sottong, Chattanooga
Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
Miss Martelle Trigg, Memphis
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis
Rev. Dogan W. Williams, Bristol
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1106 19th Avenue, South ● Nashville, Tennessee 37212 ● 291-7544

Baxton Bryant
Executive Director

Associate Miss Katherine Jones
~~Executive Director~~

March 15, 1965

Mr. John H. Wheeler, President
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Just a note to thank you for a copy of your memorandum, "New Federal Programs in the South," sent to Vice President, Hubert H. Humphrey. It is very timely and pinpoints all of our concern about federal programs in the south.

I would like to report improvement on the federal and state government's part in Tennessee. Our Metropolitan areas were the first to apply and they had committees that were not inclusive enough, Memphis was the worst offender. After the State Coordinator, Dr. John Dyer, was appointed and the office of Economic Opportunity began to send more staff into the field things began to get better. I believe our State Coordinator is trying to do a good job and we will have a program that will include Negroes on all levels.

Our human relations council has tried to supply materials, especially to West Tennessee, to educate the Negro community on the federal programs. The power structures in the county seat towns were slower in getting started than in the Metropolitan areas. We have many good examples, in West Tennessee, where many of the Negro communities knew more about a Community Action Program than the officials of the county government. This has brought about rival groups submitting applications for Community Action Programs. It has been between such rival groups, that our human relations council became the bridge and with the aid of the State Coordinator and direction from Washington many of these rival groups are being merged into a representative committee to submit one application for the county or counties.

I say again we are encouraged by the fairness and the awareness that our State Coordinator is displaying in his responsibility. If we detect a change from this policy we will be quick to protest. I think your memorandum and communication with the vice president is helpful to all our state councils working in the poverty program.

Sincerely yours,

Baxton Bryant

Baxton Bryant

cc: Les Dunbar

Memo from **VERNON E. JORDON, JR.**

✓ I file

Les ✓

Attached is the tentative program for the Chattanooga conference

Major Jones was in last week to discuss it.

If all these folk attend, it will be a good conference.

Let's hope

PROGRAMME WORKSHEET
CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

TUESDAY

10:00 A.M. until 12:00 Registration

12:00 until 1:00 Lunch with Guest Speaker
Rev. Sam Dodson, Pastor of Calvary Methodist Church, Nashville, Tennessee and Chairman of The Governor's Commission on Human Relations, State of Tennessee.

1:30 until 4:00 Orientation Period
Presiding: _____

Basic Issues in The Current Revolution
A. Dr. J. E. Lowery
B. Dr. Wyatt Tee Walker
C. Dr. William Campbell
D. Dr. James Sellers – can't participate – sub likely

General Discussion Leader: Dr. D. E. King Ky. State Commission on Human Relations

4:00 until 4:45 Address: "Voter Registration in The South: Progress and Problems", Mr. Randolph T. Blackwell, Field Director Of Voter Education Project.

4:45 until 5:15 Report from Citizenship Education Projects
A. Mrs. Dorothy Cotton for SCLC
B. _____ for the Chattanooga Area Literacy Movement.

Discussion Leader: _____

6:45 Conference Banquet
Keynote Address: Mr. M. T. Puryear, Director of The National Skills Bank and Associate Director of The National Urban League.

TUESDAY EVENING: Discussion Panel: Community Organization for Freedom, Jobs, and Citizenship Responsibility.
Mr. Clarence Coleman, Director of Southern Regional Office of The National Urban League.
Local committemen will be added here, and some
Discussion and Question Leaders:
A.
B.

WEDNESDAY: The Revolution In Perspective

9:00 A.M. until 10:00 "Larger Aspects of The Revolution of 1966".

Presiding: _____

A. Miss Peggy Billings of The Methodist Office for The United Nations
B. Mr. Matthew Lynch, President of Tennessee Labor Council (promised, but uncommitted)
C. Rev. John Morris, Director of The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.

10:00 until 11:00 Address: "The Role of Higher Education in The Achievement of Jobs, Freedom and Citizenship Responsibility".
Dr. E. A. Smith, President of Rust College

Discussion Leader: _____

11:00 until 11:10 Coffee Break

11:10 until 12:00 Address: "The Economic Status of The Negro: In the South and on The National Scene".
Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of The Southern Regional Council.

Discussion Leader: _____

12:00 until 1:15 Lunch

1:15 until 3:20 Reports from Tension Areas

Panel Leader: Rev. Andrew White, Nashville, Tennessee

1. Mr. Hosea Williams, Savannah, Georgia uncommitted
2. Mr. James Bevel, SCLC Field Activities, Atlanta, Georgia
3. Dr. Leon Whitney, Jackson, Mississippi
4. Rev. A. D. King, Birmingham, Alabama
5. Rev. W. Tolbert Handy, Louisiana uncommitted
6. Rev. William B. McClain, On a Bi-Racial Committee, Anniston, Alabama
7. Mrs. Earnest G. Silver, Oak Ridge, Tennessee
8. Rev. William C. Dobbins, Pensacola, Florida
9. Mr. Ron Parker, Nashville, Tennessee
10. Mary Hamilton - CORE -

3:20 until 3:30 Coffee Break

3:30 until 4:30 "The Role of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Negro's Struggle for Better Jobs".
Dr. John Hope, II: Associate Director

Discussion Leader: _____

4:30 until 5:30 A Community Strategy Panel

1. Miss Kay Jones, Executive Director, Tennessee Council on Human Relations
2. Mr. Gideon Fryer, School of Social Work, University of Tennessee
3. Miss Carole Hoover, Administrative Assistant, SCLC
4. Rev. Milton Reid, Pastor of First Baptist Church, Petersburgh, Virginia
5. James M. Lawson

5:30 Dinner Toastmaster: Dick Gregory ?

8:00 Closing Session

Presiding: _____

Address: Dr. Martin Luther King (City Auditorium) ?

THE CHATTANOOGA COUNCIL FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION

PRESENTS

A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

★ ★ ★

April 14 - 15, 1964

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

★ ★ ★

Sponsored By

The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
The Southern Regional Council
The Southern Christian Leadership Conference
The National Urban League (Southern Office)
The General Board of Christian Social Concern of the Methodist Church
The Tennessee Council on Human Relations
The Committee of Southern Churchmen
Etc.

THE CALL

Because our hearts yearn so much for a better climate in America and especially our Southland wherein each person shall have opportunity equal to his talent, skills and ability; and when for no reason shall a person be denied an equal chance for any job for which he is qualified; and

Because our work and actions, our thoughts and dedications, our prayers and our faith are aimed at the creation of a free climate, wherein every person, it matters not what race, creed or color may have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and

Because we are responsible citizens of a great nation that has not yet reached its potential in a "realized dream," political maturity, or the democratic ideal, and;

Because we feel that still, even within us lies a facet of our nation's power to become; and

Because we know so well the agony, the strife, the struggle, the conflicts which any nation suffers as long as it is divided against itself; and

Because we feel that the time for freedom is far spent;

WE CALL YOU TO A REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON JOBS, FREEDOM AND CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY, to be held in Chattanooga, Tennessee, April 14 - 15, 1964.

THE PURPOSE

The purpose of the Conference is to focus on regional and community conditions as they relate to progress and lag in the area of Job Opportunities, Freedom, and Citizenship Responsibility. There will also be attempts to devise ways and means by which communities might develop strategy for the achievement of a better climate in Human Relations.

GENERAL INFORMATION

BEFORE APRIL FIRST, registration for the Conference will not be limited, and the general public will be invited to sit in on all of the sessions.

Those not registered may come for the two banquet meals provided they make reservations in time.

The first session of the Conference will be held at 2:00 on the day of the fourteenth, with the last session being the mass meeting of the night of the fifteenth.

Registration begins at 10:00 on the day of the fourteenth.

★ ★ ★

This folder is not designed to indicate program, as plans for the program have not been completed. When the program has been finalized, you will get a copy of the program with final instructions as to place of meeting, etc.

LODGING

HOTEL PATTEN.....1 East Eleventh Street

THE READ HOUSE.....West Ninth Street
(Hotel, Motel)

THE HOLIDAY INN.....2100 South Broad Street

THE ALBERT PICK.....3210 South Broad Street

THE DRAKE MOTEL.....3515 South Broad Street

THE ROSETTA MOTEL.....3610 Williams Street

★ ★ ★

PLEASE MAKE YOUR OWN RESERVATIONS!

WILSON PTG.

J.4

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Mr. Alton F. Flagg
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Mrs. Joan Livingston
Dr. Ralph Martin
Mrs. Cecil Miles
Dr. C. M. Proudfoot
Mr. Samuel A. Rosen
Mrs. Neal B. Spahr
Rev. Robert West

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

602 Empire Building
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

Mail Address:
P. O. Box 1011
Knoxville 1, Tenn.
Phone: 524-0357

February 22, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

A few days ago on the Huntley-Brinkley TV News Program, we heard a report of Negroes standing-in in a hospital in Atlanta. There was no account of this activity in the Knoxville papers and we have not been able to locate anything in several other newspapers.

Since this Council, in cooperation with a City-Wide Committee for Equal Services, is now attempting to bring about changes in the admission policies of local general hospitals, we are much interested in knowing what is happening in Atlanta.

We are hopeful of effecting some change in Knoxville without the necessity for drastic action and we would, therefore, like to have an authoritative account of what is taking place in Atlanta. The experiences there, we believe, may help us here. Will you please, therefore, furnish us with whatever data you have regarding the action taken by Negroes and/or others and the results obtained.

Yours very truly,

Louise Blackwell

Louise Blackwell
Staff Secretary

STATEMENT in KNOXVILLE NEWS-SENTINEL
and KNOXVILLE JOURNAL-Saturday, Feb. 10, 1962

Do You Know the Facts About

KNOXVILLE'S HOSPITALS?

TOMORROW IS

RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

We Invite you To Meditate on the Following:

★★★ **THE THREE CHURCH-RELATED GENERAL HOSPITALS IN THE CITY OF KNOXVILLE DO NOT ADMIT NEGROES AS PATIENTS. No beds are available to Negroes at any of these hospitals.**

★ **The tax-supported U-T Hospital has set aside about 60 beds for the use of a Negro population of 21,000. Frequently Negroes go without hospital care, even when seriously ill, though there may be empty beds in all four hospitals.**

★ **The administrators and boards of the three church-affiliated hospitals have turned a deaf ear to all pleas that they reconsider their admission policies. Can't the citizens and churches of Knoxville, in the cause of humanity, influence the hospitals in this community?**

★ **The problem of hospital admission for Negroes in the City of Knoxville is of grave concern to all citizens because it affects the health of all.**

IF YOU WISH TO HELP CORRECT THIS UNJUST AND UN-CHRISTIAN POLICY, YOU MAY BEGIN BY DISCUSSING IT WITH YOUR MINISTER, NEIGHBORS AND FRIENDS

TO INDICATE YOUR SUPPORT, PLEASE SIGN AND RETURN THE ATTACHED COUPON:

To City-Wide Committee for Equal Services
P.O. Box 10302, Knoxville, Tenn.

☐ I believe that all hospitals should make available their full resources to all people.

☐ I would like more information.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

PHONE NO._____

March 6, 1962

Miss Louise Blackwell
Staff Secretary
Knoxville Area Human Relations Council
602 Empire Building
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

Dear Miss Blackwell:

We are enclosing thermofaxed copies of all of the recent clippings and materials that we have on the Atlanta hospital situation.

I need only add that picketing of the hospital is still taking place and the issue of non-segregation of facilities is still unresolved.

If we can be of further help to you please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc.: current clippings

SM

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Mr. Alton F. Flagg
Rev. Robert E. James
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Mrs. Joan Livingston
Dr. Ralph Martin
Mrs. Cecil Miles
Dr. C. M. Proudfoot
Mr. Samuel A. Rosen
Mrs. Neal B. Spahr
Rev. Robert West

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

602 Empire Building
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

Mail Address:
P. O. Box 1011
Knoxville 1, Tenn.
Phone: 524-0357

March 6, 1962

for info

Miss Janet Feagans
Department of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Feagans:

There has been no progress whatever toward integration of motion picture theaters in Knoxville. The following is a run-down of what has happened here:

1. Last spring a group of Knoxville College students met with several theater managers to discuss integration of the theaters. The students were given no encouragement and the managers took no steps toward integrating the theaters.

2. Beginning in September 1961, Knoxville College students, with Rev. James F. Reese, pastor of the College Chapel, as adult adviser began stand-ins at down-town theaters. The stand-ins, which were well organized, lasted throughout October and November with no positive results.

3. On the day following the first stand-in, Mayor John Duncan called a meeting of theater managers and law enforcement officers to discuss what the students could legally do. As far as Rev. Reese and I know, that was the last time the managers have discussed the matter.

4. The students stood-in every day in the week except Saturday for more than two months, but Rev. Reese now feels that the effort might have been more effective if more adults had participated.

5. Around the first of December, the students, with the financial support of the Associated Council for Full Citizenship, published a newspaper ad asking the public for support in influencing the managers of the theaters to admit Negroes. There was little or no indication of results from this ad.

6. About the time of the ad, the students mailed out mimeographed letters explaining their position and enclosing cards which the recipients were to send to the theater managers saying they would continue to patronize the theaters if all citizens were admitted. There again we have no evidence of how many of the cards were returned to the managers, although we know that quite a few were mailed in.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

7. The theater managers, since that one meeting last spring, have declined to sit down in face to face discussion of the matter of theater integration.

8. Rev. Reese does not at the moment have the information you requested regarding the ownership of the theaters, but he has said he will try to obtain it and if it is forthcoming, I will send it on to you.

9. The lack of publicity here was due to the fact that the Knoxville papers declined to give the stand-ins publicity. There was no agreement on this point between the papers and the students. And since there have been no negotiations, publicity would have been helpful rather than harmful to the cause of the students.

10. The latter part of last month, February 1962, the Associated Council for Full Citizenship appointed a committee to look again into the matter of the theaters. Rev. Reese is on that committee. The President of the Student Council of Knoxville College and several Student Council Members attended the first meeting of the committee. It was decided that the Committee would try to arrange a face to face meeting with the managers of the Tennessee and Riviera theaters; but when contact was made, the manager of the Riviera Theater said that he would be out of town and the manager of the Tennessee Theater said that if the meeting was being called to discuss integration, he would not come.

11. The committee has met again to draw up a plan of action. It was decided to send a letter to the various Negro organizations in the city asking that representatives be sent to a meeting next Tuesday night to complete plans for a mass meeting next week.

12. According to Rev. Reese, the plan now is to begin mass demonstrations next week. The demonstrators will concentrate on one down-town theater and there will be fifty or sixty persons in front of the theater at all times. In order to maintain this kind of mass demonstrating, it is planned that various organizations, such as the Negro Elks Club, will provide all of the demonstrators on one day, another organization the next day and another the next, etc.

I will be glad to keep you posted on any new developments here. In the meantime, will you please furnish us information regarding cities and theaters where integration has taken place. We feel that if we could obtain statements from some theater managers to the effect that their business has not been hurt by integration, this information might be influential here.

Sincerely yours,

Louise Blackwell
Staff Secretary

P.S. On February 22, 1962, I wrote Southern Regional Council requesting information about the hospital stand-ins in Atlanta, but have had no answer. Can you check on this for me?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

August 14, 1963

Mr. Sidney Berman
1912 Euclid Avenue
Bristol, Virginia

Dear Sid:

It was a real pleasure meeting you in Bristol last Thursday and I am very grateful for the warm hospitality extended me by you, your wife and the Bristol Council on Human Relations.

The Council meeting was interesting and enjoyable. It would appear that you have the nucleus of a very active council. I am concerned to some extent with the lack of motivation toward full equality on the part of the Negro community, and more especially its leadership. However, maybe with the kind of excellent direction that you have given the community already in the area of desegregation; Negroes in Bristol will be free in spite of themselves.

Bristol is one of the few towns I have ever visited wherein the president of the local council was more actively determined that segregation and discrimination be wiped out than the local Negro leadership. I commend your efforts and extend my sympathy as you attempt to motivate local Negroes to be more concerned about problems which directly affect them.

If I can be of assistance to you at any time, please let me know. I shall be more than happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

October 15, 1964

Reverend Heslip Lee
Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Happy:

Listed below for your use and information are the names of the citizens of your state that were invited by President Johnson to serve on the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations, as an advisory group to the Community Relations Service, established under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

It may be that you can involve some of these people in your program activities, or make some other use of their talents and influence.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

George Barnes, Lexington
Fred Cole, Lexington
Robert Mason, Norfolk
Lewis Powell, Richmond
Dr. Edward Haddock, Richmond
Edwin Hyde, Richmond
J. J. Nickens, Richmond
Thomas W. Young, Norfolk

Pat, you may keep this ... RLC

Va.

1965 REPORT ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND THE CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE

By the Rev. Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations

We have many things for which to be thankful that took place during 1964-65. These things have aided us in the struggle for the rights of mankind in Virginia. New laws, Economic Opportunity Programs, and concerned people such as the Council on Human Relations are moving this state into a new era.

Let us briefly examine some of the facets of Human Relations in Virginia to see what has happened. This will challenge us to work a little harder in the future.

I. Voting Rights

Methods have been employed in the past to produce Virginia's low voting record. The American Dream of Equal Opportunity has not been fulfilled in Virginia when the voter participation record on the national level was 61.1% in 1964 and Virginia had the miserably low record of 41.1%.

The APPLE BARREL COALITION produced in 1965 the poll tax continuation, hiding the poll tax lists, keeping the voter registration lists from the public in rural areas, not advertising the time and places to register to vote, not keeping the poll tax records correctly to discourage voter participation, and requiring a discouraging qualification to vote when one transfers from one precinct to another in Virginia. Now, since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 we can add another to our list, the County and City Treasurers devising methods to discourage the prospective voter--attempting to assess personal property taxes before accepting the poll tax payment and confusion concerning for which year to accept poll tax payment.

Many registration offices in rural Virginia still employ methods to discourage voter registration--short hours during the working day, only one or two days per month, little or no advertisement about the Registrar's office hours (such as posting at 10 public places the time, date, and place for registration in accordance with the Virginia Election Laws). Registrars are still failing to post the list of new registrants five days after they have registered the person. Many registrars fail to cooperate with local citizens to let them review the voter registration lists which is the contrasted policy existing in urban areas.

Too many counties still list Mrs. and Miss for the white and Mary or Jane for the Negro. Chesterfield, Dinwiddie and Lunenburg Counties in 1965 were practicing the segregated poll tax list in an apparent violation of Hamm vs. Virginia State Board of Election, which could lead to a contempt of court case against the Virginia State Board of Elections and the Virginia State Tax Commissioner.

Problems still exist in Virginia Election Laws, as pointed out by concerned people in this state. 1. Requiring a person to register to vote in State elections after they have registered to vote in Federal elections; this is a dual system for registration. 2. The elimination of the poll tax. 3. One man, one vote in cities and counties is needed.

Efforts are in the wind to continue an election system that is not fair. 1. Election dates inconvenient to the public. 2. The costly efforts by Attorney General Button to fight the 1965 U. S. Voting Rights Act. 3. The "Freeholders Amendment" which would change or rewrite Section 30 of the Virginia Constitution to permit the General Assembly to pass a law saying that only freeholders (owners of land) may participate in local or state bond referendums. 4. Adequate measures are not being practiced in some localties to insure the safety of the ballot once it has been cast (i.e., Henrico County's loss of Skipwith Precinct ballots). 5. The fight against redistricting Counties and Cities to insure a better representation. County Boards of Supervisors and Cities are elected that allow disproportionate, insufficient and inequitable representation.

II. Education

It is a shame that Virginians were not willing to abide by the Supreme Court ruling of 1954. We realize that we had to go through the experience of Massive Resistance. We realize that it has not been a change of heart on the part of many Virginians to allow integration in our public schools, but the threat of the loss of Federal Funds. I presume we should give thanks that the pressure of the Federal Dollar has caused Virginia to move further on the pathway toward Integrated Quality Education.

The Fall of 1965, the Office of Education(HEW) reports that some 26,300 Negro children enrolled in Virginia's previously white schools. Southern Regional Council, Inc. reports that 21,045 Negro children enrolled in Virginia's previously white schools. This represents about 11.3% (SRC) and 14.1% (HEW) of the Negro enrollment. Regardless of the total number of Negro children enrolled in previously white schools--this was the greatest number of children in desegregated schools at any time in the history of the public education in the State of Virginia.

The Governor of Virginia, Albertis S. Harrison, united with other Southern Governors May 13, 1965 to attack HEW on their policy of school integration. They called these policies illegal.

Most school boards suddenly decided to abide by the "Freedom of Choice" which still places the burden of change upon the Negro. Hopewell decided to follow the zone plan. It was concluded in May that the Pupil Placement Board of Virginia was now ineffective. Now there is a recommendation before the 1966 General Assembly to abolish it.

Still, we have a long way to go--Powhatan County on January 5, 1965 was ordered to register children in public schools. There was little desegregation of faculty in 1965 (except in some urban areas). Staunton and Augusta County have recently been ordered to mix their staff. The formula Judge Thomas J. Michie, Jr. (Federal District Court) specified was "insofar as possible", the percentage of Negro teachers in each school should approximate the percentage of Negro teachers in the entire system for 1965-66 school session. This was also the year for the threat to demote, fire, etc. the Negro teacher. The National Education Association stated (December 22, 1965) that 24 Negro teachers had been fired or demoted for purely racial reasons since the start of this school year. Thus this is another area which bears watching. Prince Edward County was in the news again, by selling some of their school buildings as surplus (5).

Areas of real concern for us are--the dropout rate due to lack of a compulsory attendance law, 31 private schools which have been listed as being eligible to receive tuition-grant support (on surface this appears not to be a problem, but when a county such as Powhatan, Prince Edward, Surry, and Amelia sends most of her white children to private schools, it poses a real educational tax dollar problem on the local level), eight localities lost their Virginia School aid due to failure to provide at least 30% of the public school operating costs from local funds (Buchanan, Lee, Scott, Tazewell, Nansemond, Dickenson, Halifax and Surry), as of November 20, 1965, there were still 12 school localities which had not been approved by HEW as required by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, textbooks are still segregated and not multi-ethnic.

Let us press on for Integrated Quality Education in the State.

III. Employment

The problem which confronts us now is the self-satisfied attitude of the rising Negro middle class in urban areas, the looking at a record of "tokenism" with pride, and forgetting the plight of the very poor.

In five of our Southside counties, from 1/4th to 1/3rd of all the Negro families earn less than $1,000 per year and 48% earn less than $2,000.

Mr. Abner Lee of the VCHR staff, the NAACP, and the Urban League of Richmond have worked very hard to bring about equal opportunity in employment. But, I still see little break through in some of our banks, and many of our other financial institutions. Some of our department stores have failed to be imaginative in equal opportunities in employment. I see few Negroes in the offices of these stores. While business, with a few exceptions where pressure was exerted, has not really had a break through in Negro employment. Yes, we can see Negroes in some good jobs, but the condition is just a little "tokenism".

According to a newspaper account on November 5, 1965 there were 45 complaints of employment discrimination from Virginians being considered by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 32 were based on race, 11 on sex and 2 were unspecified. Most of the complaints charge employers with discrimination in employment practices. A labor union and the state employment service are accused of discriminatory practices in 2 complaints. In the year 1966, we are sure to see more complaints--union and employers being charged. We need to work on this area in order to avoid complaints through compliance to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. We need to challenge those who advertize in our newspapers and urge local papers to follow the lead set by the Roanoke Times--"Employment: With certain exceptions, Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination because of sex, etc." There should likewise be included a notation about race as it applies to Title VII.

People of concern can work extra as some have done already to see that opportunities are "opened" to Negroes. We need to work harder to devise methods to prepare Negroes for these jobs, to enable Negroes to become qualified. We must destroy the current excuse among businessmen--I would hire a Negro, but I just cannot find one who is qualified for the job.

IV. Housing

The Urban Renewal efforts in most cities are almost as segregated now as they were when they began. The location of low cost public housing financed by the Federal Government proves the point. Thus schools had to be built which will continue segregation. What will be the future course of action by these methods?

Look at the locations of the new highways through Virginia cities. Look at some of the proposed routes. Who has suffered? The poor, unre-

presented Negro in the slum. The unofficial remark you hear..."this is the method of slum clearance." How long will citizens allow this injustice to continue? You see it does not hurt the white or the Negro who has the voting power. It does not harm the Negro who has gained statue. I caution you, we must not forget the poor unrepresented people. Some day it will explode.

There are certain "slum lords" in Virginia's major cities who own family dwelling units, each being substandard properties. Do they not feel any moral compulsion to improve the lot of the poor? Most members of the Human Relations Council enjoy decent housing and have lost the vision and challenge to work for decent housing, building and health codes. Work for enforcement in these areas, stop discrimination in accordance to race or the very poor unrepresented people. Do we have the moral right--is it decent or just to write off certain communities in our cities by failure to enforce properly the building and sanitation codes? I warn you, we must not forget the poor unrepresented people. Some hot summer day, when negative feelings have so built against this kind of treatment, it will explode if not defused by concerned people.

Those who are dealing in the selling of real estate, there is evidence of a clear pattern of panic peddling, block busting ghettoizing existant in many cities. There have been real estate salesmen, Negro and White, who have written letters, have rung doorbells and have made telephone calls to push on their sales in racially transitional neighborhoods. We have heard them tell owners--Negroes are buying, property values will decrease, crime will increase and there will be a rise of immorality. There have been visits at night and coalitions to get people to sell. They have been bird-dogging, suddenly stopped showing houses owned by whites to white prospective buyers and advertising white owned homes under"colored for sale". Even the National Association for the Advancement of White People, at a recent attempted organizational meeting,were questioning the procedures of real estate agents in racially transitional neighborhoods.

We call upon people of concern to work for "open occupancy" or "fair housing." We call upon lending institutions to loan money regardless of race, if the person is qualified. We call upon real estate salesmen to be willing to show homes in all areas without regard to race or creed. We call upon those dealing with FHA to monitor and implement such loans on the local level without regard to race or creed.

Equal opportunity in housing in Virginia has a long way to go before we can even begin to realize the American Dream of equal opportunity.

V. Public Accommodations and facilities.

We are aware that some business establishments still have segregated facilities for employees. Public hospitals still are operating on "tokenism" in providing services for ALL people. Recently, the U. S. Civil Rights Commission was shocked to learn of the conditions in some of our hospitals. There are still segregated rest rooms at courthouses. Many restaurants have white only signs, designated restrooms, overcharging and in some cases signs "we reserve the right to refuse service to anyone."

Virginia has long looked at the accomplishments of urban areas and forgotten the tragic situation still existing in the "black belt." In spite of what some desire you to believe, we have a long way to go in reaching equal opportunity in public accommodations and facilities in some parts of the State.

VI. Other areas of concern.

There were attempts this past year by Prince Edward and Washington Counties to reduce welfare budgets which threatened the loss of Federal and State Funds. In the case of Prince Edward County we have reason to believe this was a way to show contempt toward economically poor Negroes.

The Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government (which enjoys $100,000.00 from State Budget) recently has requested $250,000.00 from the General Assembly during the 1966-68 period. Some folks would argue against the formation of such a Commission. It would seem that since Virginia is faced with greater challenges that this money could be spent in forming a Commission on Equal Employment or even better a Commission on Human Relations.

Some counties and cities have not kept pace with public recreational facilities due to fear of integration of these facilities. Thus, for a period of time we have lagged behind in promoting adequate recreational facilities for fear of the "race question."

People of concern need to be aware of the policies and practices in our prisons. We are experiencing too many suicides, such as the case of Francis Ricardo West in Norfolk, Virginia. There is evidence that Human Relations Councils need to concern themselves with alleged mistreatment of prisoners in our prisons.

A lot has recently been said about civil rights and equal justice. When will we see other localities take the lead, such as Roanoke in appointing Negroes in positions to administer justice. We still see white faces in almost every phase of law enforcement, courts (state and federal) in the State of Virginia. Do we have Negro FBI Agents, or Federal Marshalls, Federal Judges in Virginia? Since Negroes do make up a large percentage of the population in many areas of this state--why are they not a part of the administration of justice in the state?

One of the largest hospital complexes in Virginia still is being accused of discrimination. Many hospitals have complied with the Civil Rights Act in a satisfactory manner. Yet there still exists those which are slow to change under the banner of "custom."

Miscegenation still poses a legal problem. Some couples are not legally married. Thus, property ownership is a problem. The clergyman who marries the couple can be fined and the informer can receive a portion of the fine as a reward. This is not just a Negro-White question.

The status of the migrant worker is of a grave concern. As one travels on the Eastern Shore one is faced with the inhumane conditions that exist in the housing, education, employment and other forms of treatment of the migrant worker. Let us not forget other areas of the state, such as northwest Virginia which depends upon this labor market. People of concern need to inform themselves of the conditions, problems and discrimination that exist in regard to the migrant workers' plight in Virginia. Since they have almost no voice it is our duty to help them in their plight.

Many cities and counties are forming biracial commissions in the State of Virginia. Recently Brunswick and Lunenburg Counties have rejected the formation of such a commission on the grounds that it is not legal. If properly organized to allow good representation, and divorced from local politics, it could serve a very useful purpose. We call upon the State of Virginia to appoint a Commission on Human Relations.

The Economic Opportunity Programs in Virginia are running into difficulties. Not so much the fault of the program itself, but the people being able to challenge the county and city governments to implement these programs. There is entirely too much foot dragging. Some Southside counties have formed committee to get the Anti-Poverty Programs started, then they have stopped functioning. Others have been stopped due to organizational challenges. Many others that are in operation have not really begun to put the entire program into operation, but have given a few programs a lot of publicity (Project Head Start) yet have failed to start many of the others.

It has been my aim to briefly survey the Human Relations story during 1965. My primary purpose has been to challenge you to work harder in the Human Relations Council to create a climate in Virginia whereby equal opportunity for all might be atained.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
4500 KENSINGTON AVENUE (at COMMONWEALTH)
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23221
TELEPHONE: AREA CODE 703-353-8997

Pat
Keep this letter for files

January 7, 1966

Check Wall Street Journal - May have an article about Publishers printing 2 versions - segregated and other - If you find it Please send me a copy. Thanks Bob

Dear Sir:

Some months ago the VCHR became interested in the idea of two versions of the same textbooks. We call them mono-ethnic and multi-ethnic, but more specifically they are two versions of a text, one omitting material written by or about Negroes and the other having material written by or about Negroes within the context.

ALEXANDRIA
ARLINGTON
BLACKSBURG
CHARLOTTESVILLE
COVINGTON
DANVILLE
FAIRFAX
FRANKLIN
FREDERICKSBURG
GILES
LANCASTER-NORTHUMBERLAND
LEXINGTON
LOUDOUN
LYNCHBURG
MERCER-TAZEWELL
NORFOLK
PENINSULA (HAMPTON-NEWPORT NEWS)
PETERSBURG
PORTSMOUTH
PRINCE EDWARD
PRINCE WILLIAM
RADFORD
RICHMOND
ROANOKE
ROCKINGHAM
VIRGINIA BEACH
WARRENTON
WILLIAMSBURG
COLLEGE COUNCIL

The Jeffersonian, Thomas Jefferson District, Unitarian Universalist Association, 1145 Peachtree St., N. E. (Room 430), Atlanta, Georgia, 30309, Volume 1, May 1, 1965, No. 1, page 2 had a article entitled "Segregated Textbooks" which caught our attention. This was a reprint from the Norfolk Unitarian Church publication NorfolkITARIAN. The Social Concerns Committee of the Norfolk Unitarian Church was seeking ways to inform its community about the multi-ethnic texts, believing that some teachers may not be aware of them.

On September 18, 1965 the Executive Board of the VCHR officially adopted this subject as one of its top priority projects. This came upon the advice of some of the State's leading educators who happen to be members of local councils on Human Relations and members of the VCHR Board.

Mr. Louis Brenner, an attorney from Portsmouth, and a member of the Portsmouth Council on Human Relations was designated to assist the VCHR. Memorandums were sent to local councils on Human Relations and those in Tidewater and Northern Virginia immediately adopted this as a local project. The Richmond Council seemed to let the VCHR office handle the project. The purpose was an educational one---to enable the public, local councils, and the State Board of Education to become aware that there are two versions of some textbooks being published. Virginia happens to be using the version that does not give adequate treatment to articles by Negro authors or stories about the Negro.

During the course of our program the Virginian Pilot published a series of three stories on October 26, 27, 28, 1965 by Mr. William K. Stevens, on state-prescribed Virginia history textbooks as being required by the basal textbook requisition list. In the meantime the Hanover School Board had taken action against a book that was not on the "approved for purchase for Virginia Public School Libraries, revised February, 1964." Mr. Robert P. Killdrup of the Richmond News Leader and Mr. Robert Holland covered these stories.

Hence within a period of six months, the press, church, VCHR, school boards, and educators were beginning to examine the textbooks and library books approved by the State Board of Education.

We had heard for years that publishers had a Northern and a Southern version. We had heard from educators and teachers that they had seen copies of the versions which included the Negro when they visited their friends in Northern states. VCHR feels reasonably sure that other publishers than Scott, Foresman and Company are marketing two versions of the same text, but we have not officially compared their copies. But, we have compared the following and we offer these as illustrations of our point.....

1. "More Roads to Follow," Book 3, Part 2, Scott, Foresman and Co. c. 1964
   a/ Cover is different
      mono-ethnic has white child--Virginia version
      multi-ethnic has several children of different ethnic backgrounds
   b/ Page 18, 27 Stories " Maurice" "Charles" omitted in Virginia version (mono-ethnic)
   c/ Page 117 Audubom's Birds in Virginia version
   d/ Page 119 Multi-ethnic version has story about George Washington Carver, "The Boy with the Green Thumb"
   e/ Page 127 Virginia version "Spring Song"

2. "Ventures", Book 4, Scott, Foresman & Co. c. 1965
   a/ Covers are different
      mono-ethnic has a moon in background
      multi-ethnic has birds in background
   b/ Page 49
      multi-ethnic version "Jerry and the Dragon", Vinison
      mono-ethnic version "The Trouble with Francis, Beman Lord
   c/ Page 67
      multi-ethnic "Food for Thought" Gladys Sarton
      Mono- ethnic "Kickapoo," Miska Miles
   d/ Omitted in Virginia version on page 70 "My friend the Leona page 76, "Mail from Home"
   e/ Page 257
      Multi-ethnic "Benjamin's Clock"
      Virginia Version "Paul Revere, Bell Maker"

The purpose of this report is not to make any charges but to only point out that in the two books thus far compared by VCHR there is definitely two versions of the same titled books. Virginia is currently using the version which omits references to the Negro.

Reprint of this statement is by written permission only. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Robert Lee Combs

Robert Lee Combs,
Executive Director

The Virginia Council on Human Relations
4500 Kensington Avenue, Richmond, Virginia

Telephone: 353-8997
Area Code 703

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Local Councils on Human Relations

FROM: Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director

DATE: February 16, 1966

SUBJECT: Status of --- Multi-ethnic and Segregated Textbooks and Curriculum

Last year the VCHR became interested in the subject of textbooks and curriculum. Soon this became one of our top priority projects. Mr. Louis Brenner, a Portmouth Attorney was selected as Chairman of the VCHR Education Committee.

A number of events have since occurred--- VCHR has held a number of meetings with other state wide organizations on this subject. Mr. William K. Stevens, educational editor for the Norfolk Virginian Pilot, wrote a series of articles (Oct. 26-27, 1965) on the state prescribed history books indicating some grave problems about these texts. Mr. Robert P. Hilldrup, educational editor for the Richmond News Leader, broke the story about the Hanover School Board and certain books being removed from their school libraries which suddenly brought the procedure of approving library books into question. The Wall Street Journal, Wednesday, March 24, 1965, Vol CLXV, No. 57, Eastern Edition, "Integrated Books --- School Texts Stressing Negro's Role in U. S. Arouse the South's Ire --- Primers Show Mixed Scenes; Some Publishers Turn Out Special Editions for Dixie," by A. Kent MacDougall indicated the fact that sometimes there existed two versions of the same text, and at times some title texts had been "de-integrated." The VCHR (Dr. R. Picott, Rabbi Stern from Portsmouth, Mr. L. Brenner, and Mr. R. L. Combs) appeared before the Virginia State Board of Education's Textbook and Curriculum Committee on February 2, 1966 pointing out the segregated and integrated versions of certain texts, urging them to approve such books in the future, and to follow a positive future policy on this subject.

VCHR has heard for years that publishers were marketing a Northern and a Southern version of certain textbooks, the primary difference being the exclusion of Negro authors or stories about Negroes in the text. We were unable to obtain copies of these books, but finally after much difficulty were able to secure two textual versions of Scott, Foresman and Company (referred to in the Wall Street Journal article). Let us remind you that there are other texts by other publishers which pose the same problem, but the only reason Scott, Foresman and Company was questioned was due to the availablity of the books.

We compare the following: (1) More Roads to Follow, Book 3, Part 2, Scott Foresman and Co., c. 1964. The cover is different; the Virginia version has a white child on the cover, the other version has several children on the cover including a Negro child. Page 18, 27, the stories "Maurice" and "Charles" have been omitted in the Virginia version. Page 117 has "Audubom's Birds" in the Virginia version while page 119 has a story about George Washington Carver, "The Boy with the Green Thumb" is omitted in the version but included in the other. Page 127 has in the Virginia version "Spring Song." (2) Ventures Book 4, Scott, Foresman and Co., c. 1965. The cover is different; the Virginia version has moon rising over the mountains and the other version has birds flying over the mountains. Page 49, Virginia version has "The Trouble with Francis" and the other version has the story "Jerry and the Dragon." Page 67 has "Kickapoo" for the Virginia version and "Food for Thought" in the other. On pages 70 and 76 these stories are omitted in Virginia version "My Friend the Leona" and "Mail from Home." Page 257 Virginia version has "Paul Revere, Bell Maker" and the other version has "Benjamin's Clock."

What has all of this revealed? (1) The State Board of Education has the power (and the Textbooks Curriculum Committee) to be both monetary and monitory. They control the state funds in repayment of books being purchased by a local school board through the approved for purchase library lists, the basal textbook requisition list and supplemental materials. The State Board of Education, through its committee does review books and passes on these books as being approved or not. The point we wish to make is, they have consistently omitted versions of texts from the basal lists which have not included Negro authors or stories about the Negro which is discrimination. (2) The textbook and curriculum discrimination issue may lead to a future court case. (3) Title VI of the Civil Rights Act would appear to cover this subject in several ways. (a) Federal Funds will be used in Virginia, $2,095,347, to aid school libraries and other libraries. This money is channeled through the State Department of Education. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act forbids use of education aid funds in perpetuating discrimination. (b) If Section 601 of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act applies to pupils, teachers, staff, any

activity, facility or other service, including transportation, provided or sponsored by a school system is segregated on the basis of race, color, or national origin; or there remain any other practices characteristic of dual or segregated school systems(quote from General Statement of Policies under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 Respecting Desegregation of Elementary and Secondary Schools, April 1965, HEW, Office of Education), then it could possibly imply the tabo subject of textbooks and curriculum, too! (4) It appears that if this practice of discrimination in textbooks and curriculum continues the Federal Government may be involved in this area, too. (5) Local school boards are again playing the children's game "button, button, who has the button" in assuming the responsibility in this matter. Several county and city school boards are already stating that they must follow the approved library list and the basal textbook requisition list to the book without variation. (6) The VCHR has urged the State Board of Education and local school boards (in some cases) to take a positive course of action to avoid some of the trends that could happen as a result of their continued policies. Certainly, we hope that Educators can forsee the danger in avoiding this crucial issue. We refer you to an editorial in the Virginian Pilot, Friday, February 11, 1966, "Listen to the Mockingbird."

Under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, there is provided additional federal funds and assistance for educationally deprived children. As of February 3, 1966, there had been 20 projects approved by the Virginia State Board of Education. In some southside counties local Negroes and Civil Rights workers are viewing this as a means to encourage the Negro to remain in the all Negro schools. Already several school boards have been challenged. Certainly these new funds and projects need our attention to see that they are not administered in a manner which will encourage segregation, yet we must also recognize the purpose of Congress in passing this law.

In conclusion we must say this about education in Virginia in relation to Human Relations----there has been much progress, most of it has come by court cases and new laws passed by Congress, but we must also keep in mind the new trends that are in the making which make our task still difficult.

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
4500 KENSINGTON AVENUE
RICHMOND, VIRGINIA 23221

RICHMOND VA. FEB

MARCH OF DIMES

Rec'd 2/18/66

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

The Virginian-Pilot

ESTABLISHED NOVEMBER 21, 1865

Page 4 Friday, February 11, 1966 *

Listen to the Mockingbird

The Hanover County School Board member who objected in late January to the novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* as "immoral" said this week that he had meant to speak against J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*.

Laugh, or weep, if you will at this latest wry turn in the book banning, but whatever title the board member had in mind he did a service in touching off a controversy that disclosed the existence of book screening committees in the Department of Education. And a committee had, indeed, banished the mockingbird from the State-blessed book list, along with *1984* and *The Great Dismal Swamp*, and other as yet undisclosed titles over the years.

When the Hanover board member announced his error, the only comment from a Department of Education spokesman was that the list was meant as a monetary subsidization, not as an advisory reading list.

That latest word, however, does not agree with a report by Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson, Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction, that the reviewers found the book on the swamp, among other things, "deficient in literary style and quality." That, surely, was an advisory, literary judgment.

The Department's book-buying functions are subject, apparently, to a shifting definition, but we see the operation clearly as *both* monetary and monitory, and in apparent need of drastic reorganization.

The Department's list is monetary because it dictates the books which local school libraries may purchase with State aid funds, and since the local libraries can't use the State money on such *verboten* titles as *1984*, the list is highly advisory and restrictive.

Meanwhile, the Federal Government is about to enter the picture with $2,095,347 in aid for school libraries. This money, too, will funnel through the screens of the State Department of Education.

The new Federal aid is part of a five-year program, subject to annual authorization by the Congress, and subject also, it would seem, to Title VI of the Civil Rights Act forbidding use of education aid funds in perpetuating discrimination.

What will be the reaction of the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare when it realizes that the Federal money is to be distributed to the localities by the Virginia agency that banned, among other titles, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, because, undoubtedly, a Negro holds a prominent place in the plot? (The committee certainly could not have rejected the Pulitzer prize-winning novel for lack of literary grace.)

The Federal Government has been as unwearying as the hound of heaven in sniffing out and running down evidences of discrimination in other phases of tax aid to education. The prospect of the State's creaking review system jeopardizing more than $2 million in Federal funds is an additional, urgent reason for the State Board of Education to investigate exactly how and why the Department of Education spoon feeds titles to local libraries. The probe ought to be a great deal more vigorous than the recent slight and amiable summary by Dr. Wilkerson and his staff.

The Department's book buying involves more than $500,000 annually in State money. It is a fortunate coincidence that the economy-minded Virginia General Assembly is in session on the Hill. Some of its members may well wish to inquire, too, as to whether so much in State and Federal funds is being distributed to the best advantage among their book-hungry localities.

Federal Textbooks

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON.

Tentative plans are quietly being made inside the Federal Government for a long-range pressure campaign on local school boards and publishers to give the Negro better treatment in history textbooks.

* * *

Although no final decision has been made, the top brass of the Community Relations Service — created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to help mediate racial disputes — is leaning toward adoption of the plan. Indeed, it already has been spelled out in some detail in a confidential memorandum drafted by Ben Holman, head of the service's "media relations" office.

Although the goal of giving the Negro his rightful place in history books is commendable, there is considerable doubt whether the Community Relations Service is empowered by law to perform this function. The 1964 act is to "provide assistance to communities and persons" in settling racial disputes — and nothing more.

The Holman memorandum on textbook revision begins by stating the problem: "Negroes usually are ignored in textbook illustrations, and the Negro's role in history is either ignored or inaccurately presented."

Consequently, Holman concludes, the Community Relations Service should mount "a massive educational and informational campaign" directed at "publishers, school administrators and boards, parents and teachers groups" to get the textbooks changed. Though this scarcely falls within the agency's statutory mission, it seems generally inoffensive.

But the Holman memo goes on to suggest the beginnings of Federal high pressure: "Once the educational and informational campaign is solidly underway, we should conduct a systematic effort to contact all publishers and school boards to encourage their publication and adoption of textbooks conforming to established standards."

* * *

The term "established standards" has a particularly ominous ring. The intervention of many state legislatures (particularly throughout the segregated Deep South) in textbook selection is ominous. But the idea of the Federal leviathan with its incomparable powers of coercion getting into the textbook business is enough to make publishers break out in a cold sweat. It smacks of rewriting history in Orwellian style.

Actually, the textbook project is only the most far-reaching of the Community Relations Service's digressions from its legislative purpose.

The service was originally conceived in 1960 by then Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson as a counterpart in racial relations to the Federal Mediation Service in labor relations. The proposal went into the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In operation, however, the service has relegated mediation to a secondary role. Only a handful of racial mediators are in the field while a Washington-based staff dreams up projects such as the textbook scheme.

Holman also has in preparation elaborate programs to improve the greatment of the Negro in the press, establishing mobile exhibits for use at fairs and exhibitions, and influencing Hollywood.

In a memorandum, Holman has suggested:

"We ought to mount a specific project aimed at Hollywood film makers to produce films for purely entertainment purposes that would help further the cause of better human relations. . . . The current Negro Revolution and the crescendo of the civil rights movement provide a wealth of material for fiction story plot. Plots centered on the problems of intergroup relations are as legion as those for westerns."

This is government propaganda — a domestic "Voice of America" — at its worst. No matter how deep the need, the Federal Government has no right to try to shape the thinking of Americans in such insidious ways. Besides, there is a surplus of work for practical conciliation in every city in the nation for the Community Relations Service.

If textbooks need rewriting, the educators are the people to do it.

Federal Textbooks

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

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Although no final decision has been made, the top brass of the Community Relations Service — created by the 1964 Civil Rights Act to help mediate racial disputes — is leaning toward adoption of the plan. Indeed, it already has been spelled out in some detail in a confidential memorandum drafted by Ben Holman, head of the service's "media relations" office.

Although the goal of giving the Negro his rightful place in history books is commendable, there is considerable doubt whether the Community Relations Service is empowered by law to perform this function. The 1964 act is to "provide assistance to communities and persons" in settling racial disputes — and nothing more.

The Holman memorandum on textbook revision begins by stating the problem: "Negroes usually are ignored in textbook illustrations, and the Negro's role in history is either ignored or inaccurately presented."

Consequently, Holman concludes, the Community Relations Service should mount "a massive educational and informational campaign" directed at "publishers, school administrators and boards, parents and teachers groups" to get the textbooks changed. Though this scarcely falls within the agency's statutory mission, it seems generally inoffensive.

But the Holman memo goes on to suggest the beginnings of Federal high pressure: "Once the educational and informational campaign is solidly underway, we should conduct a systematic effort to contact all publishers and school boards to encourage their publication and adoption of textbooks conforming to established standards."

* * *

The term "established standards" has a particularly ominous ring. The intervention of many state legislatures (particularly throughout the segregated Deep South) in textbook selection is ominous. But the idea of the Federal leviathan with its incomparable powers of coercion getting into the textbook business is enough to make publishers break out in a cold sweat. It smacks of rewriting history in Orwellian style.

Actually, the textbook project is only the most far-reaching of the Community Relations Service's digressions from its legislative purpose.

and exhibitions, and influencing Hollywood.

In a memorandum, Holman has suggested:

"We ought to mount a specific project aimed at Hollywood film makers to produce films for purely entertainment purposes that would help further the cause of better human relations. . . . The current Negro Revolution and the crescendo of the civil rights movement provide a wealth of material for fiction story plot. Plots centered on the problems of intergroup relations are as legion as those for westerns."

This is government propaganda — a domestic "Voice of America" — at its worst. No matter how deep the need, the Federal Government has no right to try to shape the thinking of Americans in such insidious ways. Besides, there is a surplus of work for practical conciliation in every city in the nation for the Community Relations Service.

If textbooks need rewriting, the educators are the people to do it.

The service was originally conceived in 1960 by then Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson as a counterpart in racial relations to the Federal Mediation Service in labor relations. The proposal went into the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In operation, however, the service has relegated mediation to a secondary role. Only a handful of racial mediators are in the field while a Washington-based staff dreams up projects such as the textbook scheme.

Holman also has in preparation elaborate programs to improve the greatment of the Negro in the press, establishing mobile exhibits for use at fairs

Woodrow W. Whitson, Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction, that the reviewers found the book on the swamp, among other things, "deficient in literary style and quality." That, surely, was an advisory, literary judgment.

The Department's book-buying functions are subject, apparently, to a shifting definition, but we see the operation clearly as *both* monetary and monitory, and in apparent need of drastic reorganization.

The Department's list is monetary because it dictates the books which local school libraries may purchase with State aid funds, and since the local libraries can't use

Textbook Authors' Aim:

The Virginian-Pilot, Thursday, Oct. 28, 1965

E 39

A Conservative Rural Audience

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

This is the third and last story of a series on state-prescribed Virginia history textbooks used in the state's public school system. The first two reported on the criticism of the books on the grounds of political bias and overglorification of Virginia's past, and the feelings of leading educators in the state about the books.

Two of the authors of Virginia's seventh-grade state history book say they wrote it to appeal to conservative rural Virginia.

Dr. and Mrs. Francis B. Simkins of Farmville last week told The Virginian-Pilot that even so, the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission changed or ommitted certain sensitive passages of the book.

An example:

"We had a good chapter on Negro disfranchisement under the Constitution of 1902," said Mrs. Simkins. "The commission said the Negro children were going to use the book also, and there was enough hard feeling already, so they took it out."

Mrs. Simkins did most of the actual writing of "Virginia: History, Government, Geography." Dr. Simkins, Mrs. Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones of Gloucester County and Dr. Sidman P. Poole are the official authors. Poole died soon after the project started.

Dr. Simkins is a native of South Carilina now nearing retirement as a professor of history at Longwood College. His wife teaches eighth-grade English at Prince Edward Academy in Prince Edward County, a private school organized as an escape from integration.

Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel was the original author of "Cavalier Commonwealth," prescribed for use in 11th-grade history and 12th-grade government classes of Virginia public schools.

He also wrote "Conscripted City," a history of Norfolk during World War II, and revised the second edition of Thomas J. Wertenbaker's official history of Norfolk.

Like Dr. Simkins, he is a professor of history at Longwood College. There, during the 1950s, Simkins and Schlegel were picked by Scribner's and McGraw-Hill publishers, respectively, to write the school histories. Schlegel and the Simkinses compared notes as they went along.

"Marvin wouldn't change his interpretation to conform with what the commission wanted," Mrs. Simkins recalled. " 'You're foolish to change,' he said. I told him, 'If it takes 10 years, they'll get what they want.' "

The Simkinses and Mrs. Jones wrote what the commission wanted from the start. The result was a book that a sizable group of educators across Virginia criticized as being politically slanted and a glorification of Virginia.

Schlegel, on the other hand, was asked in 1954 to turn his completed manuscript over to the historian of the Virginia State Library for revision.

"The commission decided it was too anti-Virginia," Schlegel told The Virginian-Pilot. "The problem was I hadn't lived in Virginia long enough to be a Virginian."

"There's a feeling that comes in here," says Mrs. Jones, co-author of the seventh-grade book. "You've got to be born with the Virginia feeling to write about Virginia history."

Schlegel is a native of Pennsylvania. He won his doctorate under the eminent historian, Allan Nevins at Columbia University.

Dr. W. Edwin Hemphill, then director of the History Division of the Virginia State Library, was commissioned to revise Schlegel's original manuscript of "Cavalier Commonwealth."

Hemphill was reached last week in Columbia, S.C., where he is editing the papers of John C. Calhoun.

"My understanding is that the (History and Government Textbook) Commission found fault not primarily with fact but with interpretation," he said. "It was rather the tone than the contents.

"They did say to me, through the publisher's representative, they wanted additional authorship to change somewhat the tone and atmosphere."

Was it because the commission thought the book was anti-Virginian?

"I'm afraid there may have been a question along those lines. If they wanted a change of atmosphere and tone, it seems logical a native of Pennsylvania couldn't give it to them."

He said he thought Schlegel's original manuscript "was a really excellent sort of a product. This is a man who knows how to write for a given purpose, who never wrote over the heads of his students. He included basically the important things and excluded the unimportant things. I thought he did an extremely good job."

Mrs. Jones, a graduate of Longwood College and the College of William and Mary who has studied under the historian Samuel Eliot Morison at Harvard, revised the seventh-grade book.

She was questioned about a passage which reads, "Without giving up the good things of the past, Virginia has successfully met the changing needs of modern life."

"Are you going to teach them there's no hope only by presenting the dark side?" she answered. "We don't want to raise a generation of cynics."

She said the books "represent the best that can be done betwen the academic world, the political world and the educational world.

"My criticism is that the teachers don't know how to use the books," said Mrs. Jones, who has taught a lot of high school history herself. "You know why? They don't know history.

"Unless a book is radically slanted it can do no damage if it's in the hands of a good teacher," she said.

"Before I began to write textbooks I wondered why they were so bad," Dr. Schlegel said. "Now I marvel that they're as good as they are.

"Any text is subject to pressure groups. You can't say what you want to say. You have to print what people will accept.

"The commisison wasn't thinking in terms of high school students but in terms of what other people would think."

He said he believes history as taught in both Virginia schools and American schools generally "is a method of indoctrination. It is taught as a mythology of our society, embodying our ideals."

The General Assembly's stated objective in creating the History and Government Textbook Commission was to improve the instruction of state history.

Schlegel, who sees the results in his college classrooms, pronounced this verdict:

"The students still don't know Virginia history."

"I thought the best thing to do was to tell the truth," Schlegel said, "good and bad, so people could appreciate the past without seeing it all as golden. The result was they (the commission) thought I was a Yankee without proper sympathy for Virginia."

Schlegel said the commission expurgated "a good bit" of the parts on slavery. One part, solidly documented, told how Virginia was the primary supply point for the slave market; the breeding ground, so to speak.

"They wern't going to tell me what to write," Schlegel said, "yet they weren't going to approve what I wrote unless it said what they wanted."

The Virginia History and Textbook Commission was created by the 1950 General Assembly specifically to supervise the writing and publication of the books.

Attorney Cecil W. Taylor of Lynchburg was chairman of the 9-member commission, which went out of existence once the books were published.

"From time to time," Taylor said last week, "parts of the books would be submitted by the authors. We'd read them at home. Then we and the textbook committee of the State Board of Education would come together and pool our criticisms.

"Sometimes they'd take our recommendations and sometimes they wouldn't. We made no suggestions on the tone of the books," Taylor said.

"We didn't think it was proper for us to write books for the children of this state. That smacked too much of something we didn't like. The tone of the books was set by the authors."

Mrs. Simkins said the 7th-grade book was written for children "who come from rural Virginia and whose parents may not have gone beyond the second grade.

"If we told them about Jefferson being a Diest they'd turn against him. For most of these kids, the main event in their lives was when they found Jesus.

"When I say the kids wouldn't understand I don't mean they aren't smart. They come from very conservative families," Mrs. Simkins said.

Questioned about sections of the book criticized because they present slavery in too favorable a light, Dr. Simkins said the authors made slavery look perhaps better than it really was because "that's the way Virginians said it was."

"We were trying to be as honest as we could," Mrs. Simkins said, "but if we had given the completely black picture of slavery, the parents wouldn't have let the children have the book and the book wouldn't have been adopted."

She said she appreciated the criticisms, however. "In the next edition maybe we can rectify it," she said. "Maybe we ought to rectify it."

The Simkinses had their conflicts with the commission.

Dr. Simkins recalled that one member, "a real Virginia aristocrat, . . . wanted to emphasize the greatness of Virginia and take out any reference to poor people living in Virginia . . . (The member) told me, 'What you ought to do is make every seventh grade aspire to the colonnaded mansion; and if he can't get there, make him happy in the cabin.'

"To which I replied, 'If I were Charles Dickens I could do that. But if I were Charles Dickens I wouldn't be writing this book.' "

Dr. Simkins said the commission wanted all recent governors of Virginia treated alike.

"I had the idea Mr. Byrd had been governer since 1926 and the rest of these governors, most of them, have been puppets. I wanted to say something like that, but they wanted us to treat every one of these nonentities alike."

The two books have been revised once since their original publication in 1957. The revisions, supervised by the State Board of Education, resulted in no major alterations. The books were merely brought up to date.

Textbooks on Va. Criticized

(First of a series)

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS

Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

Two Virginia history textbooks used in the state's junior and senior high schools glorify the "cavalier" past and are slanted toward a conservative political outlook at the expense of learning.

A sizable body of Virginia educators thinks so. Some call the two state-prescribed books out-and-out propaganda.

Some parents, particularly those born and reared outside Virginia, feel the same way.

So do some teachers, many of them Virginians.

The authors themselves say the books were written to appeal to "the Virginia point of view." Two say the books were "purified" by state censors. They cite examples. This will be discussed in the third story of this series.

The books are:

● "Virginia: History, Government, Geography," written by Francis Butler Simkins, Mrs. Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones and Sidman P. Poole, published by Scribner's.

● "Cavalier Commonwealth," written by William Edwin Hamphill, Marvin Wilson Schlegel and Sadie Ethel Engelberg, published by McGraw-Hill.

The Simkins-Jones-Poole book is the basic history text in the 7th Grade.

"Cavalier Commonwealth" is designed as a supplement in the 11th Grade American history course and 12th Grade American government course.

A third state history book is in use in the 4th Grade, but it has not drawn as much criticism as the others. It is "Virginia's History and Georgraphy," written by Raymond C. Dingledine Jr., Lena Barksdale and Marion Belt Nesbitt, and published by Scribner's.

All three books were written and published in the 1950s under the direct supervision of the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission. The commission was created by the 1950 General Assembly for the purpose of getting the textbooks written. They are the only comprehensive histories in the state's schools.

Chairman of the commission, which has since gone out of existence, was former Del. Cecil W. Taylor, a Lynchburg lawyer. He was asked about the question of bias.

"We never thought we had the privilege to say to the authors what should be put into the books," he said, "but let me put it this way:

"That commission was appointed by the governor, who was John Battle, who was well known to be a conservative. Sen. Garland Gray and I were pretty well known to be conservatives." Gray, a top-ranking member of the Byrd Organization, was a member of the commission.

Taylor said the temper of the nine-member commission was conservative.

"I feel sure the publishers and authors felt they were writing for a group that was more conservative than liberal," he said. "How much that colored the books, I don't know."

The 7th Grade and senior high textbooks are in wide use throughout the state. The degree of use varies.

The 7th Grade book in Norfolk and Hampton, for example has become secondary to lessons prepared locally and presented through educational television. "Cavalier Commonwealth the senior high book, is issued to stu- in Norfolk it is struck in the dents in some communitites. But high school libaries and used as a reference book.

"The teachers send students to it to look up more or less foolproof facts," said one librarian.

Because the Simkins-Jones-Poole book is a basic text, it has perhaps drawn the most criticism.

"If they'd only quit glorifying and give us some meat," one Tidewater public school administrator said. "There's not enough about government in it."

Directors of instruction or su-

(See History, Page 22)

perintendents for 18 local school systems throughout Virginia were surveyed by The Virginian-Pilot to find out how the junior and senior high books are regarded. The systems were selected to give a reasonable cross-section of the state.

Sixteen responded. Of those, three were non-committal. Of the 13 who expressed an opinion, nine said they thought the two books were slanted in some degree.

All nine were in populous areas. Only one of the large city systems surveyed, Roanoke, found no bias in the books. The other three who found no bias were Southside Virginia localities. Southside is generally regarded as the most conservative area of the state.

Some comments from those who found the books slanted:

John Klousia, director of instruction for Norfolk city schools:

"Obviously it (the 7th Grade book) is set up to glorify Virginia and a political point of view. We ought to be teaching kids to think critically. Instead, this book glorifies a past that never was."

Dr. Franklyn Kingdon, general supervisor for Chesapeake city schools:

"Parents who come from other areas of the country have objected strongly. Even some of our teachers, Virginia-born, Virginia-bred and who when they die'll be Virginia-dead, have found certain passages (of the 7th Grade book) objectionable.

"My own child is in the 7th Grade and reads it. I'm doing my best to counteract some of it. . . ."

Kingdon was spokesman for a four-city committee of Tidewater educators who flatly refused, two years ago, to use a geography supplement prepared for the 4th Grade text. It was said to have too many inaccuracies.

From Dr. Robert R. Marks, assistant director of instruction for Henrico County (Richmond suburb) schools:

"I've had no complaints from parents, but I'm sure there must be some. You sit down and look through those books and you can tell they're slanted. I think they are, too."

Lucien D. Adams, director of instruction for Richmond city schools:

"The books are written by Virginians for a Virginia audience. You have to admit that. I assume it was done purposely."

Harold Ford, director of instruction in Fairfax County:

"It's time the whole thing was re-examined, and the public ought to be in on it this time. The books have served their purpose. We've always used them as supplementary because of the way they were written. They were commissioned and written with no competition."

James Laughlin, director of instruction in Lynchburg city schools:

"Some of the people who come here from other states, like Pennsylvania, have complained the books don't say enough about the contribution of other nationalities, like French and Germans, to this part of Virginia. The impression is that evoluton started in Tidewater."

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"I think we have rather assumed the books would be slanted. We had assumed they would be written to glorify Virginia's past."

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"There is a little of that (slanting), and I suppose any state has a right to put its best foot forward, almost like a product you're selling. You're going to attempt to put it in the best light. That's about what they've done in these books.

"When they make opinions into statements of fact, that's when I begin to lose patience with a book. There are a few cases where these books do stretch a point to where it's more opinion than fact."

Lyles said his main criticism of the situation is that the books are all the state provides.

Dr. Kingdon of Chesapeake also criticizes the existence of only one set of books. In all other subjects, school systems are given a choice of three or four textbooks.

"The existence of only one text in each grade gives the state a terrific responsibility to make sure the books are accurate," Kingdon said. "The best thing would be to have a choice of books."

(The second and third stories will deal with the contents of the textbooks, and how they got that way, and what the authors have to say about them.)

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Book Board No Longer In Business

The Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission was characterized by its chairman as basically conservative in outlook.

The commission went out of existence in 1958 after completing its job of producing textbooks for prescribed use in the state's public schools. The books still are in use throughout Virginia.

Members of the group, appointed by Gov. John Battle, were:

Cecil W. Taylor of Lynchburg, an attorney and former member of the House of Delegates Appropriations Committee, chairman.

Dr. Thomas P. Abernethy of Charlottesville, chairman of the Department of History at the University of Virginia.

Mrs. Wyndham Blanton, a Richmond civic leader.

Daniel A. Cannaday, chairman of the History Department of Radford College. He died in 1961.

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State Sen. Garland Gray of Waverly, a top lieutenant in the Byrd Organization.

J. Edward Moyler, a school administrator in Franklin.

Charles J. Smith of Salem. He resigned because of ill health in 1950, shortly after the commission was appointed.

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Today's History Lesson:

Books Say Slaves Had a Fair Deal

This is the second of three articles on Virginia history textbooks used in the state's public school system. The first discussed criticism of the books by leading educators in Virginia.

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Virginian-Pilot Staff Writer

"You are to study this course because your state thinks you should and has directed that you must do so," says the introduction to "Cavalier Commonwealth," prescribed for use in 11th- and 12th-grade history and government classes of Virginia high schools.

The book includes such statements as:

"(The slave's) condition had its advantages. He usually worked the accepted workweek of the colony — from sunrise to sundown daily except Sunday. But he enjoyed long holidays, especially at Christmas.

"He did not work as hard as the average free laborer, since he did not have to worry about losing his job. In fact, the slave enjoyed what we might call comprehensive social security.

"Generally speaking, his food was plentiful, his clothing adequate, his cabin warm, his health protected, his leisure carefree. He did not have to worry about hard times, unemployment or old age."

Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel of Longwood College, one of three authors of the book, told The Virginian-Pilot that the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission expurgated from the book's original manuscript whole paragraphs on the dark side of slavery.

Another passage:

"Although Virginia remained chiefly a rural state, she attained a balanced economy. And she did so without sacrificing her people's traditional adherence to fiscal sanity, to local and individual responsibility as opposed to federal aid, to a stable society characterized by conservative changes or moderate reforms, and to the fundamental virtues of rural life."

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Books Tidy Up Va. History

From Page 17

This was a description of Virginia on the eve of the Civil War.

"Cavalier Commonwealth" is one of three state-prescribed textbooks for the study of Virginia history in the public schools. It is meant to be used as a supplement to basic texts in

thors are Francis Butler Simkins, Mrs. Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones, and Sidman P. Poole.

The history portion of the Simkins-Jones-Poole book ends with a brief section headed "The Spirit of Virginia":

"A majority of Virginia families have been in the state for nearly 200 years. As a people, Virginians think and act much alike. It is for this reason that the Old Dominion developed a spirit of its own—without which it would not be the Virginia we know and love.

"This spirit is made up of courtesy, neighborliness, hospitality, a deep religious faith, respect for leadership, and an ambition to promote the public welfare. So long as this spirit of Virginia lasts, so long will Virginia's present be worthy of her past."

The book informs the 12-year-old that Virginians referred to their Negroes as servants and not as slaves and has such things as this to say about slavery:

"It was not difficult for the Negroes to adjust themselves to Virginia life. They had worked hard in Africa, and so the work on the Virginia plantations did not hurt them.

"In Africa they had known a form of slavery more stern than that of the Virginia plantations. The Negroes suffered less from the diseases of the Virginia climate than did the white settlers. In Africa they had become used to the bites of insects that caused sickness, and so they were immune to many diseases.

"It is true of course, that life in early Virginia was not easy for the Negro. He liked Virginia, however, for the same reason the white man liked it. Virginia offered a better life for the Englishman than England did, and it offered a better life for the Negroes than did Africa.

"In his new home the Negro was far away from the spears and war clubs of enemy tribes. He had some of the comforts of civilized life. He had better food, a better house, and better medical care than he did in Africa. And he was comforted by a religion of love and mercy."

The book sums up the Negro's feelings about slavery this way:

"Life among the Negroes of Virginia in slavery times was generally happy. The Negroes went about in a cheerful manner making a living for themselves and for those for whom they worked.

"They were not so unhappy as some Northerners thought they were, nor were they so happy as some Southerners claimed. The Negroes had their problems and their troubles. But they were not worried by the furious arguments going on between Northerners and Southerners over what should be done with them. In fact, they paid little attention to these arguments."

More space is devoted to such material on slavery than to the role of Virginia statesmen in making the U.S. Constitution.

The book is used in Negro classes as well as white ones.

"Beloved" is a word often applied to Virginia and Virginians. Struggles against "increased federal power" rattles through the book like a drumbeat.

In the Civil War, the chapter on the outbreak of the conflict is titled "Oppression, Secession and War."

President Lincoln is pictured as threatening "to invade Virginia and use force to interfere with the state's own affairs."

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A summary at the beginning of a chapter on modern-day Virginia contains these sentences:

"New and changing times . . . bring problems. Increasing population, complexity of life, demands for public services, and costs of government have affected the state and its politics.

"But Virginia has continued to produce political leaders with the wisdom, courage and foresight to guide the state through a difficult period of growth and change."

"Virginia: History, Government, Geography" has been branded as propaganda by some Virginia educators.

The last article in this series will examine what the authors of it and "Cavalier Commonwealth" have to say and how the books came to be.

Books Tidy Up Va. History

From Page 17

History textbooks used in the state's public school system. The first discussed criticism of the books by leading educators in Virginia.

mental virtues of rural life." This was a description of Virginia on the eve of the Civil War.

"Cavalier Commonwealth" is one of three state-prescribed textbooks for the study of Virginia history in the public schools. It is meant to be used as a supplement to basic texts in

thors are Francis Butler Simkins, Mrs. Spotswood Hunnicutt Jones, and Sidman P. Poole.

The history portion of the Simkins-Jones-Poole book ends with a brief section headed "The Spirit of Virginia":

"A majority of Virginia families have been in the state for nearly 200 years. As a people, Virginians think and act much alike. It is for this reason that the Old Dominion developed a spirit of its own—without which it would not be the Virginia we know and love.

"This spirit is made up of courtesy, neighborliness, hospitality, a deep religious faith, respect for leadership, and an ambition to promote the public welfare. So long as this spirit of Virginia lasts, so long will Virginia's present be worthy of her past."

The book informs the 12-year-old that Virginians referred to their Negroes as servants and not as slaves and has such things as this to say about slavery:

"It was not difficult for the Negroes to adjust themselves to Virginia life. They had worked hard in Africa, and so the work on the Virginia plantations did not hurt them.

"In Africa they had known a form of slavery more stern than that of the Virginia plantations. The Negroes suffered less from the diseases of the Virginia climate than did the white settlers. In Africa they had become used to the bites of insects that caused sickness, and so they were immune to many diseases.

"It is true of course, that life in early Virginia was not easy for the Negro. He liked Virginia, however, for the same reason the white man liked it. Virginia offered a better life for the Englishman than England did, and it offered a better life for the Negroes than did Africa.

"In his new home the Negro was far away from the spears and war clubs of enemy tribes. He had some of the comforts of civilized life. He had better food, a better house, and better medical care than he did in Africa. And he was comforted by a religion of love and mercy."

The book sums up the Negro's feelings about slavery this way:

"Life among the Negroes of Virginia in slavery times was generally happy. The Negroes went about in a cheerful manner making a living for themselves and for those for whom they worked.

"They were not so unhappy as some Northerners thought they were, nor were they so happy as some Southerners claimed. The Negroes had their problems and their troubles. But they were not worried by the furious arguments going on between Northerners and Southerners over what should be done with them. In fact, they paid little attention to these arguments."

More space is devoted to such material on slavery than to the role of Virginia statesmen in making the U.S. Constitution.

The book is used in Negro classes as well as white ones.

"Beloved" is a word often applied to Virginia and Virginians. Struggles against "increased federal power" rattles through the book like a drumbeat.

In the Civil War, the chapter on the outbreak of the conflict is titled "Oppression, Secession and War."

President Lincoln is pictured as threatening "to invade Virginia and use force to interfere with the state's own affairs."

The reader is told that "a Richmond magazine said that it was wicked for Mrs. (Harriet Beecher) Stowe to use her imagination in such a bad way" in writing "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

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The last article in this series will examine what the authors of it and "Cavalier Commonwealth" have to say and how the books came to be.

"You are to study this course because your state thinks you should and has directed that you must do so," says the introduction to "Cavalier Commonwealth," prescribed for use in 11th- and 12th-grade history and government classes of Virginia high schools.

The book includes such statements as:

"(The slave's) condition had its advantages. He usually worked the accepted workweek of the colony — from sunrise to sundown daily except Sunday. But he enjoyed long holidays, especially at Christmas.

"He did not work as hard as the average free laborer, since he did not have to worry about losing his job. In fact, the slave enjoyed what we might call comprehensive social security.

"Generally speaking, his food was plentiful, his clothing adequate, his cabin warm, his health protected, his leisure carefree. He did not have to worry about hard times, unemployment or old age."

Dr. Marvin W. Schlegel of Longwood College, one of three authors of the book, told The Virginian-Pilot that the Virginia History and Government Textbook Commission expurgated from the book's original manuscript whole paragraphs on the dark side of slavery.

Another passage:

"Although Virginia remained chiefly a rural state, she attained a balanced economy. And she did so without sacrificing her people's traditional adherence to fiscal sanity, to local and individual responsibility as opposed to federal aid, to a stable society characterized by conservative changes or moderate reforms, and to the fundamental virtues of rural life."

This was a description of Virginia on the eve of the Civil War.

It has drawn criticism on grounds of bias, glorification of the past, and political cant, but not as much as a companion volume, "Virginia: History, Government, Geography," designed as the basic text for seventh graders.

The seventh-grade book's au-

(See Books, Page 9D)

April 13, 1966

Mr. Robert Lee Combs
Executive Director
Virginia Council on
Human Relations
4500 Kensington Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23221

Dear Bob:

Sorry to take such an unconscionably long time in getting these back to you, but have been working on the state round-ups right down to the deadline wire.

Mahy thanks for letting us see them.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Enclosures - 4.

NEWS FROM (4-14-66)

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219 Telephone 648-4444
Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director

INTER AND INTRA GROUP RELATIONS AND ITS EFFECT ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Let me begin by stating that so much has happened in the field of Human Relations during the period 1964-65 it is actually difficult at times to evaluate the struggle for the dignity of mankind in Virginia. The laws (Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964) are moving Virginia and the nation ahead into a new era.

So much has been accomplished and so much progress has been made that it astounds us all. Thus, many of us have recently said, "what else is there to do...we have overcome." As a result, there existed a brief period in the history of our work when we thought the job had been accomplished. We directed our attention to other work, or apathy became the order of the day.

Let us examine some of the groups now in existence in Virginia which have an effect on Human Relations, both positively and negatively.

I. RIGHT-WINGED CONSERVATIVES OPERATING IN VIRGINIA

Some of these groups have an effect upon Human Relations in an "inter" group manner. I have termed this as the 1966 Civil Rights Backlash.

Let us describe them from the most militant first to the least militant:

A. White Constitutional Party (American Nazi Party) appears to be a different group from the Silver Shirt League (Ashville, N. C.) led by the late William Dudley Pelley. Mr. G. L. Rockwell has offices in Arlington and Richmond, Va. He claims financial support from Texas, California and Danville, Va. It should be noted enough people signed a petition in Virginia to allow him a place on the gubernatorial ballot. They thrive on the unusual publicity--a recent assault charge was placed against a Virginia State Fair official when he allegedly placed his hand on a member, or near Amelia County C.H. where storm troopers were thrown out of a KKK Rally, or when the Internal Revenue closed their office in Alexandria for failure to pay income taxes. They recently have settled their new office in a county just outside of Fredericksburg.

B. Minutemen is a militant armed right-winged anti-communist organization trained in Guerrilla Warfare. June 10, '65, Virginia State Police raided a combat training site in Prince William County. It can be assumed they are anti-Negro and a Northwestern version of the KKK. They have a group operating among young people in Chesterfield County.

C. United Klans of America, Inc., have met in most of the Southside Virginia Counties since September 1965. They are organized and probably will remain as a threat. Speeches delivered have intimidated Negroes, Civil Rights workers, VCHR and other moderates. Section 18:1, 364-367 of the Virginia Code contains the Anti-Klan laws.... "prohibition of wearing masks in certain places, placing burning crosses on property of another without written permission, placing or committing an act with intention of intimidating any person and the punishment for violation." There are numerous other KKK groups in the U.S. They preach a belief that tends to lead to violence, strife, hate and fear.

Recently, Mr. Marshal Kornegay, Virginia's Grand Dragon, was reported to be living in Danville. He has been cited for contempt of Congress. The U.K.A., Inc. has had about 41 official public rallies, which included some cross burnings on property which the owner had given permission.

There have been a series of cross burnings throughout the state since Sept. 1965, without the permission of the property owners.... October 30, 1965, in Powhatan County close to a Negro church. November 11, 15, 1965, crosses were burned in Southampton County. In October 1965, a cross was burned in Lunenburg and Amelia Counties. In December 1965, crosses were burned in Brunswick County. March Il, 1966, three crosses were burned in Surry County. March 1-8, 1966, three crosses were burned in Nansemond County. March 4, 1966, a cross burned in Chesapeake. In March 1966, a cross was burned in Roanoke, Virginia.

There has been an increase in the distribution of KKK literature throughout the state. From September 1965 until January 1966, literature was spread in Chesapeake, Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, Nansemond, Southampton, Surry, Greenville, Brunswick, Sussex, Prince George, Petersburg, Hopewell, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Richmond, Henrico, Powhatan, Amelia, Prince Edward, Nottoway, Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Halifax, Danville and Lynchburg. More recently, in 1966, KKK literature has appeared in Stafford, Spotsylvania, Lancaster, Isle of Wight, Waynesboro, Staunton, Roanoke, Richmond, Powhatan and Chesterfield.

There is a growing fear among Negroes and whites in these areas - primarily, it is psychological. When a person receives a calling card which reads "The Klan is Watching You,..." this is an act of intimidation because of the fear aroused in the minds of some folks.

We can expect more of the same---distribution of literature, rallies and cross burnings, and maybe some more shootings as have happened in Victoria and Richmond, Virginia (November 1965 and April 1966).

The Klan is attempting to change its image in some counties west of U.S. Route No. 1 to a so-called civic organization. This has been their approach since January 1966 in Amelia, Lunenburg, Nottoway, Prince Edward, etc. There is a large Klavern around Richmond.

D. National Association for the Advancement of WHITE People have since 1948 attempted to organize as groups and by individuals who have used the name NAAWP. Recent years they have been active in Ohio opposing school integration. There have been strong ties with the KKK and the National States Rights Party. This past summer certain Richmond (Northside) residents tried to hold a rally in Henrico County. The theme was housing--since Negroes were buying homes in a previously all white community.

E. (White) Citizens' Council has operated primarily in the Deep South. Last May and since they have held organizational meetings in Richmond and in Nottoway County. Previously they attempted meeting on Eastern Shore. Richmond and Eastern Shore were attended by white liberals which resulted in their operations becoming secret. John Synon was the guest speaker in Richmond. The theme was "Jobs and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act." They have organized in N. C. following the "Mississippi Plan," including the organization of an auxiliary police force (Kenbridge, Va. recently appointed such a group) as a warning to local Negroes not to become involved in demonstrations, encourage Negro migration, gather information on demonstration leaders, and work for States Rights and racial integrity.

Another group operating in Lunenburg County is the "Citizens for the Preservation of the White Race" under the apparent leadership of John Silverman, of Kenbridge, Virginia.

F. John Birch Society claims to be anti-communist. Most candidates for the Conservative Party have publicly admitted membership. Their latest theme is "expose the Civil Rights fraud as a communist conspiracy" and write to the editor of local newspapers. Book stores operate as the American Opinion Library (2 in Virginia). Their main inroads in Virginia have been through the racial issue. Mr. Arnold Forster, General Counsel for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith calls the Birchers the most dangerous of all groups.

They recently had Mrs. Julie Brown, Negro, to speak in Richmond on the Communist in the Civil Rights Movement. Much of their successful growth in the past has been on the Civil Rights movement being communist, and fears of the white segregationist. Unofficial police comments have been made on April 9, 1966, that about 17 Klansmen have been attending the John Birch Society meetings in the Richmond area.

G. Defenders of State Sovereignity and Individual Liberties is a group according to a Virginian Pilot Newspaper reporter reported as being Virginia's version of the Deep South's White Citizens' Council. Many previous leaders are now active in the Conservative Party. They maintain an office at the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond. Officers have been from Ashland, Farmville, South Boston, Sussex, Leesburg, Norfolk, Charlottesville, Powhatan, Surry, Blackstone, Urgannia, Richmond, Midlothian, Chesterfield, Martinsville and Newport News.

H. Let Freedom Ring of Richmond, Virginia, Inc., P. O. Box 8703, Richmond, Virginia, Telephone AT 8-0061: a group which has attempted to smear the P.T.A. and certain Southern newspapers who have been pro-civil rights, doing this by the tactic of accusing them of being communist and left-winged dopes.

I. Patrick Henry Press, P.O. Box 217, Richmond, Virginia, Henry Garrett - "How Desegregation Will Work" He attempted to discredit the desegregation of the public school by stating Negroes are inferior.

J. Conservative Party of Virginia - The Richmond Times-Dispatch, Tuesday, March 22, 1966, page 3, carried an article from which I quote -- "Conservative Party Called 'Counterfiet' - Vincent F. Callahan, Jr., recent Republican candidate for Lt. Gov., yesterday described leaders of the Virginia Conservative Party as 'counterfiet conservatives.'

"The party 'is controlled by a small and willful group of people who haven't the slightest idea of what philosophical or political conservatism is .....' He said Conservative party leaders' delight in leading their followers around by the nose.' The party 'has done everything within its power to give the cause of true constitutional conservatism a black eye and seems determined to bring about the final destruction of the term conservatism as a respected political philosophy. The brand of racism and reaction as currently touted by this group under the guise of conservatism should be exposed for what it really is ..... While purporting to represent the right, its policies are actually way over on the left and the infamatory concepts uttered by its leadership do an injustice to the constitutional heritage and traditions of the Commonwealth of Virginia."

This past fall the United Klans of America, Inc. mailed out literature in behalf of the Conservative Party on September 18 and November 1, 1965. I attended several Klan Rallies as an observer and noticed the Conservative Party stickers on the cars and buttons on the security guards. Mr. George Kelly, political reporter for the Norfolk Virginian Pilot, wrote an article on

Sunday, Sept. 26, 1965, supporting the obervation of the KKK activity among the Conservative Party of Virginia.

Many of the leaders of the Conservative Party have admitted membership in the John Birch Society. If one examines the names of the leaders of this party one will notice likewise that they have been or are now members of the White Citizens Council and the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties.

I have briefly described these Right-Wing groups to point out that in some cases there is an intra-group relations among some of these mentioned.

There is definitely an inter group relationship as what the right wing movement does affects the left and moderate.

II. CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP AND GROUPS RELATED TO THE MOVEMENT INDIRECTLY

There are so many groups operating as organizations and individuals who are members of other groups it is very difficult to compose a complete list. Again, let me arrange them from the most militant to the least.

A. Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC-Snick), Altanta and Washington is there main offices. They have had campus travelers touring Virginia college campuses. They are more active in Washington, Arlington, Alexandria, Norfolk, and Hampton (in that order) and scattered on some other campuses in Virginia such as Lynchburg College, University of Virginia, Mary Washington College, Hampton Institute, Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, R.P.I., Virginia Union University, Virginia State at Petersburg, and St. Paul's College (individual work only). They have given money for projects in Northern Virginia, Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee (P.O. Box 79, Kenbridge, Va.), and Norfolk. It is believed that their work has been mostly recruitment and fund raising in Virginia.

B. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Again individuals for the most part have worked in Virginia with the exception of Norfolk and Northern Virginia.

C. Students for Democratic Society (SDS) has had individuals interested at University of Virginia, RPI, and Lynchburg College.

D. Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC-Sock). Individuals for the most part. There is now a campus traveler who has visited most of the college campuses in Virginia. The strength seems to be most through the Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee (P.O. Box 79, Kenbridge, Va.) and at University of Virginia. They are interested in the peace movement.

E. Virginia Students for Civil Rights Committee (VSCRC), P.O. Box 79, Kenbridge, Virginia. They have had students working in Amelia, Brunswick, Dinwiddie, Lunenburg, Nottoway, and Powhattan Countries. The main office is Freedom House, Mecklenburg Avenue, Victoria, Virginia. They have combined with local Negroes for community action work. Some individuals are interested in the peace movement.

F. Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Virginia Field Secretary, (RE-2-4263), 244 Halifax Street, Petersburg, Virginia. They were instrumental in the Danville crisis several years ago. They had a Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE) (June-August, 1965) in Amelia, Prince George, Lunenburg, Southampton, Surry, and Sussex County.

The work is not being carried out very strongly at the present time with the exception of Hopewell and Petersburg. Dr. Milton Reid, Baptist Church, Petersburg, is Regional Representative, and Rev. Curtis Harris, Baptist Church, Hopewell, is President of Virginia SCLC.

G. The Virginia Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (National Office: 20 W. 40th St., New York, N.Y. 18) or 301 E. Clay Street, Richmond, has chapters in most counties and cities in Virginia. Mr. Lester Banks is the Executive Secretary. The Legal Educational Defense Fund is handled by the law firm of Marsh and Tucker in Richmond. The two way methods-- through the courts and community action through the local chapters has done much for civil rights in Virginia.

H. The Virginia Council on Human Relations, 17 E. Cary St., Richmond, Va.

The Objectives of the Virginia Council On Human Relations Are-------

1. The Council is a private, non-profit, voluntary organization open to all Virginians who will approach these objectives through constructive understanding and appropriate action.
2. The Council unites Virginians of common purpose to seek lawful and orderly solutions of basic problems and to help create a climate in which men and women of goodwill work together for the welfare of the entire community.
3. It uses fact-finding, education, negotiation, persuasion and publicity to advance the legitimate aspirations for all citizens without regard to race, creed, color or national origin.
4. It works through a professional staff, more than 30 local chapters, and members representing all walks of life and many religious groups.
5. It cooperates with civic leaders and public official at all levels in seeking equal opportunities and justice for all citizens.
6. It is linked in cooperation with similar councils in other southern states, all related to the Southern Regional Council, Inc., in approaching Southwide problems with a common understanding and shared resources.
7. It seeks to keep open lines of communication with business and professional leaders and it maintains close liaison with Federal agencies and private organizations.
8. It relies for financial support on membership dues and the generous (tax-deductible) contributions of concerned Virginians who are committed to the realization of America's democratic idea.
9. It is affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St. N.W., Altanta, Georgia.

I. Housing Groups

a. Tidewater Area Fair Housing, Inc., in cooperation with Norfolk and Virginia Beach CHR, contact Mr. R.O. Clapp, 1845 Karen Lane, Virginia Beach, Virginia 23451, for further information.

b. Northern Virginia Fair Housing, Inc., in cooperation with Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax County CHR, for further information ---- 6308 N. 22nd Street, Arlington, Virginia.

c. Charlottesville Committee on Fair Housing, contact Mr. Roger P. Bristol, 1808 Barracks Road, Charlottesville, Virginia 22903.

d. (ACESS) Action Coordinating Committee to End Segregation in the Suburbs operates in Northern Virginia.

J. Urban League of Richmond, Mr. Robert Gray, Executive Director, is mainly concerned with employment. Yet, the National Urban League is concerned with other areas. It is bi-racial. As yet no other groups have been established in Virginia. There were attempts to organize in Norfolk, now there are attempts being made in Northern Virginia.

K. Anti-Defamation League (ADL), Richmond, Virginia, which is a part of B'Nai B'Rith and of the Jewish Community. Mr. Jerome L. Levinrad is the Executive Director. Its primary purpose is to gether information on groups, especially as it might relate to the Jewish community.

Many questions have been raised by the right-wing groups in regard to communism among some of the groups which I have previously mentioned. I can only speak in regard to Virginia. I do not know nor am I aware of a member of the communist party working in the groups mentioned in Virginia. I do know of some believers of socialism in the more extreme groups. The Virginia Council on Human Relations' membership blanks state that the person applies for membership to the VCHR. VCHR has the right to refuse membership by an applicant. There may be some individuals that I would term radical in their methods, who are members of the some of the civil rights groups. These folks tend to be drawn more to the youth and college groups.

One of the real joys to discover about civil rights groups operating in Virginia as a strong organization is their firm belief in American democracy and their determination to end discrimination in this democratic process.

There are many other groups one could mention --- the voter groups, political action groups, economic opportunity groups, political parties and community improvement groups which are operating on a local level throughout Virginia. Time does not permit me to describe them in detail.

It has been my intent to describe briefly some of the groups which are making an impact upon the life of Virginians. From my point of view I have listed groups which are acting in Inter and Intra Group Relations and its effect on Civil Rights in a positive and a negative manner. I have attempted to check on my facts, but if I am incorrect on a statement I would appreciate your calling it to my attention for future corrections, as I compose these notes on groups operating in Virginia.

Pat you may keep
R.L.L.

THE DUTY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CITIZEN IN PREPARING FOR INTEGRATED QUALITY EDUCATION

By The Rev. Robert Lee Combs, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations

I want to take this opportunity to express to you my appreciation for inviting me to speak on such a vital and timely topic....The Duty and Responsibility of the Citizen in Preparing for Integrated Quality Education.

Let me say first, as way of background, a few things concerning.....

I. The Evasion of School Desegregation Since 1954.

It has been a decade since the Supreme Court Ruling of 1954. The battles to integrate public school education have been fought primarily in the courts, which gave rise to the thesis of "Massive Resistance."

Bolstered by the so-called "Massive Resistance" stance of the government of Virginia, the City Council of Norfolk and the Norfolk School Board in 1959 briefly closed the public schools when faced with desegregation. I was a Presbyterian minister serving a pastorate in Norfolk at the time. I know something of the bitter battles which took place in the school closing of 1959 and the final victory in January 1960 to reopen these schools. I know how churches were pressured into opening their doors to allow private schools to be operated.

Next, the Board of Supervisors of Prince Edward County, in 1959, refused to appropriate funds for the operation and maintenance of the public schools in the County. It was openly declared that this action was taken by the County Officials "to avoid compliance with anticipated federal court mandates to desegregate public schools in the division." It appears that Prince Edward County, Virginia, was the only locality in the entire U. S. that closed their public schools entirely for a long period of time due to school desegregation.

What is not generally known to the public is the courage of white persons in other counties who organized under the name (in most cases) of "Citizens for Public Education" in order to attempt to prevent the closing of their public schools (i.e. Powhatan County). The difference which still exists between Prince Edward County and the surrounding counties is the thin, shaky difference of not closing the public schools. Even today white and Negro citizens who believe in public education have fought hard and difficult battles with the County Boards of Supervisors and County School Boards just to be able to keep the schools open. Statistics from the State Board of Education prove that little or no attempt is being made in some counties to make public education "Quality Education." Private schools have been organized to avoid integration and the tuition grants paid out from some of these counties are as high as 24% of the educational tax dollar.

As I have stated, the battles have been fought in the courts, until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which included Title VI.... "all persons in the United States shall have the right to receive any service, financial aid or other benefit under federal-aided programs regardless of their race, color or national origin." Therefore, the CRA of 1964, Title VI, prohibits the extension of federal financial assistance to any dual or segregated system of schools based on race, color or national origin.

This was a new era in which the U. S. Government, and more specifically H.E.W. Office of Education would take the initiative and achieve racial integration in public education if federal funds were being received by a locality. Thus, the U. S. H.E.W. (Office of Education) became legally obligated for the first time to address itself to the problems of school desegregation.

Hence, directives were sent out from Dr. Francis Keppel's (Commissioner of Education) office and an Assurance of Compliance Form 441 was devised. Later a General Statement of Policies Under Title VI, etc. was published which reads in part:

Elementary and secondary schools or school systems may qualify for Federal financial assistance by: A. Executing an Assurance of Compliance (HEW Form 441), if the requirements specified in (section) III below are satisfied; or B. Submitting a final order of a court of the U.S. for the desegregation of the school system which satisfies the requirements specified in (section) IV below, together with an Initial Compliance Report; or C. Submitting a plan for the desegregation of the school system which the Commission of Education determines is adequate to accomplish the purposes of the Civil Rights Act, as set forth in these policies (see (section) VI below); together with an Initial Compliance Report (see (section) V below); and D. Implementing the Assurance, final court order or desegregation plan in good faith so as to effectuate the basic objective set forth in 601 of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act: 'No person in the U.S. shall, on the ground of race, color or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.'

This General Statement of Policy includes public assignment, reassignment, transfer; teachers or other staff who serve pupils; any activity, facility or other service, including transportation, provided or sponsored by a school system; and any other practices characteristic of a dual or a segregated school system. (Section III)

Types of desegregation plans acceptable by the U.S. HEW, Office of Education are: 1. Geographical attendance areas... 2. Freedom of Choice granted to and exercised by the pupil and his parents or guardians..... 3. A combination of geographic attendance areas and freedom of choice.

The Fall of 1967 is set as the target date for the extension of desegregation to all grades of a school system not fully desegregated in 1965-66 as a qualification for Federal Financial Assistance. 1965-1966 desegregation must include the first and any other lower grade, the first and last high school grades, and the lowest grades of junior high where schools are so organized.

The Office of Education (HEW) was charged with a heavy responsibility. The mere detail of executing the responsibility within the specified time required great effort.

The Fall of 1965, the Office of Education (HEW) reports that some 26,300 Negro children enrolled in Virginia's previously white schools. Southern Regional Council, Inc. reports that 21,045 Negro children enrolled in Virginia's previously white schools. This represents about 11.3% (SRC) and 14.1% (HEW, Office of Education) of the Negro enrollment. Regardless of the total number of Negro children enrolled in previously white schools -- this was the greatest number of desegregated Negro children at any time in the history of public education in the State of Virginia.

Volumes could be written, and have been written, regarding the period of 1954 and 1965 in Virginia concerning public school education and the evasion of the Supreme Court Ruling of 1954. But let us turn our attention to my next point.....

II. The Duty and the Responsibility of the Citizen in Preparing for Integrated Quality Education.

It is not my purpose to argue the pros and cons of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, nor the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or what happened in the Spring and Fall of 1965 which caused the greatest number of Negro pupils to enter previously all-white schools.

It is my purpose to point out that this is the law of the land because of the Supreme Court Ruling of 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Therefore, it is now a question of whether we as citizens will view this action as one of the greatest educational opportunities and challenges in the history of Virginia, instead of continuing to think of it as our number one problem. How can we best work for the most success through an integrated public educational system in a manner that will produce at the same time quality education?

We must realize...the question is no longer...shall we desegregate our public schools. This has already been decided. The question has already been answered for us by over 20,000 Negroes now attending previously all-white public schools.

The question now before us is how can we provide the highest quality education for every child in Virginia in the most efficient and economical way? How can we provide Integrated Quality Education?

The time has come for us to view the events of 1954-1965 not as a threat but as an opportunity. The time has come for educators and parents from every segment of the community - Negro and white - to sit down together to make the most of it, not grudgingly make the best of it. To do this, we must be prepared to deal honestly with the myths, fears, prejudices, and questions of both whites and Negroes.

Dr. Woodrow W. Wilson, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Department of Education for Virginia, recently stated in a pamphlet issued October 1965 entitled, A Decade of Progress in Public Education in Virginia (1955-56 to 1964-65): "In a free society, public education must be examined and evaluated constantly and its accomplishments weighed against the changing needs of the citizens whom it serves. Although it is extremely difficult to evaluate anything as complex as the public school system, there have been many developments at the State level during the past decade which were directed toward strengthening and improving Virginia's program of public education...In a quality program of education, constant study and improvement to meet changing conditions are of vital importance."

Since the Supreme Court Ruling of 1954 and a decade of desegregation, the history of Virginia's educational system has been a decade of great progress. Contrary to what some may have you believe -- desegregation will destroy or hurt public school education in Virginia -- let us look at what has happened.

Norfolk, Virginia reopened its schools after the "Massive Resistance" fight by former Mayor Fred Duckworth. Schools were closed for about 6 months. But! What is Norfolk's record now? I will not recall the progress that has been made in Charlottesville, Front Royal and even Prince Edward County...where schools were closed for a time.

Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax County, Chesapeake, Hampton, Norfolk, Newport News, Richmond, Roanoke and Portsmouth have experienced desegregation. What has been the record?

Let us look at the record by examining briefly the decade of progress in public education in Virginia which at the same time was having her schools desegregate.....

---School enrollment is up from 750,075 (1955-56) to 967,700 (1964-65).
---Teachers and supervisory personnel increased from 28,710 to 42,294.
---Cost of operation per pupil in average attendance increased from $200.90 to $353.00.
---The holding power of public high and elementary schools has improved.
---The number of pupils enrolled in summer classes has more than tripled during the past decade.
---The percentage of students entering college increased from 30% to 44.8%.
---During the 1964-65 school year there were 86.3% of Virginia's public school teachers who held certificates based on college degrees as compared to 72.8% ten (10) years earlier.
---Plans and specifications were approved by the Virginia State Department for 538 new schools and for alterations and additions to 870 buildings throughout the state, totaling $531,833,025.
---A special School Library Development Fund was approved by the State Board of Education in August 1964 to help finance the purchase of books and materials for new public school libraries. There has been an increase from 306 to 930 in elementary school libraries during this decade.
---The number of counselors devoting at least half of their time to guidance in the public schools increased from 223 to 904.
---The vocational education enrollment increased from 161,095 to 280,570.
---Distributive education in Virginia ranks first in the nation in proportion of population age 15-19 receiving training for careers in distribution.
---Expenditures on public school education has increased several 100%.

Now the State Board of Education has launched an ambitious nine-point program which gives special emphasis during the 1966-68 biennium to the following----

1. Upgrading the minimum qualification requirements for teachers
2. Upgrading the teacher's salary schedule
3. Providing more teaching scholarships through a recruitment program
4. Expanding the in-service training program
5. Improving library services and materials
6. Expanding special education
7. Establishing a uniform reimbursement rate for all State-aid positions
8. Encouraging extended use of educational television
9. Implementing the policy on "time to teach" - There must be adequate time to teach and adequate time to learn.

There is an increasingly wide-spread movement in Virginia to urge the Virginia General Assembly to enact a general state-wide sales tax. As you know, many localities already have or will soon have such a sales tax program. The reasoning behind the need for such a sales tax is to be able to provide for quality education. Additional tax money will be needed and is needed now for the ambitious quality educational program for Virginia.

Now! Let me briefly summarize my last point. I have said that de-segregation is here. This year we have over 20,000 Negroes in previously all-white schools. It has not been my purpose to argue the pros and cons of the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, or the implementation of this law by HEW (Office of Education). It has been my purpose to simply state that integration is here and is here to stay. It has also been my purpose to briefly show that during the same decade 1954-1965 the State of Virginia committed itself from a Massive Resistance Program to an all-out Quality Education Program. I have stated facts published by the Virginia Department of Education.

What then is the conclusion? We have committed ourselves to INTEGRATED QUALITY EDUCATION. The public school system is integrated, and certainly most Virginians are working for quality education, so put it all together and you come out with an approach that many of us are not yet willing to recognize or admit -- but it is definitely INTEGRATED QUALITY EDUCATION.

Now briefly, let me state our duty and responsibility as citizens to Integrated Quality Education.

I personally serve as a President of a PTA which has about 30% Negro enrollment. My wife serves as President of a PTA which is 88% Negro. I am proud of the way in which progress has been made. I am thankful for the good cooperation of the Richmond School Board and Administration in their determined efforts in providing for Integrated Quality Education. In spite of the fact that some areas still need to be resolved, I salute Richmond for being a leader in the South in providing for Integrated Quality Education. They have worked hard, made plans and devised programs, in an attempt to make it work. It should serve as an example to other cities and counties in the State of Virginia of what can be done when people realize that we must get on with the job of education.

We can no longer afford to be afraid, to hesitate, or to be timid in relationship to the opportunities that are before us today in education. The State Board of Education, the Virginia Educational Association, the Virginia Teachers Association, the Virginia Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Virginia Federation of PTA and the local city and county Boards of Education must apply themselves to Integrated Quality Education for the State of Virginia.

It should be the duty and responsibility of every citizen to do everything in their power to provide the best in education for our children in Virginia. Let us get on with the job of education. Let us seize upon the opportunities before us in order to provide for <u>every</u> child in Virginia an educational system which will allow that child to develop to the fullest potential.

I call upon you to join with me in this effort.

Again, let me state that I greatly appreciate the opportunity to speak on this subject.

NEWS from

SB

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

114 B BROAD - GRACE ARCADE RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA Phone MI. 9-0872

Heslip Lee, Executive Director

PRINCE EDWARD FOOTBALL - played with human beings!!!

Locked in one of the most ironic gridiron classics of the history of American Education, officials continue to disagree as to who should carry the ball in the Prince Edward County School dilemma.

The spectators of this classic now practically includes the people of the entire earth. Visitors to most countries report that people everywhere know about Prince Edward County, Virginia, U. S. A., as being the only jurisdiction in "the land of the free" where no public education has been employed for what is now the beginning of the fourth year. That this puzzles international spectators is to say the least.

The referees and officials of this game being played with human lives include the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors; the Prince Edward County Board of Education; the Virginia State Board of Education; the Virginia State General Assembly; Virginia's elected state leaders; the Virginia State Judicial System; and the United States Federal Courts.

If we could allow an entire year as equivalent to one quarter of play when pigskins, instead of human lives, are being used; then we are now entering the fourth period. The first three periods have been spent with a "time out" while the referees and officials argue over the rules to be followed in this game. Therefore, this is no ordinary game, but one of the most confusing extravaganzas ever to be witnessed in modern times. What makes it even more appalling is due to the fact that it is being performed within the Commonwealth of a State which, in the early history of our nation, produced leaders who gave leadership to what we had supposed less enlightened constituents that those of today.

As in all games, the rules of play are changed from time to time. During the previous centuries, education was allowed to be offered for the privileged, white element of our society, while poor, white people and all Negroes were denied this right. However, the rules were changed to read (Section 129 of the Virginia State Constitution), "The General Assembly shall establish and maintain an efficient system of public, free schools throughout the state." The main trouble seems to stem from the fact that Prince Edward County's referees of this game desire to use the old, out-dated rules, while the higher officials of the Supreme Court of the U. S. A. declare that the modern rules must apply. The State officials of this "Prince Edward game of football, played with humans" don't seem to have convictions strong enough to make a direct contribution to the dilemma. They seem to wish to decide in such a way as to please the spectators closest to them -- those who could toss debris with a greater result of personal hurt. However, because these state officials realize that this spectacle is being witnessed now by far more spectators than those in Prince Edward alone, they show signs of frustration without net results with decisions.

Judge Oren R. Lewis is the highest official yet to voice a decision. He has insisted that the lower officials get on with play. No one seems to know just when play will be resumed, but it seems to us that four years is too long to hold up any game which involves the development of 1700 Junior citizens of these United States.

In his album "What It Is Is Football", Andy Griffith, the comedian, could not understand people kicking and fighting over, what he called a "punkin", to the point of persons getting hurt. Andy knew that even football with a "punkin" must be for sheer sport, but consider Prince Edward football where 1700 human lives are being crippled, and indeed, we spectators see this game as being played for real. It seems only reasonable that spectators demand of the chief officials the long awaited call "Play Ball". It is absurd to even think of those playing with horsehides and pig skins stooping to such tactics as holding up the game four hours, much less four years as are being done in the game of "Prince Edward Football - played with humans".

FALL SEASON FINDS VCHR COUNCILS READY FOR ACTIVE PROGRAMS

Most of the local councils of VCHR have spent the summer planning programs which will provide members with vital information and activities during the next year. Listed below are some of these plans.

Richmond-Petersburg: The Reverend Mr. Edward Meeks Gregory, President. First Fall meeting was a picnic at Hanover Park on Thursday, Sept. 6. Reports of the July discussions on Housing, Education and Voting made up the program.

Charlottesville Junior Council: First meeting scheduled for Monday, Sept. 10 at which time officers will be elected. The program will be a taped Radio program by Heslip Lee on the work, philosophy and role of VCHR.

Norfolk Council: Officers will be elected at the first Fall meeting to be held at the Golden Triangle Hotel in Norfolk, Friday, Sept. 14. The speaker will be Mr. David H. Scull of Annandale, Virginia.

Arlington Council: Mr. Stuart Broad, President; First Fall meeting will be held Sat. Sept. 15. This is to be a Picnic.

Roanoke Council: Mr. George Lawrence, President. The first Fall meeting will be held on Monday, September 17, with Professor J. H. Lave of Hollins College as speaker.

Danville Council: Dr. Robert McCan, President. The first Fall meeting will be held in the YWCA Building on Tuesday, Sept. 18, with Dr. Thomas H. Henderson and Dr. Aubrey N. Brown of Richmond, as co-speakers.

Williamsburg Council: Dr. Thad Tate, President. The first Fall meeting will be held on Wednesday, Sept. 19.

Alexandria Council: Mrs. George A. Eddy, President. The first Fall meeting will be held Wednesday, Sept. 26 at St. Paul's Church. Col. Benjamin Muse of Manassas, Virginia, will be the speaker.

Charlottesville-Albermarle Council: Dr. Calvin Kunin is the new President. The first Fall meeting will be held on Sept. 27, with Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President Emeritus, Howard University, Washington, D. C. as speaker.

Fairfax County Council: Dr. Jacob Seidenberg, President. The first Fall meeting will be a work-study group meeting on Thursday, September 27.

Fredericksburg Council: Miss Susie Peach Foster, President. The first Fall meeting will be a picnic to be held on Saturday, Sept. 29.

Bluefield Council: Heslip Lee, VCHR Executive Director, will participate in two Television Programs in Bluefield on Sunday, Sept. 23, and Sunday, Sept. 30, to answer questions called in by the public on the work of VCHR.

Blacksburg Council: Dr. Guy Hammond, President. The first Fall meeting will be held on Thursday, October 11, with Heslip Lee as a speaker.

Lynchburg Council: Dr. Jane C. Belcher, President. First Fall meeting to be held Tuesday, October 16.

VCHR FINANCING As expected July and August were tough months on our budget figures. Only $742.50 came into the office through membership dues, contributions and New South, for the two months period. HAVE YOU PAID YOUR PLEDGES FOR 1962?

Dates to Remember: Executive Committee meeting in Manassas-Saturday, Sept. 15
Annual Meeting of VCHR at Hotel Roanoke in Roanoke - Friday, November 23.
Mass Meeting at the Mosque in Richmond: Dr. Ralph Bunche, Speaker, Feb. 23, 1963.

MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM STATE OFFICE
Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets; Information sheet on "Operation Extension"; Brochures explaining VCHR's philosophy and work; Taped Radio address (27 minutes) by the Executive Director of VCHR; Quadruplicate forms for membership and financial giving; Back copies of New South and many other information items. Ask for these.

MEMBERSHIP ENLARGEMENT: Send names of prospective members to the State Office and these will be sent full information concerning the work of VCHR plus membership forms. Write for information concerning Richmond's practice of enlisting new members. This plan has resulted in more new members than any other of which we know.

HURELCO LAND & DEVELOPMENT CORP. information enclosed-

You are being furnished with this issue of the Newsletter, a brochure which fully explains HURELCO. Please take time to read the brochure carefully. This is a unique plan and is worthy of the support of all persons within VCHR. In responding to this information, write to the address on the front of the brochure. For further information, you may also write your VCHR state office.

VCHR IS EXPLORING A NEW FIELD OF SERVICE FOR VIRGINIA

Very soon a proposal to establish as an experimental and pilot project an EQUAL OPPORTUNITY CONSULTING AND RECRUITING SERVICE for the State of Virginia under the auspices of the Virginia Council on Human Relations will be presented to the Board of Directors. This service would undertake to be useful to employers in Virginia, as well as National or out-of-state firms which wish assistance in opening up new establishments in Virginia. Details of implementing and financing this project are being worked out, however, the main impetus of this program would be an interviewing, testing, referral, and recruiting service relating to Negro and other minority group personnel and to schools and agencies responsible for education, training and placement, so that companies desiring to commence equal employment operations will not be limited by local community resources.

1,117 VIRGINIA NEGROES INTEGRATE THIS FALL

According to the Richmond News Leader, as of August 21, 1962, 1,117 Negro pupils will attend integrated classrooms during the 1962-63 school term in Virginia.

Locality	Number of Integrated schools	Number integrated first time 1962-63	Number Negro in integrated schools
Alexandria	8	1	63
Amherst Co.	2	2	9
Arlington Co.	14	2	201
Augusta Co.	1	1	3
Charlottesville	2	0	44
Fairfax Co.	34	15	214
Falls Church	3	1	5
Floyd Co.	1	0	24
Fredericksburg	3	3	9
Galax	1	0	23
Hampton	1	0	2
King George Co.	2	1	29
West Point	1	0	12
Loudoun Co.	2	2	4
Lynchburg	8	7	15
Montgomery Co.	1	0	4
Newport News	5	1	35
Norfolk	8	0	44
Portsmouth	4	4	14
Prince Wm. Co.	3	1	9
Princess Anne	2	2	38
Pulaski Co.	3	0	36
Roanoke	4	1	91
Richmond	8	5	131
Shenandoah Co.	2	2	3
Stafford Co.	2	0	36
Warren Co.	2	0	15
Winchester	1	1	4
TOTALS....	128	52	1,117

VCHR'S OPERATION EXTENSION PAYS FIRST DIVIDEND

With Mr. M. C. Martin and Dr. Samuel Newman leading the way, Danville, Va. has organized our newest local Council. Mr. Martin and Dr. Newman had agreed to serve as Area Representatives under "Operation Extension", a plan to organize new local councils in every area of Virginia. The Danville Council has elected local officers and have plans for monthly meetings.

Dr. Aubrey N. Brown of Richmond is Chairman of "Operation Extension" and has called upon each local council in the state to be responsible for organizing one new local council within the next twelve months.

HURELCO LAND & DEVELOPMENT CORP.

P. O. Box 473, Annandale, Virginia

Statement of Purpose and Stock Subscription

HURELCO was incorporated in 1962 under the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Only residents of Virginia may become stockholders and the corporation will limit its business activities to Virginia.

The objective of HURELCO is to make available additional housing of good quality to persons for whom the present supply is inadequate, especially in the Northern Virginia area. It is a private housing enterprise which expects to operate on a business-like basis. It will not seek large speculative profits, but will be content with reasonable returns on invested capital. Its initial operations will involve making land available to reputable builders, based on mutual agreement as to the type and price level of the housing to be built. Its charter is sufficiently broad to permit the corporation to engage, if need or opportunity arises, in any other activity promoting its ultimate purpose.

The aggregate number of shares of authorized capital stock is 1,000 shares of common stock, of $100.00 par value per share. Each share of stock has one vote. No person,* shall hold or otherwise control more than 5% of the authorized capital stock of the corporation; provided, however, this provision shall not be construed as prohibiting or limiting voting by proxy. If any person holding capital stock in this corporation shall desire to sell same, such person shall first offer such stock in writing to the corporation for purchase and the corporation shall have an option to purchase for cash such stock at book value within 30 days from the date of receipt of such holder's written intention to sell. No stockholder of the corporation shall be entitled to pre-emptive rights to acquire unissued shares of the corporation.

*Person in this context includes the family and close relatives of a stockholder, and also includes any corporation, partnership, or association holding stock of HURELCO.

To subscribe to HURELCO stock, complete and return the attached subscription application, together with a check for full or part payment as indicated. Each application is subject to acceptance by the corporation, and recommendation by a present HURELCO stockholder is desirable. If an application is rejected the check will be returned in full.

When a subscriber to one or more shares to be paid for in installments has paid in $100 or a multiple therof, he will be entitled to request issuance of a certificate for the appropriate number of shares, but without such certificate being issued he shall nevertheless be entitled to one vote for each $100 paid in. If not previously requested, a certificate will be issued when a subscription has been paid for in full.

The first meeting of stockholders was held on May 26, 1962 at which the number of Directors was fixed at 15; however for the time being only 9 Directors were elected. The Board subsequently elected officers. The initial officers and Directors are as follows:

OFFICERS

President . . . . . *David H. Scull
First Vice-President . . . . *Maj. Marion I. Johnson
Second Vice-President . . . . . *Stuart Broad
Secretary . . . . . *(Mrs.) Caroline Hodgin
Treasurer . . . . . Albert E. Hussey
Counsel . . . . . *Albert I. Kassabian
Asst. Sec.-Treas. . . . . (Mrs.) Grayce F. Wheeler

*DIRECTORS: Names Marked * Above Plus:*

NELSON E. GREENE
J. SIDNEY HOLLAND
EDMOND L. KANWIT
JACOB SEIDENBERG

Information on the experience and activities of the directors and officers will be furnished to any stockholder or prospective stockholder upon request. Each has been active in the work of the Council on Human Relations of Alexandria, Arlington, or Fairfax.

The annual meeting of stockholders is set for the fourth Tuesday of January in each year.

HURELCO Land and Development Corporation
STOCK SUBSCRIPTION APPLICATION

Date_____

HURELCO
P. O. Box 473
Annandale, Virginia

The undersigned are in sympathy with the attached statement of purpose of the HURELCO Land and Development Corporation. I/we are residents of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

I/we hereby subscribe for_____shares of the non-assessable common stock of the said corporation at $100.00 per share, its par value, and request approval of this application by the corporation.

(A) Enclosed is check for $_____in full payment for said shares.

or

(B) Enclosed is check for $_____in part payment for said shares, representing at least 25% of the total price; the balance will be paid during the next six months in installments of not less than 25% each of the total price.

Shares are to be issued in the following name or names:

Name_____ Address_____
(Type or print)

Phone No._____ Signature_____

Recommended by:_____ Phone No._____
(Over)

Accepted for the Corporation:_____ Date_____

_____ I/we are interested in an installment purchase plan and would consider a monthly payment of $_____.
Please send particulars when such a plan is prepared.

Name_____ Address_____

Phone_____

I/we suggest the following residents of Virginia who might be interested in subscribing to HURELCO stock.

NAME	ADDRESS	PHONE

MEMORANDUM # 1

April 10, 1954

TO: Officers of State Divisions and Affiliated or Cooperating Committees
(Copy to Board Members of SRC)

FROM: Southern Regional Council
By: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

For some years you and we have thought that a major next step toward the objectives which we seek would be to have state programs in human relations advantaged by paid staff. We have also agreed that in the beginning funds for such state staff would have to come from some central source, but that after a time the state organizations could become self-supporting agencies, fully responsible for their own budgets.

The Fund for the Republic has approved a grant to the Southern Regional Council of $240,000. to assist this program in twelve Southern States and in a central office for an eighteen months period. There is the prospect of additional but diminishing aid for two subsequent years. Thus it is now possible for SRC to strengthen the State organizations and programs in the way we have all hoped for.

The natural basis for a developing statewide program should be the present State Divisions or affiliated or cooperating organizations. Such groups exist now in practically all of the twelve states we hope to assist.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL AND STATE ORGANIZATIONS

In the past: Individual members of SRC over the South have sent their membership dues to the Council's central office. In most states these members have formed State Divisions of the SRC, having their own Boards, Officers, and Executive Committees. Each such Division has received back for its own treasury one-half of the dues payments made by members within its own state. The portion of the dues kept in Atlanta has gone toward meeting the cost of each member's subscription to New South.

The membership meeting of the Southern Regional Council held on May 13, 1953, adopted new by-laws to be put into effect at an appropriate time by the Executive Committee of SRC, and they were duly made effective on April 6, 1954.

Present: It is now provided that individual members of SRC shall become members of their State Organizations only. State units are expected to adopt new or altered by-laws of their own, providing for their own governing bodies and officers. We will send you a model of state by-laws, for such changes as you may wish. Affiliation with SRC will require approval of your by-laws by SRC, and of subsequent amendments to your by-laws. Whenever you are ready to take over your own billing of members and record-keeping, we will send you the membership records for your state.

Dues from members in each state will be kept in the State Organizations treasury, except for a sum, probably two dollars a year, to come in to the central office solely as subscription for each member to New South.

The Southern Regional Council becomes now a body chosen as follows:
Fifty members with staggered terms who were elected by the membership meeting of May 13, 1953. (list attached)

The chairman of each affiliated or cooperating organization
One person elected by each such affiliated or cooperating organization

The officers of the Council, elected by the above.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL FUNCTIONS

Assist in the development of program by State Organizations and coordinate such programs in the interest of regional development; give leadership and advice on policy matters; negotiate with individuals and organizations on matters of region wide interest; provide modest research interpretation and consultative services on matters of program interest; advise and help State Organizations in the employment of staff; publish New South; help in leadership development through selection of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council; and operate in conjunction with the State Organizations a uniform accounting, reporting, and auditing system.

The new organizational structure is designed to put major responsibility for policy and program on State Organizations, while retaining the central coordinating functions which the Council has tried to perform in the past.

The new SRC by-laws are being printed and will go out to you shortly.

FINANCIAL BASIS FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

SRC is now in a position to help on the following basis:

First year (Period ending September 30, 1955)
Depending upon the ability of each State Organizations to raise $1,800. during the period for its own program, SRC can make available for each Stateorganization's budget about $13,000. This makes a minimum operating budget of about $15,000. (Arithmatic average for each of twelve state organizations. Bound to vary somewhat depending on whether you get one-half or one-third of the services of an Associate.) It is a firm condition of this help from SRC that the State shall have convincing plans and actual success in raising (in full) its local contribution in each period. Membership dues, grants, contributions, and legacies may count toward this amount to be raised locally.

Here's a sample, tentative budget for each State for the first period (from now till October 30, 1955)

Income -	Raised locally	$ 1,800.
	SRC aid	13,000.
	Total	$ 14,800.

Expenditures -

Staff - Executive and part services of Associate	$ 6,666.00
Clerical	2,500.00
Social Security	250.00
Rent	1,000.00
Office operations	
Supplies	400.00
Communications (telephone & postage)	725.00
Furniture & equipment	500.00
Travel	2,400.00
Total expenditures	$ 14,441.00

The second period of operation will be from October 1, 1955 through September 30, 1956; and the third from October 1, 1956 through September 30, 1957. Budgets for these two periods would be similar to the above, except that we hope salaries for the Executive and the Associates can go to $5,500. and there can be no item for furniture and equipment after the first period.

But note that SRC's contribution for the second period is calculated at about $10,500. with your locally raised figure at $3,500.; and for the third period, SRC's contribution is put at about $8,000. and the locally raised sum at $6,500.

UNIFORM ACCOUNTING AND REPORTING

We have drafted, tentatively, a quite simple form of monthly report, which would be your own bookkeeping system for daily entry, with a copy to come monthly to SRC's central office. It shows receipts and expenditures, deposits, and (cumulatively) sums raised locally. We do not think its use will be a burden, and it should, after perfection, supply your own bookkeeping needs.

STAFF

It is expected that each State Organization will have the services of two full-time paid persons, an executive and a clerk, and at least a third of the services of an associate executive, whose time will be divided between two or three states. The executive and the associate executive will draw the same salaries ($5,000. in the first period and $5,500. thereafter). Salary, travel and communications for the associates will be shared between the states involved.

We would greatly prefer to pay the salaries of all employed personnel directly from this office every two weeks, for so long a period as the SRC contributes, from tax-exempt funds, to the budgets of the State Organizations.

For titles of your executive and associate choose what you will: Director and Associate Director, or Executive Secretary and Associate Executive Secretary.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

It seems advisable for all employed personnel, in this office and in yours, to be covered by workmen's compensation. It will be cheaper and more convenient if this is done centrally, in a single covering action, annually renewable.

BONDS

You should make it the duty of your Chairman to see that all of your personnel handling funds is appropriately bonded, with notification of such bonds to this office. In the ordinary case we suppose that a bond of $5,000. should be sufficient.

NAMES OF STATE UNITS AND DUES

Take any name you like. You could keep the present names, or take new ones. Alabama Council on Human Relations would be a good typical name, or Texas Commission on Race Relations (present name), or what you will. If the present State Divisions retain their exact present names the result may be some public confusion with the Southern Regional Council proper, but that may be as good a device as any.

Dues: Customary SRC annual dues have been as follows:

Single membership	$ 3.00	
Husband and wife membership	$ 4.00	(receive 1 copy of New South)
Sustaining membership	$ 10.00	

SRC will no longer have dues. All dues, (except for persons not resident in the region) will go to State Organizations. You are free to set your dues at whatever rate you wish, consonant with general policy. We suggest $5.00 per year, of which $2.00 would come to this office solely as subscription to New South. We also suggest student memberships at one dollar, or thereabouts, carrying New South for six months, with fifty cents to be sent to this office for such student subscriptions. But dues are your matter.

PROGRAM

The By-Laws of the Southern Regional Council provide as follows: "Organized groups of agencies whose aims and methods are closely akin to the aims and methods of the Southern Regional Council may become affiliates of the Council, upon such condition as the Corporation (SRC) may prescribe . . ." - Article IV

Any or all of the following specific programs are clearly desirable

1. Education of public opinion toward implementation of whatever may be the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. Negotiation with responsible local or State officers toward such implementation.

2. Extension of improved agricultural opportunities.

3. Informed comment on undemocratic features of State or local government.

4. Community self-surveys. (We strongly urge that in each state at least one such self-survey be worked out each year.) This can be a means of finding the most important local needs and local interests, as well as a means of getting representatives of all racial groups in a community to work together on discovering and meeting problems of common concern.

5. The development of opportunities for education in human relations in the schools.

6. Police administration and training.

7. The improved handling of race in the news.

8. Furthering equal justice.

9. Implementation of laws and regulations against segregation in interstate common carriers.

10. Opening of occupational and professional associations to members of racial minorities.

11. Increasing employment opportunities based on merit.

12. Extension of social welfare opportunities.

13. Increasing and improving housing.

14. Education for representation of minorities on Boards and Commissions and other normal channels of government.

Your own membership and governing bodies may engage in whatever program seems desirable, providing there is consultation and agreement with SRC's central office, and providing that the rule against political activity is strictly observed.

NO POLITICAL ACTIVITY

The statute governing U. S. tax exemption is as follows:

EXEMPT CORPORATIONS

"51. Exempt Corporations. The following corporations and organizations are exempt from the income tax:

"(6) Corporations and any community chest, fund, or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation (Code Sec. 101 (6) and Reg. Sec. 29.101 (6)-1)."

EXEMPT GIFTS

"(2) a domestic corporation organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes, including the encouragement of art and the prevention of cruelty to children or animals; no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation;

"(3) a trust, or community chest, fund or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary, or educational purposes, including the encouragement of art and the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation; but only if such gifts are to be used within the United States exclusively for such purposes."

All of the sums to be contributed to your budget by SRC are covered by tax-exemption and neither the State Organizations or the Southern Regional Council's central office may violate the law as given above.

There is no agreed definition of the phrase "no substantial part" etc., but to be safe it will be necessary for us all to observe the law in letter and in spirit.

As to the letter of the law, the prohibition of political activity clearly includes no endorsement or support, open or covert, as an organization, of any particular candidate for elective office. Ditto opposition to any particular candidate or candidates. The same for endorsement or support, open or covert, as an organization, of any particular proposed legislative enactment, or repeal of any particular law.

This does not mean that the organization cannot be in favor of the broad principle of some particular category of legislative change. For example, you could be in favor of the principle of merit systems in government employment, but you could not be in favor of or against House Bill 235 (to make an instance) to strengthen or weaken a merit system.

Your individual members, simply as individuals and not as members of the State Organization, can of course do as they please in political matters. The prohibition runs to the organization. SRC and your own organizations will be responsible for strict observance of this rule, and violation will be ground for estoppal of aid from SRC.

NEXT STEPS

It is suggested that, as soon as it can be arranged, there be a meeting of your executive committee. In states where there is no functioning executive committee, a small group of responsible Negro and white members should be called. The purpose of this meeting, and subsequent ones which will be necessary is to make plans for the State Organization's development, in light of the new resources available. We will hope to be in touch with your thinking, and stand ready to give assistance in all ways you regard as useful.

STANDARDS OF PERSONNEL SELECTION

In SRC, and in the State Organizations, we have always worked in the belief that ability to be useful and effective in human relations is bound up with general character, stability, community standing, and moral purpose. We have not thought that intensive text-book training in human relations was necessary. For your executive and for the associate executives (Whose titles, by the way, are yours to decide upon) we can set no clear and simple standards. We merely urge that you choose responsibly. In some states the executives will doubtless be people with teaching experience in sociology or a related field, in others they will be ministers, or members of some other profession, or people with experience in business and other affairs. Experience in religious and community organization would be helpful. Man or woman. Character, ability, interest, and loyalty to the cause of democratic growth ought to weigh the most. Remember that your staff must help substantially in raising funds locally for the state organization.

For your clerk, you should seek a rounded set of office skills, including shorthand and typing.

We would like to be consulted before final staff commitments are made.

STATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND A LETTER TO COME TO SRC

When your State group has had time to discuss this proposal, and to reach some decision as to ways in which it would like to work out the new relationship, we would appreciate receiving a letter over the signature of your Chairman and some other appropriate officer, as a Vice-Chairman, or Secretary-Treasurer, setting out briefly the arrangement you would like, along with the rest of your plan. The letter should list the members of your finance committee, and contain some evidence that they agree to work hard in getting in the sums that will need to be raised in your state.

TOWARD INDEPENDENT STATUS

The whole effort is to get going in each state a strong organization, which will cut the grooves of honest representation of all interests, and which can, after a first period of aid, find means to stand and work independently, so long as their functions are needed in Southern life.

ks

MEMORANDUM #2

May 11, 1954

TO: Chairmen of State Divisions or Affiliates in Cooperating Communities

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

The following letter has been written to the Chairman of the Mississippi Division:

All our experience points strongly to the wisdom of having membership on a twelve months basis, not the calendar year. That is to say that members should be billed annually on the anniversary of the month of joining. This spreads the work of billing and gets you out of the difficulty of the person who joins in November and then to his displeasure is billed in January. It also spreads your income.

I do recommend $5.00 as minimum annual dues, but we have no power to overrule you on that matter. I think to be fair all around it should be $5.00 dues, $3.00 to be retained in your own Mississippi territory, and $2.00 per person to be sent to SRC in Atlanta as subscription to New South. But for the time being we propose to leave New South subscriptions at $1.50 expecting to raise it January 1, 1955, to $2.00.

We are at work on a model set of By-Laws for state bodies. They run along the lines of an annual membership meeting and an executive committee of sixteen elected members with staggered terms: Four expiring at the end of the first year, four at the end of the second, four at the end of the third, and four at the end of the fourth year. The executive committee would comprise among its membership, in addition to its sixteen elected members, the chairman, vice-chairmen, and the secretary-treasurer.

Your secretary-treasurer could delegate the power of the purse to your executive secretary.

The organization would affiliate with the SRC roughly in accordance with Article IV of the By-Laws of the SRC.

We do not have an application form for candidates seeking staff positions with state organizations. I think the choice has to be largely personal and many of your own membership and the executive committee would be expected to know the various applicants intimately. Pick competent, devoted, and skillful people, and have a regard for their loyalty to the principles of American constitutional government.

Your executive committee should at an early date name a finance committee, whose members need not be members of the executive committee. Suggested number -- five. Chairmen of finance committees should make quarterly reports to the executive committees on fund raising activities.

As soon as we can supply you with model By-Laws, you are free to begin operations as an independent but affiliated body, in accordance with Article IV of the By-Laws of SRC.

June 8, 1954

MEMORANDUM #3

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

TO: Chairmen of State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council.

Evidently I was not clear in Memorandum #1, April 10, 1954, about when SRC aid could reach the state organizations.

Not until October 1, 1954.

The time allowed us for the first period of operation was eighteen months; from April 1, 1954, to September 30, 1955. But the money allowed for helping the states was only twelve month's money.

To come out even at the end of the period, we can't be giving money out to the states until October, 1954.

These weeks just now are best used in making plans and looking over available personnel. Pity that we can't help you get going with paid personnel right away, when there is present pressing need, but budgets are budgets.

Please be clear that we here get a chance to advise with you on choosing your paid executives. It is your business to sort them out and make the final choice, but we want to be given a chance to be consulted on the tentative choice you make. So don't make commitments until you have consulted us, please.

As to when you get going with paid personnel, remember that when you raise extra money (above $1800), you could use it to take on staff earlier, but have it securely raised; we cannot help you meet a deficit as September, 1955, approaches. You will need to calculate your resources including SRC aid, and plan exactly accordingly.

As to your associate executive -- same dates for SRC aid. But because of the arrangements that will need to be made with other states, decision ought to be delayed on that until we can confer with you more closely.

Of course, if you have or could raise more money you could plan for a full-time associate. An alternative would be a part-time associate for a state by itself.

We hope to have one of the staff in this office meet with you in the near future, at which time we can consult about your plans in more detail.

MEMORANDUM #4

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

TO: Chairmen of State Divisions of the Southern Regional Council.

By-Laws for Affiliated Organizations

In the period since the issuance of Memorandum #1, discussions have proceeded with people in various of the states as to the form of reorganization which the states would wish to adopt.

Two broad patterns appear.

The first contemplates future organization much as at present. The governing body would be an annual membership meeting, electing an executive board to be responsible for the conduct of the organization between annual meetings, and the board to choose the officers of the organization and select and supervise the employed staff. There would be rotating terms of office for members of the board.

The second, which has been chosen particularly by Kentucky, eliminates the annual membership meeting as its governing body and, while seeking members of the organization, puts the full power of the organization into the hands of a broadly representative executive board. In Kentucky it is proposed that the members of the board shall, for the most part, be persons whose standing in various movements and groups throughout the state will be of importance to the work of the Kentucky organization as a coordinating agency. Specifically, the Kentucky group proposes the name, Kentucky Council of Human Relations.

Attached to this memorandum is a set of By-Laws which would accomplish the first type of organization. Also attached is a set of alternates to certain stipulated clauses of the By-Laws, which alternates would accomplish a structure of the kind proposed in Kentucky.

The sort of organization most of the states have had -- being the sort proposed in the By-Laws as presented here in full -- would have the ready approval of the Southern Regional Council. This office is well disposed toward a broad membership organization as providing a democratic basis for the operation of the state group, and as providing a steady source of dues and contacts for the organizations' educational efforts.

In some of the states it has been found that the effort to build a substantial membership organization would detract from the more important purpose of building an effective coordination within the state of all the forces working toward the Council's general purpose.

The primary purpose of the Southern Regional Council is to launch in each of twelve Southern states a permanent, well-rooted, state organization adapted to the needs of each state. We will consider, with some predisposition toward approval, whatever carefully thought out changes in the particular By-Laws, or in general structure, you may care to propose.

The points covered in Article X of these sample By-Laws must be covered in the By-Laws of any state organization affiliated with the Southern Regional Council.

While these By-Laws are sent as a useful guide, we do not mean that they should be automatically adopted. We want each state to set up the kind of organization that it will be happy with.

Enclosures

9/2/54

MEMORANDUM #5

TO: Chairmen and Staff of State Organizations

FROM: Katherine Stoney, Secretary-Treasurer, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

PLAN FOR FINANCING OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

The total amount of the grant from the Fund for the Republic which is to be used for the twelve state organizations is $158,800.00, or approximately $13,200.00 per state organization. It covers the period from their organization through September 30, 1955. In addition, each organization is to raise not less than $1,800.00 which provides a minimum budget of approximately $15,000.00.

Each state organization will have an executive secretary at a salary of $5,000.00 per year, a clerk-stenographer, and some additional professional staff for which we suggest that funds be reserved until final plans can be made.

All salaries will be paid directly from the Central Office which will be responsibile for withholding and social security records and collections. Sufficient funds will be held in the Central Office to cover salaries and social security payments from the time state operations begin through September 30, 1955. This amount will be approximately $11,200.00. The remaining $2,000.00 plus the amount raised by the state organization (not less than $1,800.00) is to be used for travel, rent, communications, office supplies, etc. It can be paid to you in quarterly amounts, upon request, with the provision that state offices plan so as to have no deficit at the end of the period.

All money which you raise by contributions, memberships, etc. is for local use. It is agreed, however, that you will send to the Central Office $2.00 for each of your members, this to cover the cost of a New South subscription. This should be taken into account as you make your budget.

The Council is required by the Fund for the Republic to make quarterly finance reports for both the Central Office and the state organizations. In order to do this we will need to have from you a report of your income and

expenses for each month. A supply of the attached printed form on which you will file these reports will be sent to you as soon as you need them. We ask that you keep this report in duplicate, recording receipts and disbursements each day, and at the end of each month sending us the original, holding the duplicate for your records. This will probably serve as your bookkeeping system, at least in the beginning.

The Council carries a blanket bond covering all employees of both the Central Office and the affiliated state organizations.

We suggest that the state executive secretary and either his executive committee or a finance committee, work out together a tentative budget for the year based on needs and the prevailing costs for rent, travel, telephone, etc. in your state. We would like to have a copy of this proposed budget for our information and would like also to have some information as to plans for raising funds within your own state.

The Fund for the Republic has promised help to the Council for two additional periods, in sums less than that given this year. But such help is dependent on both our success at raising the money locally to supplement their grant and our carrying on the program outlined in our request to them. Our ultimate goal is self-sustaining organizations in each state and all financial planning needs to keep this in mind.

Suggested budget for state organizations based on 12 months operation:

INCOME

Money allotted from SRC	$ 13,200.00	
To be raised locally	1,800.00	
		$ 15,000.00

EXPENSES

Salary, executive secretary	$ 5,000.00	
Salary, steno-clerk	2,500.00	
Social Security, bond, insurance, etc.	200.00	
Reserved toward additional professional staff	3,500.00	
Travel	1,500.00	
Rent	900.00	
Supplies	400.00	
Furniture	500.00	
Communications	500.00	
		$15,000.00

Approved by George S. Mitchell

September 21, 1954

MEMORANDUM #6

September 23, 1954

TO: Chairmen of State Divisions or Affiliates in Cooperating Communities and Executive Secretaries

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia

We have recognized that the "effective human relations service" which state organizations will be establishing in the months ahead requires the assistance of both white and Negro professional staff members. This is necessary in order that the staff of state organizations provide evidence in their make-up of a working relationship of equals in behalf of the common welfare, and for perhaps the even more important reason, that the insights of both Negro and white staff members are needed in the task of extending the areas of communication across racial lines throughout the state -- a basic purpose of our state organizations.

The funds which are available to assist the state organizations are sufficient to provide each state with two full professional staff members and to cover the other costs of the organization. We originally suggested (Memo #1) that associates might be shared by two states. This proposal has been reconsidered in the light of other suggestions which seem to be more acceptable to state groups. It is now recommended that the executive committees of state organizations, in consultation with the SRC staff from the Central Office, consider securing a racially balanced staff through one of the following methods:

1. Assume the responsibility for increasing the state's budget by raising an additional $2,500.00. This will enable the employment of two full-time professional staff members one white and one Negro, on the same salary basis. We believe that this plan has many advantages. It will double the possibility of effectiveness and thus increase the ease with which support for the program can be secured within the state. If this plan is accepted by a state, its budget would be as follows:

Income		Expenditures	
SRC assistance	$13,000.00	Professional salaries (2)	$10,000.00
Raised by state	4,300.00	Clerical	2,500.00
		Social Security, Ins., etc.	500.00
		Rent, office operations, travel, communications, etc.	4,300.00
Total	$17,300.00		$17,300.00

Under this plan, the state committee and the professional staff would assume responsibility for raising a sufficient amount to cover office and operational costs -- and the SRC assistance would cover all salaries. It will of course be possible to arrange for advances from the SRC for small initial amounts needed to begin functioning as an organizational unit.

In some states, (Tennessee may be one) it may be advisable for geographical reasons, to develop sub-committees of the state organization in sections of the state, and to have staff members located in these sections for work in that part of the state. Under these circumstances a state-area committee with its staff member's assistance might be able to assume responsibility for raising half of the state's total, ($2,150.00) and whatever more seems necessary for the operation of the state-area office and program.

In states where this plan seems desirable, the budget might be as follows:

Income			Expenditures (Area I and II)	
Area I			Professional salary	$ 5,000.00
SRC assistance	$6,500.00		Clerical salary	1,200.00
Raised in the area	2,150.00		Travel, office operation, rent, communications, etc.	2,450.00
Total		$ 8,650.00	Total	$ 8,650.00
Area II				
SRC assistance	$6,500.00		Same as above	
Raised in the area	2,150.00			
Total		$ 8,650.00	Total	$ 8,650.00
State total (2 areas)		$17,300.00	Total (2 areas)	$17,300.00

2. Secure the services on a "consultant" basis of one or more persons who are already employed within the state. Such "state consultants" would be regarded as members of the state staff, should be included in all planning meetings of the state organization, and should be available for short time consultative services to groups within the state working upon the organization's purpose and program. Criteria for choosing consultants would include their commitment to the purpose of the SRC, a knowledge of the state and its people, some experience in and knowledge of community organization and the confidence and respect of Negro and white citizens. (These criteria of course are ones which should be considered in making all nominations for staff positions.) Such persons might be members of teaching faculties of colleges, they might be volunteer leaders of organizations with purposes related to those of the SRC, or they might be former staff members of agencies with a concern about human relations.

The funds available make possible ten days of services per month on an honorarium basis of $20.00 per day. Travel costs would be included in the state's budget. Honoraria would be paid by the SRC Central Office on the basis of vouchers presented monthly.

This plan has the advantage of increasing the number of persons who will be carrying responsibility for interpreting the program of the organization, and of adding to the total insights and skills within the staff of the organization. Its limitation, in contrast to the first plan described above, is that there will be only one full-time professional staff member during a period when more are badly needed.

A word on possibilities for securing support for the state's program:

It is necessary to secure only 600 members within a state in order to have $1,800.00 for the state organization's treasury -- and at the same time to increase the reading audience for New South. We believe that expansion of the subscribers to New South will increase the understanding of the state organization's purpose and will thus help in its achievement. (Six hundred members @ $5.00 each = 600 New South subscriptions ($2.00 each) = $1,800.00 state treasury and $1,200.00 to New South.) Five individual or group contributions of $100.00, and forty contributions of $25.00 would complete the obligation of the state organization for its financial support for the first year.

In the weeks ahead SRC staff members for program development will be able to visit with you and other SRC members in your state, and talk with you about the possibilities for staffing, financing and helping to get your state organization ready for the important work ahead.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 19, 1954

TO: Executives of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton - SRC
Assistant Director for Program

We are sending you under separate cover, copies of SRC publications and other selected materials which we believe you will wish to have available for reference and for use.

These include:

1. Complete file of New South for 1954.

2. SRC Policy Statement - 1951 (10 copies).

3. Earlier issues of New South as follows:

   Race and Suffrage Today - January 1953
   Law vs. Practice in Interstate Travel - March-April 1953
   Negro Family Income in the Southern States - October-November 1953
   A City Works at Human Relations - March-April 1952
   Changing Patterns in a Border State - May 1952
   Blighted Housing and Bomb Violence - June-July 1952
   Negro Firemen in the South - August 1952
   A Look at FEPC - September 1952
   Negro Municipal Workers in the South - May-June 1951
   A New Trend in Private Colleges - August-September 1951
   Housing in our Cities - October 1951
   Three Decisions (Sweatt, Henderson and McLaurin) - June 1951
   Professional Associations Drop the Color Bar - July 1951

4. SRC Pamphlets.

   Answers for Action
   Your Community Looks at Itself
   Greenville's Big Idea - and mimeographed follow-up report for 1952

Race and Law Enforcement
A Check List for your Local Schools
Singers in the Dawn (A pamphlet of the Interracial Commission. Old -- but occasionally useful.)

5. Mimeographed Materials.

1954 Negro Police List
FEPC Bibliography
Have Negro Police Been Satisfactory?

6. Pamphlets from other sources.

Segregation and the Schools - Public Affairs Pamphlet
NCWC Summary of Catholic School Integration

12/3 - Mailed to

~~Tennessee~~ people

not seen by Menefee

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 23, 1954

Dear Friend:

Last summer, Mr. Robert G. Menefee visited your community in the course of field travel for the Southern Regional Council. Your name was suggested to him by local people, and he was most regretful that circumstances prevented his seeing you.

Mailed to people not seen by Menefee

We thought that you would be interested in reading Mr. Menefee's article in the enclosed copy of our publication, New South. It reports the main observations and findings of his summer's travel.

We would be glad to have any comments or suggestions that occur to you.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

This letter sent to:

Tennessee - Mr. F. Woods Beckman
Miss Elsie Lewis

Texas - Mrs James S. Crate
Mrs. Aycox
Thomas Sutherland

South Carolina - Dick Foster
Mrs. Marion Paul
Mr. A. J. Clement
Mrs. Spearman

North Carolina - Mr. Leon Russell
Mr. John Wheeler
Harry S. Jones

Louisiana - Father Twomey
Bruce Nouma Rousseve
Milton Vigo
Albert D'Orlando
Albert W. Dent

Kentucky - Hugh Brimm
Parrish
Sanders

Georgia - Clary
Brazeal
Wells

Alabama - Dan C. Whitsett
J. T. Brooks
Robert Hughes

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Novem 24, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear

The Board of the Southern Regional Council, in session November 10, considered at length the matter of the central office's relationship with the state organizations. The question is one of balance between central guidance toward some uniformity in policy and program by the state groups, and encouragement of a sense of independence by the state groups as they build programs that will give them taproots in their respective states and self-reliance after the period of SRC subsidy comes to an end.

The Board feels keenly the importance of the Council having opportunity to review and advise as to proposed state programs: Accordingly, the following motion was passed by the Board: "That each state organization be asked to submit to the central office a copy of its broad program for the year 1955, such program to be submitted by January 1, 1955."

The Southern Regional Council central staff is presently developing a memorandum setting forth our collective views on the program objectives and techniques that have proved effective in the past and seem applicable to the present situation. This memorandum will be broad and suggestive, on the assumption that each state should and will plan its own program in the light of local conditions and resources. We realize that the deadline is short and will undertake to get our memorandum to you as quickly as possible.

Meanwhile, we give you this notice that the request for your 1955 plans has been made, and ask you to get ahead with the thinking and planning in the next few days, not waiting until we can get out longer memo to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 24, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM #7

TO: Executive Secretaries of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

RE: TAX EXEMPTION

1. It was agreed that each of the state organizations should initiate early steps to secure evidence of tax exempt status from the Department of Internal Revenue, since such evidence is customarily a prerequisite for foundation gifts and sizable contributions from individuals. Application should be made on Form 1023, which can be secured from your local Director of Internal Revenue. The central office is prepared to assist you in completing the more difficult parts of the questionnarie and in any case would want to review the final language before the application is filed.

2. It will probably be some months before your application is finally acted upon. In the meantime large contributions contingent on evidence of tax exemption may be made through the SRC, designated for the work of your state organization. If such a prospect arises in your fund-raising efforts, you should write to Dr. Mitchell explaining the circumstances, and he will forward a copy of SRC's letter of tax exemption to the appropriate person or foundation as necessary.

3. This procedure is not to be used for small or routine contributions, but only when it is essential to securing a substantial gift. Ordinarily this will only be true when a prospective contributor asks for formal evidence of your tax exempt status as a condition of a grant. We offer this procedure only as a stop-gap measure pending confirmation by the Revenue Department of your own independent tax exempt status.

GSM/HF/rnf:eab

11/24/54

Copies sent to:

Alabama	--	Hughes
Georgia	--	Wells
Louisiana	--	Vigo
N. Carolina	-	Spearman
Texas	--	Sutherland
Tennessee	--	Beckman Lewis
Kentucky	--	C.H. Parrish

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 24, 1954

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM #8

TO: Executive Secretaries of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC
FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

RE: PUBLICATIONS

I. NEW SOUTH

1. It was agreed that each member of your organization will receive New South as a regular concomitant of membership. Thus the amount you set for dues is a single amount, not broken down by dues and subscription to New South. It is, of course, understood that the state organizations will pay $2.00 per member to the central office to defray the cost of New South; but this is not a subscription and should not be so represented to the members.

2. We will welcome subscriptions to New South by libraries, organizations, and institutions, and will appreciate your forwarding them to us. These are properly called subscriptions.

3. Ten copies of New South will be sent each month to each state director for his or her own use.

II. PRICE OF SRC PUBLICATIONS TO STATE ORGANIZATIONS

1. Issues of New South through 1954 at 10¢ each; after January 1, 1955 at a new rate to be figured.

2. All other publications of SRC available to state groups in bulk orders at cost. Orders of one, two, or three copies of pamphlets to be available at published price for the public. (The distinction here is the additional clerical cost in this office.)

3. Whenever desired, state groups may obtain material on consignment -- i.e., proceeds from literature to be sent to central office after sale, together with any unsold copies.

4. If you should want to secure an unusually large quantity of an issue of New South or other SRC publications please notify the central office, whenever possible, at least one month ahead so that we can arrange for any necessary additional printing.

GSM/HF/rnf:eab

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 24, 1954

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TO: Executive Secretaries of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC
FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

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2. It will probably be some months before your application is finally acted upon. In the meantime large contributions contingent on evidence of tax exemption may be made through the SRC, designated for the work of your state organization. If such a prospect arises in your fund-raising efforts, you should write to Dr. Mitchell explaining the circumstances, and he will forward a copy of SRC's letter of tax exemption to the appropriate person or foundation as necessary.

3. This procedure is not to be used for small or routine contributions, but only when it is essential to securing a substantial gift. Ordinarily, this will only be true when a prospective contributor asks for formal evidence of your tax exempt status as a condition of a grant. We offer this procedure only as a stop-gap measure pending confirmation by the Revenue Department of your own independent tax exempt status.

GSM/HF/rnf:eab

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 24, 1954

MEMORANDUM #9

TO: Executive Secretaries of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, SRC

RE: FINANCES

The Central Office of SRC expects the Executive of state organizations to be responsible for the financial records and reports of state organizations. The bank used as depository for the organization should be located in the same city as the state office. The Central Office should be informed as soon as possible of the name of the bank, the official listing of the account, and the authorized signators of checks. It is important that you have an adequate system of bookkeeping in order that full financial reports and an annual audit can be made.

All money received by the state organization should be deposited to the account, and all bills should be paid by check. A petty cash fund of $20.00-$25.00 might be set up to cover small items, but accurate vouchers should be kept and the fund reimbursed by check as needed.

All contributions to the state organization should be acknowledged promptly, and records kept of the source of contributions. Contributions made by members may be recorded on their membership cards.

The Council has obtained a bond covering all employees of the Council and its affiliated organizations which protects the organization's funds. We expect state organizations to have a finance committee and a treasurer who will work closely with the executive secretary both in the raising of money and in planning for its disbursement.

So long as financial assistance is given state organizations by the SRC an annual audit will be requested.

MEMBERSHIP RECORDS

An excellent device for keeping membership records is a card file. As state organizations are set up the SRC turns over to them the membership record cards of the SRC members in that state. It is very important that note be taken of the date when dues should be renewed so that the state organization can establish contact before the membership has expired. In this period of transfer from the regional to the state office, the SRC will help to keep in touch with the members by sending New South until you have notified us that lapsed members have had ample opportunity to renew. We urge you to send renewal notices promptly.

As dues are paid, whether by new or renewing members, the name, and full correct address should be added to the list of those to receive New South. This list, together with your check to cover $2.00 per year for each member, should be sent to the Central Office each month. If your state develops a joint membership plan, only one copy of each issue of New South will go to a household.

DATE ON WHICH REPORTS SHOULD BE MAILED

The Central Office has provided the state organizations with forms on which to report their finances for the month. This report, together with the list of members to receive New South and its accompanying check, should be sent to the Central Office not later than the 5th of the following month.

GSM/HEF:KS:GTH/rnf

Sent to:

M. Wright
R. Clement
D. Whitsett
R. Hughes
F. Darragh
D. Dunlap
G. Clary
G. Wells
H. Brimm
A. D'Orlando
M. Vigo
C. Mantinband
L. Russell
H. Jones
R. Foster
E. Spearman
F. Beckman
J. Crate
T. Sutherland
C. Smith
C. Parrish

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Confidential Information

December 10, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: Chairmen of State Organizations
Executive Secretaries of State Organizations

FROM: Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director of State Organizations

It has been reported to us that a group called "The Grass Roots League," headquarters in Charleston, S.C., has recently published a so-called Research Bulletin Number Two called "Help Save America." This document is anti-Supreme Court decision, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic; it contains the smear about SRC's Board having thirty-eight members with Communistic affiliations. This is based upon the cannard in Roy Harris' Augusta Courier. The "Help Save America" sheet is reprinted in the Mississippi area at the personal expense of Ellett Lawrence of Greenwood, Mississippi. The same charge has been reiterated in letters to the editor of South Carolina papers by Stanley F. Morse of Charleston.

If you have any information regarding the circulation of either this pamphlet or comparable ones, or of similar charges being made in letters to the editor, please advise Harold Fleming, Assistant Director for Information -- Central Office -- immediately.

RNF

12/13

Mailed to

Board Members
State Officers
State Staff
Ky. Consultants

The South of the Future

A Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council December 12, 1951

EIGHT years ago, the Southern Regional Council was born out of the conscience and high resolve of a democratic nation at war. Today, in another period of international tension, we are faced with a renewed challenge to provide leadership and direction in a troubled region. It is essential that we assess clearly and wisely the role that the Southern Regional Council is to perform in this critical time.

We do not believe in the exclusive validity of any single approach or any single organization. There is not only room, but a desperate need for a wide variety of programs concerned with broadening democracy through legal, economic, legislative, religious, and educational means. Moreover, such programs are needed on all levels — national, regional, state, and local. Every group, like every individual, should chart its course with due regard for the special contribution it is fitted to make.

THE ROLE APPROPRIATE to the Southern Regional Council is evident in its origin and make-up. The Council's main asset is and has always been the people of the South who understand and want the full practice of democracy, and who at the same time know intimately the old evils that burden the South, and their causes. From such people is the Council's membership drawn. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern

thought and conscience; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to agencies outside the region.

The Council seeks to be a practical organization, emphasizing working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. Indeed, that philosophy is basic to an organization which hopes to open closed minds and substitute reason for prejudice.

The Council, by its very nature, is not a "mass pressure" organization. The number of persons in the South who are able and willing to reject the taboos on interracial effort in their own communities is growing, but it has not yet reached mass proportions. Meanwhile, the Council's membership can function effectively as enlightened citizens acting through the civic life of their communities in behalf of our common principles. Their methods are the established ones of conference, fact-finding, and persuasion.

The Council takes no part in political activity. However, it can and does consult with public agencies and officials and makes its influence felt for truly representative government.

THE COUNCIL'S FUNCTIONS may be briefly summed up as follows:

To serve as a meeting ground for citizens of all races, occupations, and religious persuasions.

To present the facts about the region, and their implications, through newspapers, radio, magazines, pamphlets, and other public media.

To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots, and hate organizations.

To provide a program adaptable to local need in both the relatively backward and the relatively advanced areas of the South.

To translate appropriate research findings from universities and other centers to the practical situations with which the

action program will be concerned.

To give special emphasis to the development of leadership among promising young Southerners of all races.

To convene, by interest group, key persons in the various fields of Southern life, so that steps to genuine integration may be representatively agreed upon.

To stimulate local initiative to work for local solutions in full democracy, so that legislation and judicial rulings may be translated into justice for the individual in his everyday life.

The basic machinery necessary to enable the Council to work effectively at these tasks is: (1) trained, competent, professional persons of both races working in each Southern state as agents of improvement in public life; and (2) staff in a central office of the Council to direct and service the field people.

THE DECLARED PURPOSE of the Southern Regional Council is "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region." This objective has lost none of its timeliness since it was first adopted. Although the past eight years have brought notable progress in the South, the job remaining is a vast one, and the pressures of national and international events demand an even speedier advance. Many of our institutions continue to make unfair and unwarranted distinctions between citizens solely on the basis of race. Outmoded traditions, unjustified fears, and ancient prejudices continue to exact a heavy toll on the unity, productiveness, and integrity of our society.

It is the ultimate hope and aim of the Council that it may help in bringing solution to regional problems that transcend the question of race — problems economic, social, ethical, which affect impartially people of all races. But, for the present, the unique liability under which the South labors arises out of an unreasoning racial disharmony. The first task of informed and conscientious Southerners is to strive

to create here the atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discriminations based upon race will no longer persist. Only when that goal has been attained will the energies of enlightened men be fully released for the great task of realizing all our potential resources, natural and human.

THE SOUTH OF THE FUTURE, toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God.

Equal opportunity, truly defined, includes all this and more. We have no illusion that it can be realized in the South quickly or easily or perfectly. Nor do we imagine that the Southern Regional Council can play more than a modest but creditable part toward its achievement. Yet it is the ideal toward which we strive and, short of which, we have a duty to remain dissatisfied. For it is nothing less than the American ideal.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. • Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Reg

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FILE COPY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 13, 1954

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: Development of State Programs

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

You will recall that the Board of the Southern Regional Council, in session November 10, requested affiliated state organizations to submit by January 1, 1955, their proposed programs for the coming year. This memorandum offers some background and suggestions to assist you in this task.

The following are the general functions of the Southern Regional Council and a list of specific criteria for state programs, each briefly discussed:

PROGRAM FUNCTIONS AS DEFINED IN THE STATEMENT OF POLICY AND AIMS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

1. To create in each state a representative body of white and Negro citizens to consider in full democracy the necessary steps toward genuine integration.

2. To serve as a convincing demonstration of Southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race.

3. To strive to create an atmosphere in which artificial distinctions and discrimination based upon race will no longer persist.

4. To stimulate local interest to work for local solutions in full democracy, in order that legislative and judicial rulings may be translated into justice in everyday life.

5. To seek practical solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements.

6. To encourage effective functioning of enlightened citizens through the civic life of their communities, rather than becoming a mass pressure organization.

7. To further its objectives through fact-finding, conference and persuasion, and through consultation with public agencies and officials.

8. To counteract appeals to prejudice and violence by demagogues, professional bigots and hate organizations.

9. To present the facts about the region and their implications.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING PROGRAM PROPOSALS
OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH SRC

I. Is the program proposed compatible with SRC's policy and aims?

See the preceding list of SRC functions as defined in the statement of policy and aims, December 1951. A leaflet reprinting the entire policy statement is enclosed.

II. Who made the plan?

See Item 1 in the list of functions. Your proposed program should reflect the combined thinking and approval of representative members of the state Board, including both races and the various religious and organizational interests represented.

III. Is the program oriented to the main challenge facing the state at this time - i.e., adjustment to the Supreme Court decision?

While it is expected that the state organizations will be broadly interested in the human relations problems and opportunities of their states, the challenge of the decision should be recognized as the focal point of action in this field. Obviously this will mean different things in different states. In some of the more advanced states, it may mean working with educational authorities, parent-teacher groups, and others on the mechanics and details of school integration as an accepted goal. In other more uncertain states, it will be necessary to aim program activities at building more acceptance for the idea of integration. In the deep South states, the work of persuasion must start on an even more elementary level and interest may have to be sought for such intermediate objectives as preserving the public school system, combatting intimidation and economic pressure on Negro and liberal white spokesmen, emphasizing church pronouncements and the importance of abiding by the law despite personal preference. However, these varying approaches all have in common the recognition that compliance with the Supreme Court's decision must be an ultimate goal of our operation.

IV. How practical is the program in terms of the organization's staff and resources?

There are clearly strict limits on what one professional staff person -- or even two -- can do by way of personal contact and the influencing of opinion. The central office's concept of staff function, in the light of these limitations, should be applicable to the state organizations as well. Generally, it recognizes that we are not aiming to influence directly people in the mass. Rather, we are trying to stimulate and assist key local people. Every community has its present or potential "spark plugs" whose racial views are enlightened. They may be ministers, church women, public officials, businessmen, civic and labor leaders, newspapermen -- in short, anyone who plays an influential role in the life of the community. These are the people with whom we work. Staff time should be spent mainly in planning with and activating such key people, through personal contact, SRC materials, and correspondence. (See Item 4 in the list of functions.)

The importance of bi-racial professional staff is evident in this definition of the job to be done. We can hardly hope to persuade perceptive lo-

cal people of our good faith unless we exemplify in our own organization the principles we are advocating. Nor, in this divided society, can we bring people of the two races together unless the insights of both races are reflected both at the policy and at the staff levels. Contrary to some assumptions about human relations activity, a Negro staff member may often approach white leadership more effectively than a white staff member; and a bi-racial professional staff will increase, rather than lessen, respect for our organizations and belief in our sincerity.

The ways in which bi-racial staff can be attained -- through additional fund-raising for salaries, through employment of consultants, etc. -- have been and will be dealt with elsewhere. But this should be an ever-present consideration in program planning.

V. <u>To what extent does the program involve lay community leadership?</u>

In view of our limited staff, much of the program load must be shared by Board members and other individuals related to the state organizations. Every such person should be an active influence in his or her community, working closely with state staff, and involving other local people in the program of the state organization.

Members of the state organization's policy group should also participate in statewide program. The most effective way to accomplish this is for the Board to establish its own subgroups which will be concerned with particular phases of the organization's activity, including fund-raising. Without such lay participation, at both the community and the state level, the staff will find it virtually impossible to implement an effective program.

VI. <u>Does the program aim at developing processes which in themselves lead to the elimination of racial distinctions?</u>

Every state and every community has its own particular character and circumstances to which program must be adapted; it is for that reason that we have put emphasis on the large degree of self-determination that must be exercised by each state organization in shaping its structure and program. Given that fact, however, it can probably be said that every effective community-action program will have as its effect a process in which white and Negro citizens of comparable achievements and interests are communicating and planning together as equals. The success, then, of a state program can be evaluated in terms of its effectiveness in encouraging and assisting this process in the public and institutional life of a state. Such local planning and discussion today clearly should center on the overriding question of adjustment to the Supreme Court's decision -- gathering the facts about the local school system and reaching agreement on practical steps to be taken.

The formation of new local interracial groups is sometimes an appropriate way to achieve this, but it is by no means the only way or the best way. It is often more fruitful to explore the opportunities for sound process within existing bodies and community activities. Examples.

A. Bonafide Negro representation on school boards and other official bodies.

B. Negro participation at the policy level in such agencies as community chests and councils, YMCA's and YWCA's, hospital boards, professional

associations, and other quasi-public agencies.

C. Bi-racial participation -- preferably through integrated membership, but when necessary through liaison committees -- in such private organizations as PTA's, teachers associations, councils of church women, ministerial associations, and the like.

D. The self-survey method, in which community leaders join together across the lines of race, religion, and interest groups to gather the facts about common problems and plan remedies. This technique is amply discussed in SRC literature and should be familiar to all state personnel.

Where full participation is not thought to be immediately possible, interim steps, such as Negro advisory committees or advisory interracial groups, may be temporarily useful but great care should be taken to insure that they do not become permanent "escape hatches" for those in authority. There is no substitute for full and unqualified participation by all segments of the community.

There are many ways in which the state organization can promote the growth of democratic process. Obvious examples are: conference with community leadership or persons with access to community leadership; informing individuals and the public generally of good precedents in other communities in the state or in the South; offering technical assistance in the form of materials and consultation (for example, the self-survey).

VII. Does the program tend to strengthen the representativeness of the state organization?

This refers to the fact that careful attention should be given to involving persons who are representative of as many religious, professional, and civic interests as possible.

VIII. Does the program seek to make maximum use of SRC materials?

There is a variety of ways in which the materials of SRC and related agencies can be useful in increasing the outreach and effectiveness of the state program.

A. To disseminate through the press and other public media information that will stimulate constructive action.

B. To promote understanding of the services and methods of the organization itself.

C. To assist local people in adapting to their community techniques that have worked elsewhere.

Thus the use of materials should be regarded not as incidental, but as integral to, the program.

IX. Does the program create a basis for self support?

The broad objective of SRC's work with affiliated state groups is the formation, within a comparatively short time, of effective, independent, self-

supporting human relations services in each Southern state. The period of subsidy is short. If the goal is to be achieved, the state organization must not only raise the required supplementing funds for today, but quickly establish itself as an indispensible service to forward-looking individuals and agencies throughout the state. And this can only be accomplished by good programming that gets results. In this sense fund-raising cannot be viewed as a thing apart from program; they must be planned together.

GSM/as/rnf
12/14/54

Sent to:

Dr. Bertis Capehart
Dr. James A. Celston
Mr. Herman Daves
Mr. Haskell Miller
Mr. Stanton E. Smith
Mr. Alfred Galloway
Mr. W.D. Hawkins
Mr. Matthew Lynch
Mr. Dan May
Dr. Joseph J. Ray
Mr. Walter Sharp
Rev. Kelly Miller Smith
Mrs. Molly Todd
Mrs. Alberta Boartfield
Mr. Lucius E. Burch, Jr.
Mr. Earl A. Crowder
Rev. J.A. McDaniel
Mrs. Ann H. Rickey
Mr. F. Woods Beckman
Dr. Elsie M. Lewis

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 3, 1955

TO: Members of the Executive Board of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations
FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, SRC Assistant Director for Program

At the request of the Secretary of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, we enclose a memorandum on program development for state organizations affiliated with SRC. We hope this will be useful as you consider possibilities for program development in Tennessee.

Under separate cover we are sending copies of the following SRC publications:

Answers for Action -- Schools in the South
New South -- August 1954 -- The Churches Speak
" " -- September 1954 -- Segregation in the Schools
" " -- October 1954 -- The Supreme Court Decision and the Appalachian South
" " -- November 1954 -- Integration in the Armed Services

It is our thought that these materials will help to interpret the interests of the Southern Regional Council to people with whom you talk about the Tennessee Council (as you know, New South will be sent to all who become members of the Tennessee Council).

We look forward to working with you in the months ahead as you consider processes needed to develop communication across racial lines in regard to specific questions of concern to the people of Tennessee.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton

GTH/rnf

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 5, 1955

Ga -
Tex -
S.C.

TO: State Chairmen

FROM: Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director for State Organizations

You will recall that in Article VI of the suggested by-laws sent to state organizations by the Central Office, it was provided that each of the state organizations should have two ex-officio members on the Board of SRC. The purpose of this provision is to insure bi-racial representation from the states. One of the ex-officio members is to be the state chairman and the other is to be elected along with the officers of the state organization. Where the state chairman is Negro the "elected representative" will be white and vice versa.

We would suggest that this matter might well be spelled out in the by-laws under the article on Officers or Executive Board in this fashion:

> "To insure bi-racial representation the Chairman and one other member of the Executive Board, elected by the Board, shall be ex-officio members of the Southern Regional Council, Inc."

This should be done as soon as possible, and the Central Office should be advised of the names of these two people, as well as other officers and Board members elected.

discussed w
Fred Routh
Jan 7(?)
STH. Jan 6?
GSM.

GSM -
This went out in
compliance with your
memo to me 7 29 Dec 54
FBR.

Sent to:

Alabama:	Rev. Dan Whitsett, Chrmn. Mr. J.T. Brooks, V-Chrmn. Rev. Robert E. Hughes, Ex.Sec.
Arkansas:	Mr. Fred Darragh, Chrmn. Rev. Chas. Walker, V-Chrmn.
Florida:	Mr. Davisson Dunlap, Chrmn.
Georgia:	Rev. G.E. Clary, Chrmn. Dr. B.R. Brazeal, V-Chrmn. Dr. Guy H. Wells, Ex.Sec.
Kentucky:	Dr. Hugh A. Brimm, Chrmn. Dr. Irwin T. Sanders Dr. C.H. Parrish, Consultant
Louisiana:	Rev. Albert D'Orlando, Chrmn. Mrs. Numa J. Rousseve, V-Chrmn. Mr. Milton Conrad Vigo, Ex.Sec.
Mississippi:	Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Chrmn. Dr. J.L. Reddix Mrs. M.S. Lyells, Co-Ex.Sec. Rev. N.A. Dickson, Co-Ex.Sec.
North Carolina:	Rev. Leon Russell, Chrmn. Mr. John H. Wheeler Rev. Harry S. Jones, Ex.Sec.
South Carolina:	Mr. Richard J. Foster, Chrmn. Mr. A.J. Clement, V-Chrmn. Mrs. E.H. Spearman, Ex.Sec.
Tennessee:	Mr. F.Woods Beckman, Chrmn. Miss Elsie M. Lewis, Sec.
Texas:	Mrs. James S. Crate, Chrmn. Mrs. Eugene Jud, Treas. Mr. Thomas S. Sutherland, Ex.Sec.

To: Fred Routh

Will you make it your business in the next several weeks to employ each useful opportunity to gather from the states which have not as yet elected their members of the Board of SRC, their elections.

Unless we seize the precious occasion of annual meetings, we are apt to lose on this for a year.

I would like to be able to say by next Spring sometime that with hardly an exception each state has its two members on our Board

cc: HCF
GTH
KS

December 29, 1954

January 10, 1955

MEMORANDUM

From: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of SRC.

To: All Virginia Members of SRC.

Letter asks you to approve a seven-man Nominating Committee.

Nominating Committee will pick thirty people to be a Virginia Council on Human Relations.

If you approve, please fill in postcard and mail it.

Main facts herewith.

Gladly send any further info wished.

Encl.
GSM/eab

I DO_____DO NOT_____APPROVE

THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE AND THE IDEA OF

A VIRGINIA COUNCIL

_____ _____
Date Name

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Ja[redacted]ary 10, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Dear Virginia Member:

We hope to set on foot a Virginia Council on Human Relations.

If you will recall, the Southern Regional Council has never asked its faithful Virginia members to set themselves up as an agency within Virginia, because we did not want to compete with the work of the appropriate Department (in the field of race relations) of the Virginia Council of Churches. But now that we have new resources from the Fund for the Republic to enable the Southern Regional Council to get a professionally staffed race relations agency going in each of a dozen Southern states, we want to launch in Virginia an SRC-type agency which can be fully inclusive.

We have the verbal assurance of the appropriate people in the Virginia Council of Churches that this move will have their enthusiastic assistance. It is proposed to pick about thirty Virginians to be a Virginia Council on Human Relations. Mostly they should be people active in particular organizations or interest-groups, though not necessarily officials of such agencies or groups. The thirty-odd persons would be the only voting members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. But others interested in the program would be asked to join in its support, and that, incidentally, would make them subscribers to New South.

Problem is, how to pick the members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. The proposed device is to ask you, the faithful SRC members in the state, to approve the selection of a Nominating Committee, and the Nominating Committee would pick the members of the Virginia Council.

Here is the proposed Nominating Committee: The Reverend W. Carroll Brooke, Staunton, Chairman; Paul Williams, Richmond; Rupert Picott, Richmond; Harry Roberts, Virginia State College; Mrs. Arnold Strauss, Norfolk; J. M. Ellison, Richmond; and Wilson Brown, Richmond.

The Nominating Committee would be willing to meet on February 1. It ought to be possible to convene later that month those invited to be on the Virginia Council.

If you approve the Nominating Committee, please send in the enclosed postcard. If you want to make suggestions on who should serve on the Nominating Committee, or suggest persons suitable to be members of the Virginia Council on Human Relations, please write.

I assume that the let-us-hope-will-be-organized Virginia Council on Human Relations will continue to write you from time to time and ask you to keep up your link with this movement in the state. But the Southern Regional Council itself, presumably, will not write you further. Meanwhile, as the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, and on the Council's behalf, I thank you earnestly for your years of devotion and help to the things the Council stands for.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE,

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 10, 1955

MEMORANDUM #11

TO: EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL

SUBJECT: TAX-EXEMPTION FOR STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Obviously this will have some technical legal matters complicating it. We request that this office be consulted in advance when you make your plans to apply for exempt status.

AIRMAIL

February 4, 1955
URGENT

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF FBR TO:

THOMAS SUTHERLAND
ROBERT HUGHES
FRED DARRAGH
DAVISSON DUNLAP
GUY WELLS
MRS. LYELLS
HARRY JONES
ALICE SPEARMAN

The executive Committee of SRC is going to meet on February 17th, and we wish to review with them the status of our state organizations. We have most of the information we need.

We need the following information from you:

1. List of your officers (their addresses)
2. List of your Executive Committee (their addresses)
3. List of your Board of Directors; please indicate committee memberships if any (their addresses)

Enclosed is a stamped self-addressed envelope for your convenience. Please reply as quickly as possible.

Warmly,

Encl: Airmail stamped self-addressed envelope

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

February 22, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Years ago, in the period of World War II, an outfit called the American Council on Race Relations helped bring into being in Northern and Western states and cities, private or public bodies to deal with problems of race relations. In the course of time, the ACRR went down the drain. But before it died, it called into being the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials. NAIRO is now eight or nine years old. It started with a handful of members and now goes nearly up to 400. Annual convention. Board of Directors, on which I have served and on which Fred Routh is now Southern Representative. Herman Long at Fisk is the President of NAIRO. It puts out a monthly bulletin called the NAIRO Reporter. A good many of the people in it struggle toward making it an honest-to-goodness professional body, setting standards of who can be an intergrouper and who may not. My ambitions for it are less high; I think it does a useful job of hooking us all together and letting us know what others are doing.

It costs $10.00 a year to belong to it. It has almost no other source of income, so it has to charge $10.00. Membership covers receiving the NAIRO Reporter, and various other items.

Upon inquiry at the last annual meeting, I found that in quite a large number of instances persons professionally employed by intergroup agencies joined and continued their annual dues payments in NAIRO at the expense of their agency.

We see nothing wrong with this course for your group.

I do urge you to join NAIRO. You are now in this new field; it is the recognized Association of people who try to learn how to do this new thing; and we ought to be in it.

You join it by sending $10.00 and your name and address and the name of your agency to John G. Feild, NAIRO Secretary-Treasurer, Board of Community Relations, 565 North Erie Street, Toledo, Ohio.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Sent to:

SRC Executive Committee

State Secretaries

Consultants

Executive Boards of Kentucky
Florida
South Carolina
Arkansas
Alabama
Mississippi
Texas
North Carolina
Louisiana
Tennessee
Georgia

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Staff and Board Members of State Organizations

FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Assistant Director for Program

We believe that you will be interested in knowing about some of the ways in which state organizations are using SRC publications to further their programs:

TENNESSEE: The Tennessee Council on Human Relations sent Answers for Action to all school superintendents and chairmen of school boards in their state. This was accompanied by a letter introducing the TCHR as an affiliate of the SRC, organized to help improve human relations in Tennessee and specifically interested in enlisting public support to carry out the Supreme Court decision.

KENTUCKY: The Kentucky Council on Human Relations is developing a list of key people in the state to whom New South will be sent for a year. The Board members of the KCHR and their consultants and staff are cooperatively building this list. Copies of Changing Patterns have been sent "complements of the Kentucky Council on Human Relations" to some of these people.

The announcement of Changing Patterns (enclosed) is being sent to public libraries in cities of 20,000 population and to college libraries throughout the region. We are sure that you will encourage its use by college and community groups.

We count upon your increased efforts to enlarge the audience of New South. We will be happy to hear from you as to whether our estimate of 300 new readers from each state is too high or too low. We urge you to consider the following groups in your state as prospective readers -- newspaper editors, ministers, church women groups, school board members, teachers and members of other professional organizations, the professional and lay leadership of social welfare agencies.

3/1/55
rnf

15 copies

Mailed March 2, 1955

SRC Consultant -- Dr. C.H. Parrish

State Executive Secretaries -- T. Sutherland
Mrs. Spearman
H.S. Jones
Mrs. Lyells
M.C. Vigo
Mrs. Stanley
Mrs. Dagen
G.H. Wells
R.E. Hughes

Kentucky Consultants -- J.A. Carroll
Dr. Coleman
Dr. Kesselman
H.C. Mathis
M. Maupin
C.V. Snapp
Dr. Sutton
Dr. Venable
W.M. Wood
Dr. Wilson

Enclosures:

"Build Democracy in the Classroom" - CIO
"St. Louis Integrates its Schools" - League of Women Voters
"Program Service" - ADL

Also mailed to all state chairmen

Southern Re[illegible]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[illegible]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM: Mrs. G.T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

We believe that you will be interested in several recent publications and materials from other organizations which are concerned with implementation of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. You may know of individuals or groups that you would like to have use some of these for discussion purposes.

*1. "Build Democracy in the Classroom" -- the brief for the Congress of Industrial Organizations as amicus curiae in the Supreme Court of the United States.

Defines the interest of the CIO -- dedicated to the protection of our own democratic system of government and hence the civil rights of all Americans, "therefore supports the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination from every phase of American life."

Reports the experience of unions and employers as to how best to put into effect the non-segregation and non-discrimination policies of national organizations in localities where segregation and discrimination have theretofore prevailed.

Concludes on the basis of experience that the best way to effectuate a policy against racial discrimination and segregation is to announce it firmly and carry it out unequivocally. Therefore, supports the argument that non-segregation could be effectuated with less disturbance by a forthwith decree than by gradual adjustment.

2. "How to Influence Public Policy" -- a short manual on social action by Elizabeth Wickenden, American Association of Social Workers, One Park Avenue, New York 16, New York, 25¢ per copy.

A realistic guide for groups and individuals interested in

* Copy enclosed.

undertaking a program of social action in the area of public social policy.

3. "It Can Be Done!" -- Desegregation, A Progress Report -- available from the NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

   Includes a current report on desegregation progress from West Virginia to Arizona, Washington, D.C. to California, and the Delaware story.

   Defines the job ahead "to bring about desegregation requires planning and action involving officials and local leaders of both races in the community.

   Lists six basic considerations upon which success depends.

4. "Aids For Council Leadership -- Implementing the Supreme Court Decision on School Segregation." -- January 1955, from the National Council of Jewish Women, One West 47th Street, New York 36, New York.

   Outlines recent developments and activities carried on by the Council in areas effected by the decision.

   Lists the factors favorable to integration including organizations which support desegregation.

   Includes references for current information and the background for the decision.

GTH/rnf
2/22/55

Marked "For Your Information" and mailed to

SRC Board
State Staff
Consultants
State Chairman and Vice-Chairman

3/4/55
rnf

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FOR RELEASE 6:00 P.M., SUNDAY, MARCH 6

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Nine months have passed since the Supreme Court held segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. Although the Court has not yet handed down its implementation decrees, school segregation is already disappearing in four of the 17 states chiefly affected, as well as in the District of Columbia and in states where segregation has been permissive. How quickly and harmoniously the remaining states bring their practices into accord with the law of the land will depend on the quality of leadership, public and private, displayed by the South in the months ahead.

We believe that this is a time for Southerners to take stock, to look realistically at the challenge confronting the region and at our resources for meeting it wisely and well. As one effort in this direction, we here summarize our collective view of the impact to date of the Supreme Court's decision.

* * *

School desegregation is proceeding successfully in some 80 out of 129 border-state counties where separate schools were formerly required by law. The significance of this fact -- indeed, the fact itself -- has been obscured by the widespread publicity given disturbances in a few localities. It is less sensational, but far more important, that this many counties have adjusted successfully in so

short a time to the principle of the school decision. Their experience currently demonstrates to the world that American democracy has the vigor and capacity to solve its thorny racial problems. The entire country owes a heavy debt of gratitude to the hundreds of private citizens and public officials whose allegiance to the law of the land made this progress possible.

Although these communities are in border states, they are nonetheless places where segregation has been embedded in law and custom for generations. What can be done in Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, and West Virginia can be and ultimately will be done in those states where political stratagems now deny Southerners of good will the opportunity to work similarly toward compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

* * *

In the upper South and the Southwest, several states are preparing soundly for early compliance. But others pursue a policy of "wait and see" that might better be described as "look the other way." Planning and even consideration of the desegregation process is discouraged on the ground that no action is now required and none may be required for a long time. Such an attitude promotes paralysis of public thought, and thereby forfeits a valuable opportunity for advance discussion and planning to insure smooth transition to integrated schools.

The Court has said unequivocally that legal segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. Its implementation decrees will hardly fail to make this ruling effective. Nor is it reasonable to expect the Court to allow an indefinite period of delay. This interim period is precisely the time for joint fact-finding and planning by all elements of the community.

* * *

In four of the deep South states -- South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana -- the official leadership is busily creating dangerous illusions and

enacting defiant measures. Some political leaders in these states are assuring the people that the schools will remain segregated indefinitely, if not forever, even though public education may be abolished in the process. These threats and the legal stratagems devised to carry them out are better adapted to hoodwink the people than to preserve segregation.

Most of these measures impose heavy penalties on any local authorities or school systems that choose voluntarily to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. Ironically, the proponents of these measures are the same spokesmen who repeat over and over that most Negroes and virtually all white persons will defend segregation at any cost. Obviously they do not believe their own words.

Moreover, leading Southern authorities on constitutional law who have examined these circumventing measures have agreed that they are dodges and will not stand in court.

There are truths that need saying in the deep South. There is a wide range of information that should be made known through every medium. Views of every kind need to be freely and fully aired. Instead, there is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation. Consequently it is imperative that responsible Southerners confirm the fact that vast numbers of us will not defy the United States Constitution, the teachings of our religion, and the prevailing opinions of the free world.

Despite all the bluster of the demagogues, most Southerners recognize that segregation is on the way out. Not all of them are happy about it, but they see it as an evident reality. Few would actually be willing to jettison their public schools and throw their educational systems into a dark age of confusion and chaos.

Those who advocate such a course do irreparable harm to the progress of the South and to the cause of freedom throughout the world. But fortunately they

will not have the last word. In the end, the people of the region will reject those who would lead them down the blind alley of rebellion. There are thousands of Southerners, white and Negro, for whom the demagogues do not speak, and whose voices have been little heard above the din of controversy. Ultimately these responsible Southern voices will repudiate fraudulent leadership on the school segregation issue. Speaking together, they can give the region a new confidence in its capacity for democratic growth.

* * *

We in the Southern Regional Council reaffirm our belief that the vast majority of Southerners accept what is now the law of the land, want to have done with bitterness and obstruction, and are willing to meet on equal terms with their fellow citizens and find the best ways to move ahead. The Council strongly recommends local planning by citizens of the two races as the soundest means of preparing for compliance with the Supreme Court decision.

3/1/55
rnf

Released to: with statement

New York Times
Associated Press
United Press
International News Service
Associated Negro Press
NCWC News Service

Atlanta Constitution & Journal
Atlanta Daily World

Norfolk Journal and Guide
Houston Informer
Birmingham World
Pittsburgh Courier (Fowlkes)

Bicknell Eubanks (Chr. Sc. Monitor)
Henry Lesesne (Monitor & Herald-Tribune)
Henry Lee Moon (NAACP -- Info.)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

FOR RELEASE 6:00 P.M., SUNDAY, MARCH 6

The executive committee of the Southern Regional Council today urged "joint fact-finding and planning by all elements of the community" to prepare for compliance with the Supreme Court's school segregation decision.

The group made its recommendation in a statement reviewing Southern reactions to the court's ruling to date.

The Southern Regional Council is an interracial organization made up of civic and religious leaders in 13 Southern states. Its stated aim is the attainment of "equal opportunity for all the South's people."

The committee criticized official leadership in the deep South for "a concerted attempt to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation."

The committee declared, "There are thousands of Southerners, white and Negro, for whom the demagogues do not speak, and whose voices have been little heard above the din of controversy. Ultimately these responsible Southern voices will repudiate fraudulent leadership on the school issue."

It noted that measures recently enacted in the deep South "impose heavy penalties on any local authorities or school systems that choose voluntarily to comply with the Supreme Court ruling."

"Moreover," it added, "Southern authorities on constitutional law who have examined these measures have agreed that they are dodges and will not stand in court."

Successful school desegregation in 80 out of 129 border-state counties affected, the committee said, demonstrates to the world that American democracy has the vigor and capacity to solve its thorny racial problems.

(more)

"The entire country," the statement continued, "owes a heavy debt of gratitude to the hundreds of private citizens and public officials whose allegiance to the law of the land made this progress possible."

The committee said that several states in the upper South and Southwest were preparing soundly for early compliance. But it deplored what it called a policy of "look the other way" in other states in those areas.

"Such an attitude," the statement declared, "promotes paralysis of public thought, and thereby forfeits a valuable opportunity for advance discussion and planning to insure smooth transition to integrated schools."

The committee called on "responsible Southerners" to "confirm the fact that vast numbers of us will not defy the United States Constitution, the teachings of our religion, and the prevailing opinions of the free world."

The executive committee members signing the statement were Marion A. Wright, Council president, Linville Falls, N.C.; Morris Abram, lawyer, Atlanta; Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie, lawyer, Atlanta; Paul Christopher, labor official, Knoxville, Tenn.; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president, Atlanta University; John A. Griffin, educator, Atlanta.

Also Rev. Harry V. Richardson, president, Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta; Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, Dean of the Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.; Miss Josephine Wilkins, civic leader, Atlanta; Dr. Albert W. Dent, president, Dillard University, New Orleans, La.; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor emeritus, Virginia Union University; Carter Wesley, newspaper publisher, Houston, Tex.; Leonard Haas, lawyer, Atlanta; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Council executive director, Atlanta.

Mailed to:

SRC Executive Committee

State Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen

State Professional Staff

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY

MEMORANDUM

To: Executives of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

From: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Assistant for Program

We enclose for your information a release from the President's Committee on Government Contracts which defines the responsibility of the Committee. You may receive upon request the monthly NEWSLETTER which reports activities of the Committee. The March issue of the NEWSLETTER reports that

(1) Executive Order 10557 specified that the non-discrimination clause must be included in all Federal contracts.

(2) On January 13, 1955 the Committee issued an exemption authorizing agencies to omit the requirement that the non-discrimination notice be posted from contracts where the amounts involved were less than $5,000.00.

(3) At its January meeting the Committee denied a request from the Department of the Interior to exempt a contract which the Bureau of Indian Affairs wished to make with the State of Mississippi from the requirement to include the non-discrimination clause. The Department stated that Mississippi had refused to sign a contract containing the non-discrimination clause. The exemption was denied on the grounds that it would not be in the national interest to do so.

(4) There is no central list of government contracts available. However, the Department of Commerce issues a bulletin, "Synopsis of U.S. Government Proposed Procurement, Sales and Contract Awards." All instances of discrimination in employment may be brought to the attention of the President's Committee on Government Contracts. The Committee will determine whether or not the industry cited in the complaint has a contract with the Federal Government.

The following questions might be considered by groups which have an interest in halting the waste resulting from discriminatory employment practices.

1. Who has contracts in a given community? A survey could be made to determine the location of defense plants and industries with government contracts.

2. Is the directive being followed in the industries with contracts?

   Is the required notice of non-discrimination in employment prominently posted?

3. What is the extent of public knowledge of the Committee's responsibility?

4. What other agencies and organizations are interested in this matter?

   What are the possibilities for cooperating with Urban Leagues of American Friends Service Committee Job Opportunities Projects, other organized groups?

You may receive further copies of "Equal Job Opportunity is Good Business" and the other materials enclosed bearing on economic opportunities from the Southern Regional Council.

rnf
4/4/55

enclosures:
Equal Job Opportunity is Good Business
Business Week Reprint (12/18/54) - Negro Income
New South - Oct.-Nov. 1953

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
March 2, 1955

Racial Integration Cited in South's Social Trends

By Bicknell Eubanks
Staff Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Dallas

Economic change in the South has been a dominant theme of the region in the past decade. What was once called the nation's number one economic problem has become now a major force in the continued boom in the United States.

Parallel with these material improvements which are changing the face of the South are sociological and political shifts which are altering the thinking of southerners and mark a continuing transition from passive to active efforts to attain a broader base of democracy. Dominant in this politico-sociological shift has been a change in the pattern of racial relations which, according to the biracial Southern Regional Council, has been developing with "phenomenal rapidity."

Postwar Tension Fades

"Nine years ago," the council recalls, "Negroes were for the first time casting their ballots in the erstwhile white primaries; there were no elected Negro officeholders in the South; the Ku Klux Klan showed formidable signs of reviving; lynching appeared to be on the increase amid postwar tensions; the armed forces were still segregated; white and Negro passengers were rigidly separated on interstate railway coaches and dining cars; no Negro students attended any southern state university, and inequalities in the dual school system were just beginning to be seriously challenged."

In a small, potent volume just published by the council from its Atlanta headquarters, the SRC dramatically details the "profound changes in these and other areas of public life" during the past 10 years. The council has reprinted selected articles from its monthly publication, New South, in which it has portrayed since January, 1946, the vivid as well as the often little-noticed shifts in public opinion which are developing a solid base of interracial understanding south of the Mason and Dixon's line.

"The 42 selections included afford an over-all view of the main trends of the last decade," the SRC emphasizes. It insists that the basic theme which emerges is inescapable: "That the South is moving—not always smoothly, but with seeming inevitability—toward an increasingly integrated society. The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, against segregation in the public schools was simply the most far-reaching in a long chain of developments."

The council has designed this collection from its monthly bulletin to "show clearly that many of the gains in principle and in public policy have yet to be achieved in everyday practice. The attainment of a broader democracy is now particularly the task of local officials, the churches, civic and labor groups, civic clubs—in short of all individuals and citizen groups active in community life."

The collection of articles, entitled "Changing Patterns in the New South," is designed, according to the SRC, to help "in this ongoing effort."

"It was inspired by two considerations," the nonpartisan, interracial group emphasizes. "First, there were the interest and recognition that have been accorded New South in its nine years of publication by those who have wanted responsible facts and interpretation of the southern scene. Secondly, there was the evident need for a single publication of this kind as an aid to both study and action."

The collection of articles has been printed under several general topics, such as "The Ballot," "Law and Order," "A Voice in Policy," "Work and Color," "The Press," "The Right to Read," "Interstate Travel," "The Armed Forces," "Higher Education," and "The Public Schools."

It includes such dramatic and important documents as the historic Durham Statement by Negro southerners, which was issued originally in 1942 and reprinted in 1952, the SRC's own stirring call in November, 1952, for a "shift from paternalism to democracy," an editorial from the Atlanta Constitution, called "A South of Union and Freedom," in which Ralph McGill one of the nation's outstanding editors and winner of the 1953 Southwest Journalism Forum Award, expresses his "thoughts on Negro officeholders," the Hot Springs Statement of November, 1954, in which a group of Negro educators from southern states analyze the Supreme Court decision on school segregation and term it "another milestone in the nation's quest for a democratic way of life and in the Negro's long struggle to become a first-class citizen."

The council, while not hiding the debits, emphasizes the credits in the South's steady march toward solving a problem which all groups, while differing on methods of solution, agree is serious and must be worked out.

Check on Violence Cited

The theme of the SRC's program might be taken from an editorial of the Asheville, N.C., Citizen marking a report issued by Tuskegee Institute in January, 1953, that for the first time in its 70 years of keeping records of lynching a whole year, 1952, had passed without such an outbreak of lawless violence.

"Education, respect for the law, and most of all an awareness of the rights of the human person under the law—these things have prevailed," the Citizen noted. "The record of a year is a record to be viewed at length with pride just as in the unhappy past it was viewed at length with sorrow and humiliation.

"The South can lift up its head."

Chattanooga Daily Times

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1955.

BODY WOULD DEFY SEGREGATIONISTS

Southern Regional Council Says Many in South Are Ready for Integration

By JOHN N. POPHAM
New York Times News Service.

ATLANTA, March 6—A group of race relations experts urged today that "responsible Southern voices repudiate fraudulent leadership on the school segregation issue."

Fourteen executive committee members of the Southern Regional Council declared that "there are thousands of Southerners, white and Negro, for whom the demagogues do not speak and whose voices have been little heard above the din of controversy."

"In the Deep South," they charged, "there is presently a concerted attempt by official leadership to stamp out independent thought and stifle all dissent with respect to school segregation.

"Consequently, it is imperative that responsible Southerners confirm the fact that vast numbers of us will not defy the United States Constitution, the teachings of our religion and the prevailing opinions of the free world."

First Assessment

The council, widely regarded as the South's most effective interracial organization, made its first assessment of area attitudes since the Supreme Court ruled last May 17 agains public school segregation statutes.

Successful school desegregation in 80 border state counties, including three major metropolitan areas, the committee members emphasized, currently demonstrates to the world that American democracy has the vigor and capacity to solve its thorny racial problems.

The entire country, the committee continued, owes "a heavy debt of gratitude to the many private citizens and public officials whose allegiance to the law of the land made this progress possible."

At the same time, the committee chided those Southern political leaders whose stratagems deny "Southerners of good will the opportunity to work similarly toward compliance with the Supreme Court decision."

No Blind Alley

The committee warned, however, that "the people of the region will reject those who would lead them down the blind alley of rebellion."

Illustrative of the stratagems designed to "hoodwink" the public, the committee members declared, are measures recently enacted in Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

"Most of these measures," the committee noted, "impose heavy penalties on any local authorities or school systems that might choose voluntarily to comply with the Supreme Court ruling.

"Ironically, the proponents of these measures are the same spokesmen who repeat over and over that most Negroes and virtually all white persons will defend segregation at any cost. Obviously, they don't believe their own words."

"Moreover, leading Southern authorities on constitutional law who have examined these circumventing statutes have agreed that they are dodges and will not stand in court."

In other parts of the South, the committee members added, there are some officials who pursue the policy of "wait and see" that might better be described as "look the other way."

For Local Planning

"Such an attitude," they continued, "promotes paralysis of public thought and thereby forfeits a valuable opportunity for advance discussion and planning to insure a smooth transition to integrated schools."

In summary, the committee members emphasized that intensive study of the South's racial problems has led the council to "strongly recommend local planning by citizens of the two races as the soundest means of preparing for compliance with the Supreme Court decision."

Those signing the statement were Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N.C., president of the council; Dr. George S. Mitchell, Atlanta, executive director of the council; Morris Abram, lawyer, Atlanta; Mrs. Cassandra M. Birnie, lawyer, Atlanta; Paul Christopher, labor union official, Knoxville, and Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atanta University.

Also, John A. Griffin, educator, Atlanta; the Rev. Harry V. Richardson, president of Gammon Theological Seminary, Atlanta; the very Rev. Maurice V. Shean, dean of the Catholic Oratory, Rock Hill, S.C.; Miss Josephine Wilkins, civic leader, Atlanta; Dr. Albert W. Dent, president of Dillard University, New Orleans; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, professor emeritus, Virginia Union University; Carter Wesley, newspaper publisher, Houston, Tex., and Leonard Haas, lawyer, Atlanta.

May 2, 1955

TO: Robert E. Hughes

Am sending you the enclosed proposed statute for the permanent files of your state organization.

While it may be some time before such legislation is probable in the Southern states, and while our organization may not engage in the advocacy of legislation, it is important to have a working knowledge of what such legislation might include.

FBR

Enclosure:

CLSA Reports - Commission on Law and Social Action of the American Jewish Congress

Sent to:

Alabama: Hughes
Arkansas: Griswold
Florida: Finner
Georgia: Wells
Kentucky: Dagen
Louisiana: Vigo
Mississippi: Lyells
North Carolina: Jones
South Carolina: Spearman
Tennessee: Beckman
Texas: Sutherland
Virginia: Smith

Mailed 5/15/55 to:

State Staff
State Chairmen
Kentucky Consultants
Executive Committee

Also: Dr. W.H. Brown
Dr. A. Rose
Dr. J. Pierce
Miss Mgr McCulloch
Dr. R.O. Johnson

Southern Re[illegible]C.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN[illegible]A

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

TO: Professional Staff of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC and Kentucky Consultants.

FROM: Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

We believe that you will find the enclosed "St. Louis Story" interesting and helpful. It is an account of how sound adiminstrative procedures, reinforced by the supporting action of community organizations, have made progress toward integration of the St. Louis public schools possible. Other copies of this record may be secured from the St. Louis Board of Education at 20¢ per copy.

rnf
5/12/55

Southern Re[illegible]C.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN[illegible]
GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 16, 1955

TO: All State Professional Staff

FROM: Frederick B. Routh
Assistant for State Organization

RE: Semi-annual State Professional Staff Meeting

The semi-annual state professional staff meeting will be held at Camp New Hope, located six miles north of Chapel Hill and ten miles southwest of Durham, N.C., from before supper Wednesday, June 1st till after lunch Friday, June 3rd.

The state Executive Director and the Associate Director (or chief consultant in states using this method) are expected to attend. Travel funds from state budgets may be used for this purpose. No funds are available from the Central Office for state staff for this travel expense.

Professional staff should, with consultation with state executive committees or officers, complete in writing and bring with them for presentation and discussion answers to the following questions:

1. What is the purpose of the organization for which you work? (Define in own terms.)

2. How is this purpose manifested in your work in the state?

3. In terms of this purpose what are the functions as you see them of:

   (a) the Board of Directors,
   (b) the Executive and/or Program Planning Committee,
   (c) the professional staff?

Enclosed for your consideration in answering these questions is the Criteria for Evaluation of State Programs and the SRC Statement of Purpose.

Tentative schedule for meeting:

Wednesday - June 1

Afternoon -- Arrival and registration.

6:00 p.m. -- Supper.

7:30-9:30 p.m. -- General session with answers to above questions given orally by state staff people.

Thursday - June 2

8:00 a.m. -- Breakfast.

9:00 a.m. -- Mitchell, Parrish and Routh will serve as a panel to give "critique" on reports presented previous evening.

11:00 a.m. -- Mrs. Tilly on work with church women.

12:00 a.m. -- Luncheon.

2:00 p.m. -- Meeting with W.W. Alexander.

6:00 p.m. -- Supper at camp.

Evening -- Free for informal exchange of information, etc.

Friday - June 3

8:00 a.m. -- Breakfast.

9:00 a.m. -- Harold Fleming and John Constable. Practicum on information and public relations, questions and answers.

11:00 a.m. -- Katherine Stoney on financial reporting, budgetary matters, etc., questions and answers.

12:00 a.m. -- Luncheon.

End of Conference.

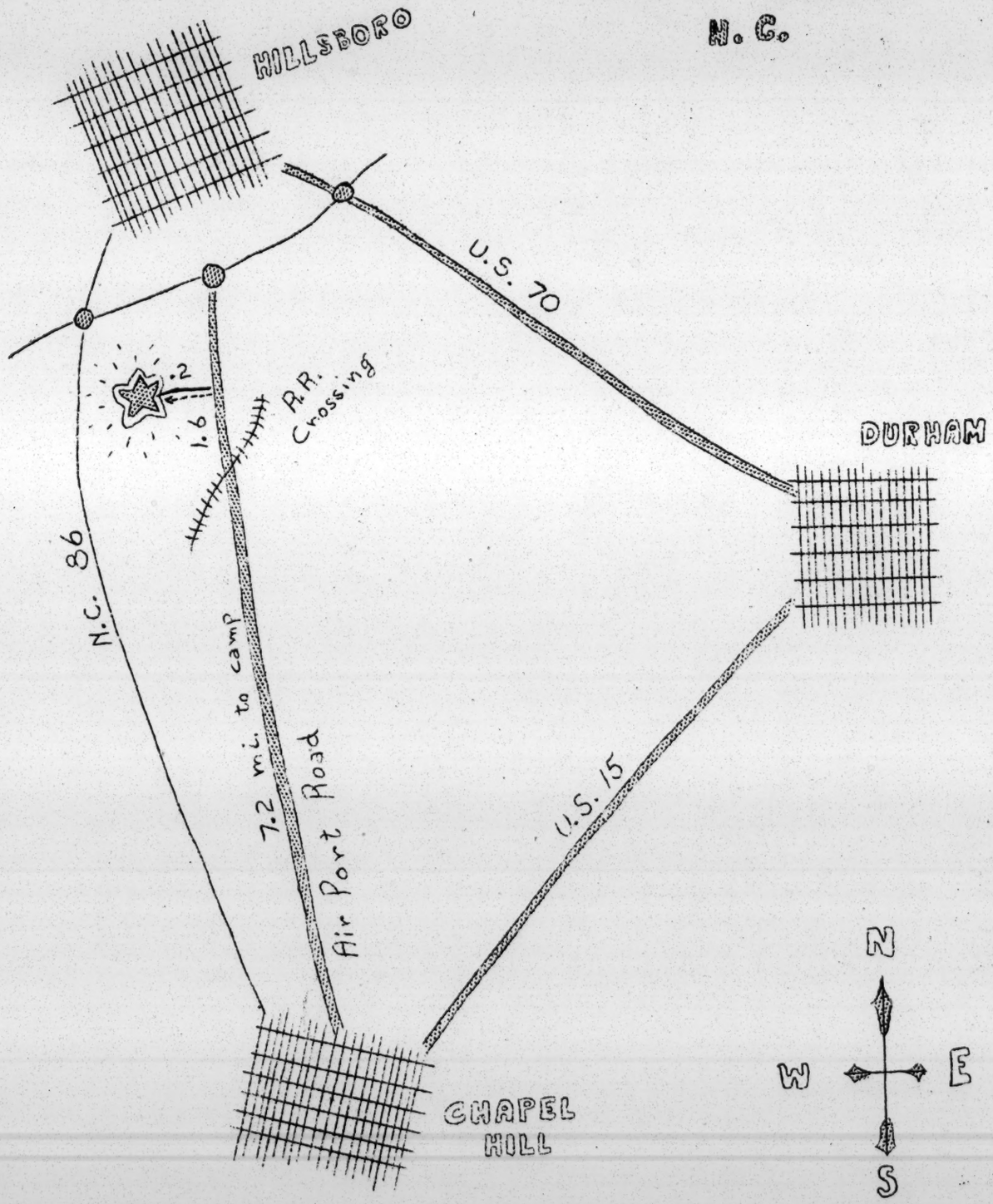
Remember it's a country camp. Dress is casual. Weather is mild, 65'-85'. Bedding, towels, etc., will be provided by camp at small cost. Swimming and fishing is possible.

Let me know by May 25 if you need transportation from air port or train station in to camp. We'll meet you and carry you out. Same when you leave.

rnf

CAMP NEW HOPE

N. C.



● - Signs
"Camp New Hope"

rnf

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FILE COPY

FROM: Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

The attached is a survey of Southern states' activities with regard to the White House Conference on Education. Your Executive and/or Program Planning Committee may be considering ways in which this Conference -- and preparatory work in your state -- can further the interests of full educational opportunity. The Executive Committee of your state may wish to consider the following questions:

Is the state committee representative of all the state's population?

Are the interests of all parts of the population being considered in the planning of state conferences?

What groups are involved in preparing information for use in the state's conference? For use by the White House conference?

* * * * * * * * * * *

rnf
5/18/55

A SUMMARY OF STATE CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES
as of May 1, 1955

White House Conference on Education

All of the fifty-three States and Territories urged to hold State conferences in preparation for the White House Conference have notified the White House Conference Committee of some official action taken.

Florida, Texas and Virginia have indicated they will use State funds to finance their conferences.

The following Southern States have scheduled conferences:

Kentucky	September 21-22	Louisville
Tennessee	September 13-14	Nashville

A STATUS REPORT OF STATE CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

Committee for the
White House Conference on Education

State	Chairman Designated
Alabama*	Hon. Austin R. Meadows Superintendent of Education State Department of Education Montgomery 4 On April 26 approximately 550 people representing various statewide organizations met to discuss educational problems in Alabama and to determine how the White House Conference program can tie into the work they are to do. A meeting of the 28-member Planning Committee will be held on May 11 at Montgomery to make plans for the State and community conferences.
Arkansas*	Hon. A.W. Ford Commissioner of Education State Department of Education Little Rock A pre-planning group of 12 people met on April 6 at Little Rock and formed a 21-member Steering Committee, which includes the members of the pre-planning group. Mr. Lee Roy Beasley, former State comptroller, has been designated as chairman of

* States which have applied for funds.

the Steering Committee. He will select 19 more persons to serve on the Committee, making a total of 40 members. Dr. A.R. Ford, State Commissioner of Education, is the conference chairman. Subcommittees will conduct studies of each topic suggested by the White House Conference meeting of the Steering Committee on May 6.

Florida

Hon. Thomas D. Bailey
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Public Education
Tallahassee

The biennial session of the Florida Legislature will continue through early July. Until that time, plans for a State conference, to be held in the late summer or early fall, will be postponed. Florida will use State funds to finance its conference.

Georgia

Mr. George P. Whitman, Jr.
Chairman, State Board of Education
State Office Building
Atlanta 3

Mr. George P. Whitman, Jr., chairman of the State Board of Education and of the School Building Authority, has been designated as chairman of the 29-member Planning Committee recently appointed by Governor Griffin.

Kentucky*

Dr. Philip Davidson
President, University of Louisville
Louisville

The Planning Committee will hold its third meeting at Frankfort on May 9 to make further plans for 15 regional conferences to be held prior to the State conference tentatively scheduled for September 21-22 at Louisville.

Louisiana*

Hon. Shelby M. Jackson
Superintendent of Public Education
State Department of Education
Baton Rouge 4

The Planning Committee has been appointed and will begin organization of the State conference, to be held during the week of September 26, after the State Legislature holds its fiscal session in May.

Mississippi*

Hon. J.M. Tubb
Superintendent of Public Education
State Department of Education
Jackson

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* States which have applied for funds.

Miss. (cont'd.) An advisory committee of 12 members appointed a subcommittee to draw up suggested plans and procedures for consideration by a full State advisory committee of 30 members, yet to be appointed. The suggested plan calls for 6 regional conferences, each to be attended by about 125 delegates. Between 300 and 400 persons will be invited to the State conference, most of whom will have been delegates at the regional meetings. The State conference is scheduled for late August or early September.

North Carolina* Hon. Charles F. Carroll
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh

Conference planning will begin after the adjournment of the present session of the State Legislature.

South Carolina* Mr. John H. Martin
Chairman, South Carolina Conference on Education
Hartsville

The six subcommittees, which were appointed to conduct studies of the six problem areas suggested by the White House Conference Committee, will meet two or three times before reporting to the State committee in May. The subcommittees will hold further meetings before making reports to the State Committee at a third meeting in June. From 400-500 persons will be invited to the State conference to be held during late July or early August. Plans for six regional conferences, one for each congressional district, were made at the First meeting of the Committee on March 31.

Tennessee* Dr. A.D. Holt
Vice-President
University of Tennessee
Knoxville

The recently appointed 21-member Planning Committee held its first meeting on April 26. The committee members, who represent statewide organizations, were asked to keep their organizations informed of all conference developments. Dr. Quill E. Cope, Commissioner of Education and vice-chairman of the conference, has been directed to assign research projects for each topic on the agenda to staff members of the Department of Education. The staff will prepare reports for the consideration of the conference, to be held September 13-14 at Nashville.

* States which have applied for funds.

Texas - - - - - - - - - -

Further conference plans will be postponed until after the announcement of the Governor's appointment of a conference chairman and committee. Texas will use State funds to finance its conference.

Virginia

Hon. Dowell J. Howard
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Board of Education
Richmond 16

The conference will be held in August at Richmond. Virginia will use State funds to finance its conference.

rnf
5/19/55

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

May 25, 1955

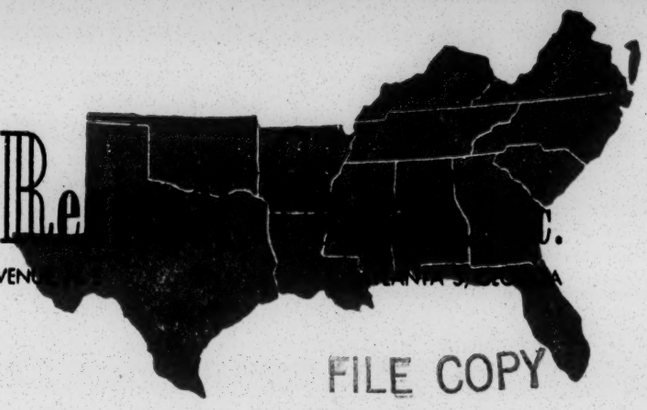
Copy of this letter mailed to:

Mr. Nat Griswold
Fred Darragh
C. C. Walker
Robert Hughes
Duncan Hunter
W. A. Bell
John H. Marion
Carrol Brooke
W. R. Banks
James S. Crate
F. Woods Beckman
E. H. Spearman
Paul Webber
Richard Foster
John Larkins
R. D. Wellons
Harry Jones
Rabbi Mantinband
Mrs. Lyells
Mrs. Rousseve
Milton C. Vigo
Albert D'Orlando
~~[illegible]~~
C. H. Parrish
Margaret Dagen
Hugh Brimm
B. R. Brazeal
G. E. Clary
Guy H. Wells
W. C. Taylor
Paul F. Finner
Walter Thorwald
Haskell Miller

FILE COPY

EAB

Southern Re[illegible]C.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVEN[illegible]
GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



FILE COPY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 25, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: George S. Mitchell, Executive Director SRC

As you know, the Supreme Court is expected to issue its decrees implementing the school decision next Monday, May 30, or the Monday following.

Assuming approval by our Executive Committee, the Southern Regional Council will issue an appropriate statement as soon as possible after the decrees are announced. If the decrees say what they are expected to say, our proposed statement would urge the people of the South and their public officials to move, promptly and in good faith, to comply with the Court's ruling.

It occurs to us that your executive group may wish to issue a similar statement for circulation to the press and to appropriate agencies in your state. The more quickly such a statement follows the decrees the more effective it will be. We may expect the spokesmen for the negative point of view to be as vociferous as usual; all the more reason for constructive voices to be heard.

This is a decision to be made by you and your policy group, of course, but we pass the idea along for consideration, so that, if you think well of it, you may begin laying your plans.

rnf
cc/State
Directors

File

(5-26-55)

Sent to:

State Executives and Associates
State Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen
Consultants
SRC Executive Committee

Also sent to all of above:

Bibliography
Redbook Reprint - TheSchools that Broke the Color Line - Peters
The Right of Every Child - American Friends Service Committee - Wash., D.C.
House and Home Reprint - Open Occupancy Housing

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM

TO: State Organizations Affiliated with SRC

FROM: Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant for Program

The attached is a survey of Southern states' activities with regard to the White House Conference on Education. Your Executive and/or Program Planning Committee may be considering ways in which this Conference -- and preparatory work in your state -- can further the interests of full educational opportunity. The Executive Committee of your state may wish to consider the following questions:

Is the state committee representative of all the state's population?

Are the interests of all parts of the population being considered in the planning of state conferences?

What groups are involved in preparing information for use in the state's conference? For use by the White House conference?

* * * * * * * * * * *

rnf
5/18/55

A SUMMARY OF STATE CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES
as of May 1, 1955

White House Conference on Education

All of the fifty-three States and Territories urged to hold State conferences in preparation for the White House Conference have notified the White House Conference Committee of some official action taken.

Florida, Texas and Virginia have indicated they will use State funds to finance their conferences.

The following Southern States have scheduled conferences:

Kentucky	September 21-22	Louisville
Tennessee	September 13-14	Nashville

A STATUS REPORT OF STATE CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

Committee for the
White House Conference on Education

State	Chairman Designated
Alabama*	Hon. Austin R. Meadows Superintendent of Education State Department of Education Montgomery 4

On April 26 approximately 550 people representing various statewide organizations met to discuss educational problems in Alabama and to determine how the White House Conference program can tie into the work they are to do. A meeting of the 28-member Planning Committee will be held on May 11 at Montgomery to make plans for the State and community conferences.

Arkansas*	Hon. A.W. Ford Commissioner of Education State Department of Education Little Rock

A pre-planning group of 12 people met on April 6 at Little Rock and formed a 21-member Steering Committee, which includes the members of the pre-planning group. Mr. Lee Roy Beasley, former State comptroller, has been designated as chairman of

* States which have applied for funds.

the Steering Committee. He will select 19 more persons to serve on the Committee, making a total of 40 members. Dr. A.R. Ford, State Commissioner of Education, is the conference chairman. Subcommittees will conduct studies of each topic suggested by the White House Conference meeting of the Steering Committee on May 6.

Florida

Hon. Thomas D. Bailey
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Public Education
Tallahassee

The biennial session of the Florida Legislature will continue through early July. Until that time, plans for a State conference, to be held in the late summer or early fall, will be postponed. Florida will use State funds to finance its conference.

Georgia

Mr. George P. Whitman, Jr.
Chairman, State Board of Education
State Office Building
Atlanta 3

Mr. George P. Whitman, Jr., chairman of the State Board of Education and of the School Building Authority, has been designated as chairman of the 29-member Planning Committee recently appointed by Governor Griffin.

Kentucky*

Dr. Philip Davidson
President, University of Louisville
Louisville

The Planning Committee will hold its third meeting at Frankfort on May 9 to make further plans for 15 regional conferences to be held prior to the State conference tentatively scheduled for September 21-22 at Louisville.

Louisiana*

Hon. Shelby M. Jackson
Superintendent of Public Education
State Department of Education
Baton Rouge 4

The Planning Committee has been appointed and will begin organization of the State conference, to be held during the week of September 26, after the State Legislature holds its fiscal session in May.

Mississippi*

Hon. J.M. Tubb
Superintendent of Public Education
State Department of Education
Jackson

---

* States which have applied for funds.

Miss. (cont'd.) An advisory committee of 12 members appointed a subcommittee to draw up suggested plans and procedures for consideration by a full State advisory committee of 30 members, yet to be appointed. The suggested plan calls for 6 regional conferences, each to be attended by about 125 delegates. Between 300 and 400 persons will be invited to the State conference, most of whom will have been delegates at the regional meetings. The State conference is scheduled for late August or early September.

North Carolina* Hon. Charles F. Carroll
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Department of Public Instruction
Raleigh

Conference planning will begin after the adjournment of the present session of the State Legislature.

South Carolina* Mr. John H. Martin
Chairman, South Carolina Conference on Education
Hartsville

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Vice-President
University of Tennessee
Knoxville

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---

* States which have applied for funds.

Texas - - - - - - - - - -

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Virginia

Hon. Dowell J. Howard
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State Board of Education
Richmond 16

The conference will be held in August at Richmond. Virginia will use State funds to finance its conference.

rnf
5/19/55

Mailed to:

Hughes
Pierce
Griswold
Mercer
Wells
Pitts
Parrish
Dagen
Vigo
Lyells
Jones S
Spearman
Sutherland
Marion
Cooper

Duncan Hunter
Fred Darragh
Chas. Walker
Paul Finner
W.C.Taylor
G.E.Clary
B.R.Brazeal
High Brimm
Albert D'Orlando
Joseph Taylor
Mantinband
H.H.Wheeler
R.D.Wellons
Claude Evans
F.W.Beckman
Elsie Lewis
Haskell Miller
James Colston
Mrs. Crate
W.Carrol Brooke

New Horizons In Human Relations

12th Annual

Institute of Race Relations

Conducted under auspices of

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOC.
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

JUNE 27-JULY 9, 1955
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENN.

New Horizons In Human Relations—

CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE COMMUNITY

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race . . . may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . . We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place.—United States Supreme Court, May 17, 1955.

Now is the time, the challenge, the opportunity. The place is everywhere—the communities, cities and towns where we live, where our children grow into the full bloom of adulthood, and where all of us together seek to make real and concrete the democratic ideal which has sustained and nurtured America.

The Court has spoken to *all* of us—to you and me—and it becomes *our* opportunity, if we are alert of action and strong of faith. CLOSING THE GAP BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE COMMUNITY—this becomes the practical task before us, in which we must use the knowledge of social engineering, the experience of public servants, and the tools of education, law and organization for effective implementation.

This is the call and purpose of the 12th ANNUAL RACE RELATIONS INSTITUTE to which we invite you. It is to be held at Fisk University, June 27 through July 9. Parent and preacher, social worker and educator, labor union leader and industrialist, student and teacher—the invitation is to you. Come and learn from the experience of responsible leaders from about 22 states, North and South. Sessions are in the new, air-conditioned facilities of Park Hall.

During eleven years of existence, the Institute has provided for lay and professional community leaders the opportunity to develop new understanding and insight about racial and human relations. It is concerned with the problems of all so-called minority groups—Spanish-speaking groups, racially-defined groups and religiously-defined groups. A faculty drawn from the country's top authorities in social science, housing, education and law will be available as resource leaders.

The roots of the Institute are planted in deep religious and moral conviction. It was established by the American Missionary Association Division of the Congregational Christian Churches' Board of Home Missions and enjoys joint sponsorship by Fisk University, one of America's leading institutions of higher learning.

LECTURES AND CONSULTANTS

(A PARTIAL LIST FROM PREVIOUS INSTITUTES)

GORDON W. ALLPORT, Department of Psychology, Harvard University
JOSEPH W. BIRD, College Relations and Recruiting Division, RCA
HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, Department of History, Columbia University
SAVILLE R. DAVIS, American Editor, *Christian Science Monitor*
JAMES C. EVANS, Civilian Aide to the Department of Defense
GEORGE T. GUERNSEY, Department of Education, CIO
JOHN E. IVEY, Southern Regional Education Board
CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, Department of Anthropology, Harvard University
JOHN LAFARGE, S. J., *America*
EDWARD LAWSON, Division of Human Rights, United Nations
HELEN V. McLEAN, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
CAREY McWILLIAMS, Editor, *The Nation*
THURGOOD MARSHALL, Chief Legal Counsel, NAACP
GEORGE S. MITCHELL, Director, Southern Regional Council
M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU, Department of Anthropology, Rutgers University
JOSEPH J. MORROW, Personnel Manager, Pitney-Bowes, Inc.
P. L. PRATTIS, Executive Editor, *Pittsburgh Courier*
MARK STARR, International Ladies Garment Workers Union
JULIUS A. THOMAS, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League

INFORMATION ABOUT THE 1955 INSTITUTE

WHERE: Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee WHEN: June 27-July 9, 1955

WHO ATTENDS: YOU: All interested citizenry—religious leaders, students, teachers. Representatives of trade unions and management. Members of human relations committees and other governmental agencies.

COST: $80.00 for room, board, and tuition for the two weeks' session.

CREDIT: Institute members may earn three semester hours of academic credit toward their undergraduate or graduate degrees.

THE FOODS WE EAT ARE A
GIFT FROM ALL PEOPLES
INVENTIONS HAVE COME
FROM ALL RACES
IT'S NOT IN THE BLOOD

THAT CONALITIES ARE NOT RACES
THE JEWS ARE NOT A RACE
WHO ARE THE ARYANS
THE FOODS WE EAT ARE A
GIFT FROM ALL PEOPLES
INVENTIONS HAVE COME
FROM ALL RACES
IT'S NOT IN THE BLOOD

☐ Please send me an application for admission to the Twelfth Annual Institute of Race Relations.

☐ I would like additional information about the Institute.

NAME

STREET

CITY ZONE STATE

Address Inquiries to:

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville 8, Tennessee

FISK UNIVERSITY
17TH AVENUE AND MEHARRY BLVD.
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 8, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Executive Directors of state organizations affiliated with SRC

From: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant for State Organization

Re: Fisk Institute on Race Relations

The Twelfth Annual American Missionary Association Race Relations Institute will be convened in the new air-conditioned facilities of Park Hall at Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, June 27th-July 9th.

The theme is New Horizons in Human Relations: Closing the Gap between the Court and the Community.

Provision has been made to pay all expenses (travel, tuition, room and board) to the Fisk Conference out of funds from the Central Office. We request that you make every possible effort to attend this institute. It is to be hoped that two professional staff people from each SRC state affiliated organization will attend. In the event that it is impossible for two staff people to attend, it would be most helpful if the state chairman or another member of the Executive Committee of the state organization could attend with the Executive Director.

Any inquiries to the Institute of Race Relations should be addressed to Dr. Herman Long.

Please inform your Executive Committee of the Institute.

6/8/55
rnf

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

15 June 55

To: GSM

Have this day written re: the securing of Associate Directors to: Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, N.Carolina, S.Carolina, Texas, and Va.

Special paragraphs to Ark. and Va. who already have half-time Associate Directors.

This leaves three states to be dealt with: Kentucky,

and Tennessee who are on the consultant program and should be advised that they have an extra $2,500 for consultant expenses next year (fiscal that is)

and Mississippi(this one needs our earnest attention and full discussion before any decision is made.)

I have delayed the last three letters for there is no reason to rush on them and you need to be consulted further on them.

FBR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 17, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

TO: ALL STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: FREDERICK B. ROUTH

SUBJECT: Film, And So They Grow (16mm. color, sound, 25 min.).

We recently reviewed the excellent film, And So They Grow: a camera study of a group of nine year olds in a year round play program, put out by the Play Schools Association of New York. The purpose of the film is to show: (1) the universality of play and its meaning to children of school age; (2) the value of good adult leadership; and (3) the importance of good play programs in all communities. The group is composed of twenty-one children, eight girls and thirteen boys who are registered by their parents. Their backgrounds are different culturally, racially, and economically. Each child's requirements and abilities differ. The parent group ranges from unskilled to professionally trained, from low to upper-middle income.

We believe the showing of this film to such groups as PTA's, child study groups, and local affiliates of your organization would be most helpful. It does not hit the interracial theme directly, but demonstrates the ability of all children to play together and appreciate each other as individuals. It may be secured from Campus Film Library, 14 East Fifty-Third Street, New York 22, New York. If you desire the film, write them directly -- there is a charge for rental.

eab/

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

June 22, 1955.

MEMORANDUM

Sent to also and Fla Ga 14 La Miss NC SC Tenn Va Texas.

TO: All State Executives Directors

FROM: Frederick B. Routh

SUBJECT: List of Key people

I am sending you a list of key people in your state. The list has been prepared by Frank Loescher of the Fund for the Republic. The people on this list are people who have expressed interest in human relations ~~and~~ work. I suggest that you contact them and make yourself and the organization known to them. Some of them might be considered by the nominating committee of your board of Directors for future membership on the board.

You will note that following the names, there are letter abreviations. The key to the abreviations is below.

AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
AJC	American Jewish Committee
ADL	Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
CCW	Council of Church Women
CRS	Department of Christian Social Relations of the Council of Church Women
NCCJ	National Conference of Christians and Jews
NCCCA	National Council of the Churches of Christ in America
NUL	National Urban League
SRC	Southern Regional Council

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY

June 27, 1955.

MEMORANDUM

To: STAFF OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

From: Harold C. Fleming

Subject: Newspapers Receiving New South and AP Bureaus

At the New Hope Camp meeting, John Constable promised that we would supply you with a list of newspaper editors in your state receiving New South, and a list of Associated Press bureaus. Enclosed are mimeographed lists for the entire South, on which you can easily identify those in your own state.

As you will see, we have made no attempt to give blanket New South coverage to the press. In some cases, we have added newspapermen at their request; in others, we have simply taken from the directory the names of editors of the larger dailies (one per city). This arbitrary procedure doubtless has skipped many desirable papers and editors in your state. We would hope that you might fill those gaps. On the other hand, if you would like to suggest modifications in our mailing list, we'd be glad to hear from you.

Don't hesitate to let me know any time we can assist you in your information work.

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Chairman of State Organizations
FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director for State Organizations
SUBJECT: Board of Directors membership

We have long urged that the Board of Directors of the State Organizations be representative of the State's population. The list below should be given to your nominating committees for consideration in chosing nominees for Board membership in your state.

We must constantly seek to strengthen our State Organizations Boards of Directors and see to it that it operates as an integrated (not just bi-racial) body.

CROSS SECTIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATE

A. Mass Media of Communication
- Papers
- Radio
- T.V.

B. Labor
- A. F. of L.
- CIO
- Independents

C. Business
- Industry
- Banking
- Retail merchants

D. Religious groups
- Catholic
- Jewish
- Protestant

E. Racial Groups
- Negro Leadership
- Indians
- Asian-Americans

F. Ethnic Groups
- Puerto Ricans
- Mexicans
- Island People

G. Education
- Public Schools
- Parochial Schools - Private Sch.
- Colleges and Universities

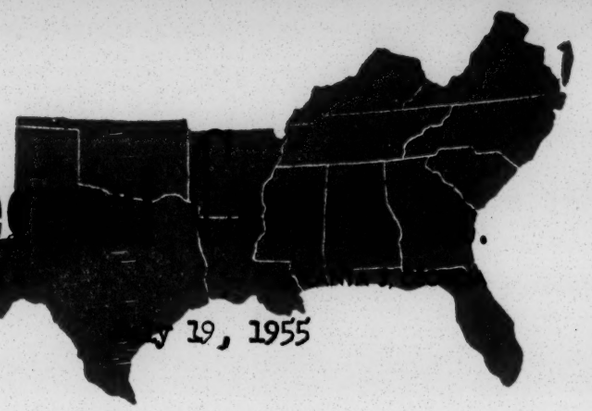
H. Government
- Law enforcement
- Executive Branch

I. Other Good Will Agencies

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



19, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

AIR MAIL

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

Top Priority

TO: STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: FREDERICK B. ROUTH

RE: STATE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

We notice that some of the lists of state board members are incomplete in one or more respect and feel that it is necessary that they be kept as up to date as possible.

Therefore, please send at once a complete list of your state board of directors; indicate what committees are set up (and which are functioning) who is on each committee; indicate occupation, race and address of each member (i.e., G. S. Gotrocks (w) educator, 135 E. Bourbon Street, Atlanta, Ga.; H. L. Stokes (N) lawyer, 711 Jackson Blvd., Athens, Ga.)

We also would like information, from your point of view, about the following:

A. To what extent has the board accepted the responsibility of committee work?

B. How active has the proper (program planning or executive) committee been in planning state program?

(Date of last meeting - who was present?)

C. Has the finance committee set up plans for fund raising?

(Date of last meeting - who was present?)

D. How much of your time has been spent on fund-raising activities?

E. How much of your time has been spent on organizing local groups?

F. How geographically representative is your Board of Directors?

G. Date of last meeting of Board of Directors - who was present?

eab/

Southern Re[redacted]

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU[redacted]

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 22, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY

Dear SRC Board Member:

The first grant period from the Fund for the Republic to SRC ends September 30, 1955. Our request for the second grant period must be in not later than August 20, 1955. It seems desirable to review and evaluate the program of the Council and of the various affiliated state organizations during the first grant period.

To that end, we ask that you be kind enough to send us your confidential evaluation of the operation within your own state. We would like to have a frank statement by you of your opinion of the effectiveness of the program; of the problems which have arisen; and any suggestions you may have for improving the state operation.

We hope that it will not be too great an imposition for you to send your comments to us sometime before August 5th.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

July 23, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY

TO: STATE BOARD CHAIRMEN
STATE EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS OF SRC

FROM: GEORGE S. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

RE: EVALUATION OF RESOURCES WITHIN EACH STATE FOR CARRYING OUT THE PURPOSES OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

You may recall that at the Board meeting of SRC last November, a resolution was passed requesting each state organization to "submit to the Central Office a plan of its program for the year 1955, and that this be submitted by January 1, 1955."

Several of the states were not organized by January 1st, and several more were not sufficiently operative to comply with this request of the Board. A memorandum from the Central Office dated December 14, 1954, entitled "Criteria for evaluating program proposals of state organizations affiliated with SRC" raised certain basic questions to be considered by state organizations in planning their programs.

We are nearing the end of the first grant period from the Fund for the Republic. We need a clearer understanding of what the resources and possibilities are, and how effective the program has been in the various states. It would be helpful to us if you would address yourself to the following questions:

(1) What is your conception of the purpose of the state organization?
(2) What program has been inaugurated to implement the Court's decision?
(3) What problems have arisen in the course of operation?
(4) What are the prospects for the future?
(5) How can the Central Office be more useful?

We know this is an imposition upon your time, but we should be grateful for your answers by August 5th. We must submit the renewal request to the Fund for the Republic by August 20th and we need time to analyze the answers.

cc: State Exec. Dir.
Associate Dir.

GSM/eab

September 7, 1955

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Mr. Frederick B. Routh

TO: Exec. Dir. State orgs.

As you know, Irene Osborne's services have been made available to the Southern Regional Council for a six months period. Enclosed is a tentative or proposed schedule for her to travel in the various states.

You will note that a week is allowed for her to be in each state. If this proposed schedule grossly violates something you have planned, please let us know as soon as possible. But, we would like to hold to your schedule and group our proposal.

You will also note that we have grouped the states together to save on travel and have tried to have the states paired according to your climate of relations which exist.

You should plan to have Irene visit the schools and community jobs and key places in your state. We would be particularly helpful in those states where some communities have already begun the job of desegregation, or as you know the intention to do so.

ys

PROPOSED SCHEDULE FOR IRENE OSBORNE

Oct. 3-14	Central Office
Oct. 17-21	Arkansas
Oct. 24-28	Texas
Oct. 31-Nov. 4	Central Office
Nov. 7-11	Kentucky
Nov. 14-18	Tennessee
Nov. 21-25	Central Office
Nov. 28-Dec. 2	Florida
Dec. 5-9	N. Carolina
Dec. 12-22	Central Office
Dec. 23-Jan 2	Vacation
Jan. 2-6	Virginia
Jan. 9-13	Central Office
Jan. 16-20	Louisiana
Jan. 23-27	Mississippi
Jan. 30-Feb. 3	Central Office
Feb. 6-10	Alabama
Feb. 13-17	S. Carolina
Feb. 20-24	Georgia

Send us _____ copies of the REPORT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, with envelopes and postage, for mailing to state board members.

Send us _____ copies of DESEGREGATION IN THE BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS for program use.

(Name) _____

(State Org.) _____

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

September 22, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Staff of State Affiliates

FILE COPY

FROM: Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director

I am sending you separately copies of two publications with the following requests about them, respectively:

(1) Report of the Fund for the Republic. We have a number of copies of this and would like to have you send one to each member of your Board, if you agree that it is appropriate. Please let us know on the enclosed post card how many you will need for the purpose and we will supply them complete with envelopes and postage. We feel it would be best if the actual addressing and mailing were done at your headquarters. We are sending copies from this office to each state chairman and vice-chairman.

(2) Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools. We have a couple of thousand of these useful summary reports of the study of desegregation in Baltimore. If you would like a quantity (up to a maximum of about 200) for special distribution or program use, please indicate the number you wish on the enclosed post card. These will be supplied free without envelopes and postage.

I will appreciate a reply at your earliest convenience.

HEF/ys
Encl. 1

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FILE CO

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 3, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: All State Chairmen and All State Executive Directors

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

In Memorandum #9 dated November 24, on page 1, last paragraph the following language appears:

> "So long as financial assistance is given state organizations by the SRC an annual audit will be requested."

A detailed Memorandum requesting each state organization to have its books audited for the period ending September 30, 1955, will be sent from this office the end of this week.

FBR/ys

Make feeder for Irene Osborne

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

October 7, 1955

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

FILE COPY

TO: Executive Directors

FROM: Irene Osborne

RE: My visits in the field

I hope to begin correspondence with all of you very soon so that we can do some advance planning of my visit to your area. We do not have a set formula for my work with you; rather we expect that what I can do will be different in each state, depending on the situation you are facing and the kind of resources you have within the Council. It will be important for us to think ahead, so we can plan something which will be helpful to you in your state.

Will you write me as soon as you can, telling me what ideas you have? I'm outlining below some suggestions of the ways I can perhaps be most helpful. Do consider them in relation to the needs which you feel in your own situation.

The primary purpose of my visits will be to help citizens to take an effective role in working toward implementation of the Supreme Court's decision. We should find some device to arrange for me to meet with state Council officers and at least some members, and where it seems advisable, active members of other interested groups. (The latter can meet together with state Council membership, or separately, as it seems indicated.)

Such meetings with active or potentially active citizenry can be formalized as a workshop, anywhere from one to four days. The workshop can draw people from various communities throughout the state or can be localized to a given community. You can use your judgement about whether to include leaders in organizations other than the state Councils.

If the workshop method is not used, we can achieve some of the same results in shorter and less formalized meetings, conferences with key people, attendance at regularly-scheduled organizational meetings, or speeches to whatever audiences seem suitable.

If people from throughout the state can be brought together in one place, it will save some wear and tear and some duplication of effort and will have the advantage of giving all your state units a common and shared experience. However, if there are good reasons for me to visit in several communities in the state, this can be done.

We will try, in these workshops or conferences, to give the group a better idea how to work and how to find and utilize resources. Some topics we can cover, depending on the needs of the group, are listed:

Building wider citizen support

Making contact with school officials

How to state your message effectively

What the experience of desegregation shows

Developing a set of recommendations for school desegregation

Evaluation of administrative planning

Assistance to teachers for effective work in human relations

It may sometime be helpful for me to visit with school officials, leaders in teacher organizations, members of official advisory committees, or school board members. This will depend upon your relationship with these people and where they are in their thinking. Where the local Council has not been able to establish contact, it is doubtful that afforts on my part could be effective. If the officials will welcome the visit as part of a continuing relationship, or you can see other clear purposes, I'll be glad to cooperate.

These ideas are intended as suggestions. We cannot do all these things in any one week. If you have in mind other or different ways to use my time in your state, do not hesitate to say so. The field is wide open for discussion.

Let me hear from you. I'm looking forward to knowing your ideas and to writing to each of you individually about plans for your state.

IO/ys

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 14, 1955

FILE COPY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: DIRECTORS OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS

FROM: Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director for Information

RE: Prejudice and Your Child, by Kenneth B. Clark

The Fund for the Republic has made available to us a few copies of the above-named book. We are sending you one copy for your office library.

I am sorry we don't have enough to supply you with copies for distribution, but it is our hope that you can circulate the single copy to those key people who can profit most from it. As you will see, it is of a fairly high reading level, so that it is most suitable for selected leadership rather than mass distribution.

HCF/ys

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 20, 1955

FILE COPY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: ALL STATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

FROM: Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director

The meeting scheduled for November 9th at Tuskegee Institute is for the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council including state chairmen and representatives (ex-officio members of SRC's board). It does not include a staff meeting as we held last year.

FBR/ys

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 1, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Directors of Affiliated State Organizations

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

In recent weeks the tempo of the attacks on our movement has accelerated. Here are the main developments:

(1) Georgia's Attorney General Eugene Cook, in a speech attacking the NAACP, took a sideswipe at the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. The burden of his charge was that a lot of good, gullible people are being duped by "sinister elements" of doubtful loyalty. In view of Mr. Cook's reputation, this has not excited any one much in Georgia. However, Mr. Cook may very likely publicly elaborate this attack, and some of you may expect to find it echoed by segregationist groups within your respective states. We have prepared a fairly lengthy document in reply to the Cook charges, copies of which will be sent to you separately.

(2) The Hearst newspapers have been waging a campaign against the Fund for the Republic, in the course of which they are systematically sniping at all of the groups who have accepted money from the Fund. As part of this crusade, the New York Journal-American and other Hearst papers on November 7 ran a libelous article accusing 21 SRC Board Members of "past pro-communist affiliations." The possibility of legal action is under consideration, and efforts are underway to get our story widely and favorably told in national media. Meanwhile, the Hearst attack has been used in at least two instances as a weapon against state organizations affiliated with SRC. I am also sending separately materials, pro and con, on this matter.

(3) As most of you already know, a Georgia politican named Roy Harris has for some time been keeping up a drum fire of fantastic charges against the SRC, as against everybody else who favors desegregation. Harris's personal paper The Augusta Courier, travels in White citizens council channels. Therefore, his charges can be expected to crop up wherever people related to us are doing good work.

The Southern Regional Council's basic defense against these smears rests on the demonstrated quality and integrity of its Board Members. As soon as the changes made at the recent Annual meeting have been incorporated, we will get out to you a list of Board Members with brief identifying notes. And as further positive material on the SRC is developed, we will supply you with it.

Meanwhile, feel free to use the material we are sending to counter any local attacks that you and your group consider important enough to be publicly noticed. If you feel that some direct reply from the Atlanta Office would be more effective, let us know as promptly as possible. Or, if you want to consult with us about it, call or write to me. In any case, please inform us of any attacks on the SRC or your state group which show up in your area; we have no way otherwise of knowing about them.

This memorandum isn't meant to attach inordinate importance to irresponsible charges against us. Any organization like ours is bound to attract the fire of extremists and they are not likely to show any scruples about the methods they use. We may expect the volume of such attacks to increase rather then decline in the immediate future. When the attacks reach such proportions that they are noticed by the responsible press or other media, it is an essential part of our job to counter them as promptly and effectively as we can.

This is simply to convey to you the situation as we see it and to let you know we realize that these attacks may from time to time present a public relations problem for your state groups. Working together, we can minimize the amount of damage they may cause.

*See Alternates

SUGGESTED BY-LAWS FOR STATE AFFILIATES OF
THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

ARTICLE I

Name

This organization is _____
an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ARTICLE II

Purpose

Its purpose is to carry on in the state of _____ a program in agreement with the purposes of the Southern Regional Council; stated in its corporate charter as follows "to exist and function as an eleemosynary organization, and to maintain an organization for the improvement of economic, civic and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts toward regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices which will result in the greatest good for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tensions; the basis for race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; and to cooperate with local, state and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives."

ARTICLE III

Membership

Section 1. Any person who is in accord with the purposes may become a member of

_____ (name of organization) _____

Section 2. Dues. Annual dues shall be ($5.00), which shall include a subscription to the publication of the Southern Regional Council.

*ARTICLE IV

Meetings

Section 1. There shall be a meeting of members annually for the transaction of business at such time and place as may be designated by the Executive Committee. Notice of the meeting should be given not less than 30 days before the meeting.

Section 2. Special Meetings. Special meetings may be called by the Chairman or by the Executive Board at any time. Notice of every special meeting shall state the time and place of meeting, the business to be transacted, and it shall be delivered to each member at least ten days before such meeting.

Section 3. Quorum. Those present shall constitute a quorum at membership meetings of the organization.

ARTICLE V

Officers

The officers of the organization shall be a chairman, two vice-chairmen, treasurer, executive secretary, and associate executive secretary. They shall do the customary work of these offices. All except the executive secretaries shall be unpaid. The chairman, vice-chairmen and treasurer shall be elected by the Executive Board each year within two weeks after the election of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE VI

Executive Board

The affairs of the organization between membership meetings shall be in charge of an Executive Board. The Board shall consist of 15 to 30 members, serving three year terms, except that one-third of the first board shall serve only one year and one-third shall serve only two years.

The first Executive Board shall be elected at the first membership meeting, after adoption of these By-Laws. Thereafter one-third shall be elected at each annual membership meeting, or by a mail ballot prior to the meeting, as the board may determine. Nominations for the exact number of vacancies or a larger number shall be made by the board. Additional nominations may be made upon petition of any ten members filed with the executive secretary two weeks before the annual membership meeting.

The Board may fill vacancies between annual membership meetings. Terms of Board members so appointed shall expire at the next regular election.

The Executive Board shall meet every three months or more often as it may determine. Special meetings may be called by the chairman and shall be called upon written request of five Board members.

The chairman, and one other member of the Executive Board elected by the Executive Board, shall be ex-officio members of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ARTICLE VII

Committees

The Executive Board shall appoint a Finance Committee whose duty shall be to aid the Executive Board in fund-raising for the support of the organization. Other permanent or temporary committees shall be appointed by the chairman upon authorization of the Executive Board. At the discretion of the chairman, non-members may be asked to serve.

ARTICLE VIII

Executive Staff

The executive secretary and associate executive secretary shall be selected by the Executive Board. The executive staff shall carry out the program of the organization, interpret the program to the communities of the state and assume other

normal functions. They shall keep all records and present such reports as are required by the Executive Board and the Southern Regional Council. The executive staff shall be members without vote of the Executive Board.

ARTICLE IX

Amendments

These By-Laws may be amended at any annual meeting of the members or in any special meeting called for that purpose, by a majority of members present, but no such amendment shall become valid until after written approval of it has been given by the Southern Regional Council as hereinafter provided in Article X.

ARTICLE X

Affiliations

The organization may become an affiliate of the Southern Regional Council upon conditions prescribed by the Council as follows:

By-Laws of the organization and any amendments of By-Laws must be approved in writing on behalf of the Southern Regional Council; executive staff employed by the organization must be approved by the Southern Regional Council prior to employment; salary checks for all executive staff employed by the organization shall be sent from the Southern Regional Council so long as the organization is substantially assisted by the Southern Regional Council; bookkeeping and program reports of the organization shall be in accordance with requirements of the Southern Regional Council; the purpose and program of the organization and provisions for membership in the organization must conform to requirements of the Southern Regional Council, Inc. as stated in Articles II, and III; and no substantial part of the activities shall be carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation. In the event of dissolution or disaffiliation of the organization, so much of the property as was secured with the aid of the Southern Regional Council, shall be at the disposition of the Southern Regional Council.

ALTERNATES

ARTICLE IV

Meetings

There shall be meetings of members and non-members at such times and places as may be arranged by the executive staff for the conduct of educational programs in line with the organization's purpose and approved by the Executive Board of the organization.

ARTICLE VI

Executive Board

The affairs of the organization shall be in charge of an Executive Board. The Board shall consist of 15 to 30 members serving three year terms, except that one-third of the first Board shall serve only one year and one-third shall serve only

two years. The first Board shall be elected after adoption of these By-Laws, and election may occur by mail ballot.

Thereafter one-third shall be elected annually by the Executive Board. The Board may fill vacancies as they occur.

The Executive Board shall meet every three months or more often as it may determine. Special meetings may be called by the chairman and shall be called upon written request of five Board members.

The chairman and one other member of the Executive Board elected by the Board shall be ex-officio members of the Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ARTICLE IX

Amendments

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Executive Board by a majority of Board members present, but no such amendment shall become valid until after written approval of it has been given by the Southern Regional Council as hereinafter provided in Article X.

9/2/54

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

FILE COPY

MEMORANDUM

TO: All State Executive Directors

FROM: Fred Routh, Ast. Dir.

SUBJECT: Books for Office Library

We are mailing you the following books:

Given by Fund for adv. of Education!

- The Negro and the Schools (10 copies)
- Schools in Transition (5 copies)
- The Strange Career of Jim Crow (1 copy)

These books are for youroffice library and should be circulated as widely as possible. It is important that your Board members have the opportunity to read them and you should encourage them to do so.

If you wish to distribute a few copies to key people as gifts from your state organization that has your approval, but be sure you keep sufficient copies for you state office.

These books were given to SRC by the Fund for the Republic. As we are given more books for distribution we will share them with the state organizations.

FILE COPY

Southern Re

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENU

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Directors of Affiliated State Organizations

FROM: Harold C. Fleming

SUBJECT: Summary History and Aims of The Southern Regional Council.

About two weeks ago the Attorney General of Georgia made a speech attacking the Americanism of various board members of the NAACP. In the course of his speech, he briefly attacked the Southern Regional and the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

In order to provide our members and friends with information showing up the absurdity of this and other similar attacks on the Council, we have prepared a rather full account of the background of the organization.

Within the last few days, the New York Journal American (a Hearst Newspaper waging a major campaign against the Fund for the Republic) has run a story purporting to show that 21 members of the SRC Board have records of past affiliation with questionable groups. The 21 persons so attacked include some of the most prominent and respectable members of the SRC, and as answering material is developed, you will receive that also.

Meanwhile, we are not issuing the statement described above as a news release. However, you may feel free to draw on it for any publicity which you may find it necessary to make within your state.

Please let us know if there are note worthy efforts to smear your organization or the SRC in your area.

What We Can Do About The Race Problem

This is an effort to think through on the race question, something which America sooner or later must do.

R. BEVERLEY HERBERT,
PALMETTO BUILDING,
COLUMBIA, S. C.

22 November, 1948.

WHAT WE CAN DO ABOUT THE RACE PROBLEM

The South's race problem, which, of course, is America's problem, is how the Negro and white races can live together in peace and harmony and so work out their mutual destinies to the best advantage. This problem has vitally affected our country since colonial days. It was present in the convention that adopted our Constitution; it was the subject of the Missouri Compromise; it underlay the Nullification movement and it was the cause of the Civil War. It was the cohesive force that for seventy-five years bound the South to one political party and it is the real issue in the Civil Rights controversy. The foregoing are the mountain tops and take no account of the unnumbered hills that mark the landscape of our political history. In comparison to this problem all other American domestic problems have been short lived and of small moment.

More than a hundred years ago the eminent French political philosopher De Tocqueville visited America and in his great commentary "Democracy in America" said:

> "The most formidable of all the ills which threaten the future existence of the Union arises from the presence of a black population on its territory."

His words are not quoted in disparagement of the Negro race but as showing the difficulty he foresaw in two very dissimilar races living in harmony in the same country. Certainly the Negroes cannot be blamed for their presence in America. De Tocqueville pre-

dicted that slavery would soon be abolished but that with its abolition the race problem would not be solved.

The problem affects the rights and lives and the feelings of twelve million Negroes and of many more million white people. It vitally affects our foreign and international relations, for we can never hope to gain our full statue of influence in world affairs so long as we treat colored people as inferiors. Also the constant efforts of a large minority group to extend the powers of the central government in their interest will inevitably change our form of government.

In view of the magnitude of the problem and its far-reaching effects it is remarkable that there is not and never has been any considered plan or policy for solving it or mitigating its effects; something that all right thinking men of all races may subscribe to, but the matter is left to the hazard of partisan politics and sectional prejudice. Trial by battle, so to speak, is still the order of the day, and too frequently the passions of the Civil War are fanned into flame again by one side or the other in an effort to gain an advantage.

If one is to make any progress in the solution of the race problem he must first understand it and its causes. The race problem in the South is primarily caused by the fact that the southern white man since colonial days has lived in a country which teaches equality among men as one of its fundamental principles, while for him to extend such equality means in many communities to turn his local government over to a wholly dissimilar race. This race in spite of very creditable and gratifying progress is still only partially educated and utterly inexperienced in government. There are, of course, many answers in behalf of the Negro. He is a citizen and a taxpayer and his legal rights should

be enforced, but in counties where the Negroes number seventy-five per cent. of the total population the white man asks what assurance he has of orderly government and the safety of his home. He points to the fact that in no country in the world have Negroes been able to maintain a good popular government; he looks at Haiti and San Domingo and shudders; he recalls his own terrible experiences in the so-called reconstruction era and he asks if the Negroes as a race have sufficiently changed since then to be trusted with government.

Many years ago Daniel Webster said it would be the wildest of human imaginations to expect an ignorant people to maintain a good popular government and it is as true today as when he said it. Present-day experience has taught us that good government does not come with the rising of the sun and the setting of the moon and that only those peoples who are far advanced in culture, education and experience can be trusted with self government.

In behalf of the Negro it may be claimed that he is ignorant because the southern white man has not provided him with adequate schools, to which the white man may answer that thousands of his own race are ignorant because he has had to sell his chief product in an open market and buy in a protected market and so there has not been enough money to provide schools to go around. This is only one angle of an immensely complicated and difficult problem.

The Negro people have made most creditable progress and many of them appear to be well qualified to vote and take part in government. But have they as a race in a few generations been able to gain those qualities of mind and character essential to self govern-

ment which it has taken the white race centuries to acquire? Who can answer that question with any assurance? The white people of the deep South which has the heavy Negro populations are the people who will suffer most if a mistake is made, and naturally they feel that they should be the ones to answer that question.

Race prejudice and race hatred are the children of race fear, the fear that one race feels that at some future time they may in some way suffer harm at the hands of another race. History is replete with illustrations of it. It is found in the Bible when the Egyptians feared that the Jews might become strong enough to do them harm and so decreed that the male children of the Jews should be destroyed. It is seen in the "*Delenda est Carthago*" of Cato who aroused the Romans to fear and to destroy the Carthaginians. The Arabs fear the Jews and the French fear the Germans, and the Americans fear the Russians and they are not very dissimilar peoples. Is it therefore any wonder that the Southern white man should fear for the future of his race at the hands of a very dissimilar race living on the same land with him?

Race fear is seen on nearly every page of the history of the South. Shortly after the foundation of our country the Southern white man saw the Negro population steadily increasing and feared for the future of his race. He attempted to relieve the situation by establishing Liberia and colonizing the Negroes there but that proved ineffective. He attempted to extend the institution of slavery westward, thus carrying the Negroes into new states. This, as pointed out by Thomas Jefferson, would not have meant the enslavement of a single additional person because in 1808 the bringing in of further Negroes was forbidden, but it

would have meant the spreading of the colored population over a wider area. That was rendered largely ineffective by the Missouri Compromise.

When the Northern states abolished slavery it was done by laws providing that all persons born after a given date must be free and that at some future date slavery should cease in that state. The result was that thousands of Northern slaves were brought South and sold. Thus the North was relieved both of slavery and of very many of the slaves. The South, of course, had no such easy means of relieving itself of its increasing and therefore threatening Negro population. There was no place to send them or sell them and it therefore sought refuge in efforts to keep the slaves as ignorant as possible and at the same time it established an elaborate caste system which is in effect today.

When the Northern Abolitionists took up the cause of the Negro all efforts in the South to abolish slavery ceased and farcical efforts to justify the institution became the order of the day. De Tocqueville had pointed out that in countries where the whites were the more powerful they held the Negroes in subjection but in countries where the Negroes were the more powerful they destroyed the whites as they did in Haiti. The South therefore concluded that it could only find safety by welding the fetters of the Negro more tightly and keeping him as ignorant as possible. Thomas Jefferson summed up the matter in one terse sentence, "Justice is in one scale and self preservation in the other", a fearful dilemma for any people. We all know how the John Brown raid and the election of Mr. Lincoln alarmed the South and made her people feel they were no longer safe within the Union and secession and civil war were the result. States rights of that day was merely the right to control the then

increasing Negro population. As the white man saw it, he had no other way out. Present-day history should at least recognize the desperate situation he was in. That fear for the future of his race was the motivating cause is amply shown by the fact that sections of the South having sparse Negro populations were lukewarm in their support of secession and of the Confederacy.

Strange as it may seem Abraham Lincoln was not in favor of giving to Negroes the rights of citizens. He said, "I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races * * * or of making voters or jurors of them * * *. While the races remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." He saw the immense difficulties of the problem and favored colonization. Negroes have changed since then and so has the world but many of the difficulties remain due to the fact that neither race is willing to be subordinate.

The reaction of the South to the race question in 1948 was much the same, as shown by the Philadelphia Convention and the subsequent election, as it had been in 1860. The states having the heavy Negro populations supported the so-called Dixiecrat party, and those having a smaller percentage of Negroes were less agitated. Mississippi, which has the largest percentage of Negroes, walked out first in 1948. South Carolina, which comes next in population, was next in her disapproval. In 1860 it was South Carolina first and Mississippi second. In 1948 Alabama and Louisiana, which are next in percentage of Negroes are next in their protest. Georgia, Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia, with smaller percentages of Negroes, were much less

affected and Texas with the smallest percentage was least disturbed. The people of North Carolina are no better than the people of Alabama or Mississippi. They just have fewer Negroes and so a less serious race problem.

The white man does not seem to fear the Negro when he is left alone, nor is his hatred directed at him. He has never tried to destroy him in the South and only prior to the Civil War and since when outside interference championed his cause has the white man's fear become acute.

The situation of the white man in the South finds a considerable parallel in the Japanese problem on the Pacific coast. If a Japanese population of two per cent. caused the Californians great uneasiness for the safety of their people consider then what uneasiness the Southerner in communities of seventy-five per cent. Negroes must feel for the future of his race. The Japanese problem has in great measure been solved by the defeat of Japan and by the services of the Nisei as loyal citizens showing the Californians that they have nothing to fear from the Japanese. When the Southern white man becomes finally convinced that there will be no outside interference and that he has nothing to fear from the Negroes the Southern race problem will similarly largely disappear.

This brings us to the subject of outside interference which no one who has not lived in a country having two very dissimilar races in large or nearly equal numbers is apt to fully appreciate. The Southern white man may feel confidence in the stability and friendship of his colored neighbor but when that colored neighbor is constantly being told that he is being mistreated by him and is thus incited to hate him it is difficult for either to have the faith and confidence in

the other so necessary for mutually friendly and harmonious relations.

Oh! My fellow Americans, you who live afar off in communities where there is no race issue and where orderly government is secure, consider, if you please, the lot of the white man in any one of a hundred counties in the deep South where he lives with sixty or seventy per cent. people of a very different race and those people are being incited by the agitation that goes with the Civil Rights measures and by Ray Sprigle articles to hate him. If such were your lot I hope you would pray God to give you patience and not to burden your hearts against your colored friends. It is not they who are to blame. But do you not know that hatred breeds hatred and suspicion spawns suspicion? Can you not see that your fellow Americans are faced with one of the most difficult and complex problems in government and social relations that any people have ever faced? Why should you feel you are better Americans than they, or that you are better qualified to solve their problems?

Outside interference is reviving the Ku Klux Klan because their followers are made to believe Negroes are being incited against them. When the white man in the South ceases to fear the Negro he becomes a liberal and wants to help him and therefore outside interference is like trying to put out a fire with gasoline because you can't argue with fear, and fear for the safety of the home is even more potent than fear of want so much stressed by the New Deal. This numbing fear of people in communities having Negro populations of two to one, that these Negroes may be incited to turn on them at some future time is the direful spectre in the back of the mind of the white man. To understand it in all of its implications is to understand

the race problem. Beside it the fear of Communism is a pale and shadowy spectre indeed and the white man whether he live in Alabama or South Africa reacts to it in the same way. It drove the South to secession and it is driving South Africa out of the British group of nations.

What a commentary on human affairs it is that the man in New York or New England fears the Russians four thousand miles away but cannot understand the fear of his fellow Americans in the South for a race that is in their midst. In justice to the Negro it should be said he has done little to justify this fear. There were several slave plots and there have been a few race riots, but never any mass movement. It may well be that in the treatment of the Negro by the white man is found the cause of this fear, but that doesn't make the fear any less real, rather the contrary. At bottom it is the same fear that all peoples feel towards races different from themselves.

The Civil Rights measures caused alarm in the South because they are a vivid reminder of the times when the victorious North set the recently liberated slaves, ignorant and inexperienced as they then were, over the Southern white man to rule him. No one from the deep South sat on the commission that recommended the Civil Rights measures and the people most affected were not consulted. Is it any wonder then that they are looked upon with suspicion and alarm?

No people in America have ever suffered as the Southern white man suffered after the Civil War. There were no relief programs for him. Both his livelihood and his race were threatened. Anything that recalls that time must create bitterness.

But the race problem is changing steadily for the better. The Negro has made great progress. When it is remembered that he has had only a part of the half loaf of education that Southern poverty can provide his progress is truly remarkable. He is becoming a home owner and a property owner and these things tend to make him a more dependable citizen. He has taken an honorable part in two wars and he is learning that he has as great a stake in orderly government as the white man. Race riots are becoming less frequent and he is no longer incited by Northern Negro newspapers to pump hot lead into his white enemies as he was three decades ago. At least two Northern Negro editors show today a better understanding of the difficulties both races face in the South than most white editors. They know that the Negro must rise and is rising by his own worth and that neither coddling him nor placing him in a false position will help him.

The great migration of Negroes from the South also is tending to improve and solve the race problem. This migration set in about the year 1920 when the national immigration laws closed the doors of this country to foreign immigrants and thus opened the labor markets of the North to Negroes. About the same time the cotton boll weevil completed its infestation of the South and the growing of cotton which had previously been very simple was rendered difficult and hazardous. Thus Negroes were attracted to the North at the same time their livelihood in the agricultural South had become precarious. Mechanized agriculture is adding to what the boll weevil began and there is every reason to think that this migration will continue. The population of the six states of the deep South has changed from a Negro majority of 200,000 in 1880 to a white

majority of nearly 4,000,000 at the present time. There is now no longer a Negro majority in any southern State and the Negro populations of cities like New York and Detroit and Los Angeles have doubled and quadrupled.

Since race prejudice and race hatred are the result of race fear it is inevitable that repression of Negroes should be most severe where their numbers are greatest in proportion to whites. It is therefore greatest in Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, and least in Vermont and Montana and Idaho. The white man is the same North and South and his generosity and liberality as a race varies according to his view of the necessities of his position. The individual North and South may be more or less liberal according to his influences, but the mass is the same. The Negro therefore has very much to gain by migrating from States having large proportionate Negro populations to those having small populations. In this way he finds better conditions in the State he moves to and improves those in the State he leaves.

The proportion of Negro blood in the total populations of the United States and Canada is probably not more than five per cent. The suggestion that he is a lower order of being is, of course, absurd, but he comes of a race that has comparatively recently emerged from barbarism and he cannot as a race, even with the guidance of the white man, acquire in a few generations all the things that go with civilization. Both Thomas Jefferson and De Tocqueville, who had studied the subject deeply, predicted that his race would not amalgamate with the white race in any foreseeable period of time and there is even less evidence of amalgamation today than there was in their day. In

no event can it take place until it is acceptable to both races. So America has nothing to fear biologically from the Negro race.

While the race problem has improved it must not be forgotten that the fundamental difficulty remains. That difficulty as Mr. Lincoln pointed out is that each man wants his race to have the superior position. Both races cannot have the superior position and the races are indelibly marked. It may be said that they must learn to live equally, but so far that has never been done, and Mr. Lincoln thought it could not be done. By any estimate it presents a most difficult adjustment.

What then can be done about the race problem? He would be a bold man who would advance any ready solution to so complex a problem, but at least an effort can be made to understand it and an intelligent plan worked out. We don't have to continue to let hate take its course and to act chiefly during election years when passions are inflamed. A commission of our best men could be appointed to study the subject and in the interest of both races and the country as a whole work out a plan. On this commission should sit thoughtful men whose interest in the nation and mankind rises above partisan politics and sectional bias and race hatred and who can view the problem from a practical standpoint and lay down certain longtime objectives with recommendations of measures to achieve them.

Such a commission could formulate general plans of conduct to allay fear and antagonisms. To indicate what might be done I suggest several possible measures:

First: Let the people of other parts of the United States, especially the North, recognize the fact that the South has the most difficult racial domestic problem a people can have and cease to act as if Southern people are not innately as liberal and generous and decent as themselves.

Second: Since race fear is at the root of race hatred and this fear is greatest where Negro populations are heaviest the migration of Negroes from sections having the largest proportionate populations to sections where the Negro percentage is small should be encouraged. This could be done by federal appropriations providing transportation and for subsistence in new localities.

Third: All appeals to race by either persons or political parties should be barred. This means no more "white supremacy" talk in the South and no more "Civil rights" agitation aimed at the South by other sections of the country.

Fourth: All races should be encouraged not to vote racially but above and beyond race. Educational qualifications fairly enforced and strictly adhered to should be required of all persons seeking to vote.

Fifth: Until Negroes have become more accustomed to voting they should not be encouraged to vote in great numbers in communities where they have had limited educational advantages. Those who are well educated and qualified to vote should, of course, do so.

Sixth: Segregation on public conveyances should be abolished. Negroes must travel and should not be discriminated against. In most other respects segregation will adjust itself because few if any self-respecting Negroes will go where they are not wanted.

Seventh: Outside interference, regardless of the occasion or intention, should be frowned upon.

Eighth: Both races must be educated in the fact that race hatred breeds hatred and fear breeds fear and

only in justice and kindness and good citizenship can the two races prosper.

Objections may be made, of course, to many or all of these suggestions, but no objection can be made to establishing a plan and an objective. Many of the above suggestions can be carried out only by education of both races.

In conclusion, let us all recognize the fact that we have a great sociological problem to deal with and not a mere petty prejudice; a problem that has done infinite harm and one that will require our greatest qualities to solve. Let us try to remember that in America race and sectional hatred and jealousy have no proper place and that we must have faith that our fellow Americans are innately as generous and patriotic as we are and that if we work together we can solve the problem.

A better day for both races in the South is coming fast. It will come faster and more surely if there is better understanding of the issues involved.

There is no irreconcilable conflict but a point where all men of good will can meet.

95 St Mill
Stephens, George M.

May 23, 1949

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
46 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear George:

I am sorry I missed you, too. I had hoped to get by the other morning, but came the other way around to get down from Linville Falls.

They have me booked for a speech at Blue Ridge June 14. I ought to get by your shop either that morning or the afternoon before.

We are now up to fourteen and a half on the $250 sums. The North Carolina letters went out just a couple of weeks ago, and have netted $350 so far.

There is a piece of color printing coming up--a sort of circular to advertise our pamphlets. I would like to get some advice, at least, from you about it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Nov. 30, 29, 28, 27, 22, 21, 20, 16, 14, 15, 13, 10, 6, 8, 7, 9, 3, 2, 1

Contributions

(1) Sam Houston State Teach College

Membership

By laws - SRC

AFSC.

(1) Hampton Inst.

(1) UWRS Relations Staff

(1) Div. of Home Miss & Church Ext.

Rufus E. Clement

(1) Field Found, Inc.

C. H. Brown

(1) Palmer Mem Inst.

(1) Ind. Aid, Inc.

(1) Berea Coll.

G. Mechit Farmers BK.

(9) So. Christian Inst.

publications

BK. Review

(19) Newspaper

(1) Nat. Sharecroppers

Memorandum

(3.) Marshall
Field Found

Hon. Brooks Hays

(3) Agenda-SRC-Annual
Membership Mtg.
SRC-Bd. of Dir

N. Haff
G. Mitchell
M. Fleming
T. Fleming

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
46 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

May 17, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It was my bad luck to be away when you stopped by the office a few weeks ago. Please pardon my delay in writing you as I have been up to the ears trying to get some new printing equipment.

There are a number of things I should like very much to go over with you. There may be a chance to go to Atlanta in the next couple of months, though I doubt it. If you are in our area again, please let me know. I don't expect to be away over a day at a time for the rest of the spring.

Cordially,

George M. Stephens

GMS:j

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

35 St - Misc
Stephens George M

June 1, 1949

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Southern Packet
50 Walnut Street
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Stephens:

That was good of you to approach Mr. Damtoft about a possible contribution of paper for the self-survey manual. It is by no means too late for such a contribution to be helpful, since we have not yet begun to put the manual into print.

We have just received a check for $250 sent in by Mr. Reuben Robertson of The Champion Paper and Fibre Company in response to Mr. Spaulding's letter. The Company may justifiedly feel that that is contribution enough. It would be fine, though, if they decided to be twice generous.

Warmest thanks for all your help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

George Myers Stephens, *Editor*

Published by The Stephens Press

The Southern PACKET
A Monthly Review of Southern Books
50 WALNUT STREET ASHEVILLE, N. C.

May 24, 1949

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Probably we are too late to help you substantially on your printing project involving the contribution of paper from The Champion Paper and Fibre Company. Our main contact there, Mr. Walter J. Damtoft, has had both a wedding in the family and an injured foot. However, we should have some reply from him within the next few days and I hope it still may be of use.

Cordially,

George M. Stephens

George M. Stephens

GMS:j

P.S. Enclosed are a couple of newspaper clippings about community affairs relating to the Negro. You will probably be especially pleased with the one about Dr. Graham's appointment to the U.S. Senate.

Reuben Robertson –

35 - 54. Misc
Stephens, Geo. M.

June 20, 1949

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
50 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Stephens:

Thank you for your letter of June 16.

I quite agree that it would be best to let matters rest with Mr. Robertson's generous contribution to the work of the Council.

As always, we are most grateful to you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
50 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

June 16, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 17 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will close the question of a contribution from The Champion Paper and Fibre Company. Thank you for your letter of June 1 telling of the $250 check from Mr. Reuben Robertson. The secretary's office had notified me about this recently and seemed to indicate that they thought that was about all they would be able to do, though they did not flatly refuse a contribution of paper. They like to stay away from the paper contribution, however, and I think probably we had better let matters rest with Mr. Robertson's check.

Cordially,

George M. Stephens

George M. Stephens

GMS:j

35-St-Pres
Stephens, George Jr.

July 1, 1949

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
50 Walnut Street
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Stephens:

We all like Mr. Weaver's layout job very much. I am returning it, along with the necessary copy and a set of the covers which will appear on the inside spread. The two-color printing of 8,000 copies is what we want.

I am quite willing to trust Mr. Weaver's judgment as to type face and size.

It is generous of the Stephens Press to donate the plates for the job. We are most grateful.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

emc

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
50 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

June 23, 1949

RECEIVED
JUN 24 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed are the two layout sheets as well as your two sheets of copy for the folder on the publications of the Council. Mr. Weaver has laid this out in two colors of ink. This actually does not involve an additional donation from The Stephens Press since one color is by lithographic process while the black is a second run directly from linotype. Just at a guess I should say that $5.00 would cover the type setting, while the extra press run for the linotype would add about $25.00 on 5000 and $32.00 on 8000. In other words, take your present estimates on five and eight thousand to which you should add for running in two colors $30.00 and $37.00 respectively.

It was surely good to see you. Keep me in touch with your work.

Cordially,

George M. Stephens

GMS:j
Enclosure

35 - St Mus
Stephens, Geo. M.

August 15, 1949

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
46 Walnut Street
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Stephens:

Thank you for sending me proof for the forthcoming folder. I am returning it with a few changes indicated. As you will see, I have altered the text very little, since the brief summaries stand pretty well as they are.

It occurred to us that, on the inside spread, the last sentence of the introductory paragraph is ill-placed. I have deleted it there and suggested that it be reset and run at the bottom of the page, if spacing permits. If not, it may be omitted entirely.

Dr. Mitchell asks me to tell you that he will be in Asheville next Tuesday or Wednesday and hopes to see you then.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
46 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

August 10, 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On your folder describing the Southern Regional Council publications, I believe it would be wise for you to look over the press proof of the type. On some items you will see space to add a line while on others you may want to delete a word so as to take one line less in depth, as on numbers 2, 6 and 9.

As the layout is so important that we would have to start all over again if it were lost in the mail, I am taking the liberty of not sending it with this type as you have seen and approved the layout already.

With best wishes, I am

Yours very truly,

George M. Stephens

GMS:j
Enclosure

35-St.
Stephens, George

September 2, 1949

Mr. George Stephens
The Stephens Press
Asheville, N. C.

Dear George:

I am very late in thanking you for a mighty good lunch, good company, and your kindness in letting me meet useful people.

It is a special pleasure to come within your periphery in western North Carolina.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

35 - St Mac
Stephens, George M.

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
46 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

September 7, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S.Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Your request that if possible we get some SRC publications folders into your hands by Thursday when Mrs.Roosevelt speaks is one we would like to carry out, but the work involved won't make this practical.

We are making the plates now. Then each side of the sheet must run through the press for yellow and black with time to dry overnight. This is to be followed by trimming and folding, which adds up to about a week. So we'll try to see this through on schedule.

It was good to see you that all too short lunch period. Even though your method seems gentle, I can see that you are getting results, and I'm proud to be associated even in a small way with your work.

Sincerely,

P.S. Did you notice that the jury which convicted a Negro of the murder of Mrs.Esley Anderson in Charlotte had a Negro as foreman? I'll send you the clipping.

35-St-Inc
Stephens, George

October 5, 1949

Mr. George M. Stephens
The Stephens Press
46 Walnut Street
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear George:

The leaflet is a beautiful job and we are most grateful for it. I will get it out quickly.

Send us the bill and we will start scraping up money.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

35 S Misc Stephens

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
46 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

October 25, 1949

① Mail yellow leaflet & attached

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The special committee from the North Carolina Library Association made plans for conference with a similar committee from the North Carolina Negro Library Association to discuss some of the matters involved in considering a merger. I am enclosing a copy of the minutes.

Thank you for your prompt and good work in sending the information on libraries and other public services and professional organizations now operating on a bi-racial basis. The committee secretary reported that they are much pleased and impressed with your letter. I was not able to attend that meeting, but do expect to attend the subsequent ones at which the question will be seriously discussed.

Cordially,

George M. Stephens

GMS/j

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

Minutes of the first meeting of THE COMMITTEE TO CONSIDER A PETITION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA NEGRO LIBRARY ASSOCIATION TO THE N. C. L. A.

Personnel of the Committee

✓ Miss Susan Borden, Librarian
Goldsboro Public Library

✓ Mrs. Lilian Buchanan, Librarian
Western Carolina Teachers College
Cullowhee, N. C.

Miss Gertrude Coward, Librarian
Harding High School Library, Charlotte

✓ Miss Katherine Day, Ass't Law Librarian
Duke University Law School

Mrs. Mary P. Douglas, Supervisor
City School Libraries, Raleigh

✓ Miss Georgia Faison, Reference Librarian
University of North Carolina

✓ Miss Nancy Gray, Librarian
Wilson County Public Library, Wilson

✓ Miss Evelyn Harrison, Librarian
Womans College, Duke Unibersity

✓ Miss Elizabeth House, Rural Library Supervisor
N. C. Library Commission, Raleigh

Mrs. T. J. Lassiter, Trustee
Johnston County Library, Smithfield

Mrs. Claude S. Morris, Trustee
Rowan County Library, Salisbury

✓ Dr. Ben E. Powell, Librarian
Duke University

Mr. George S. Stephens, Trustee
Pack Memorial Library, Asheville

✓ Miss Jane Wilson, Supervisor
Elementary School Libraries, Durham

Dr. Louis R. Wilson
University of North Carolina

yellow pamphlet addressed 11/1/49 MEJ

(Names of those attending are checked)

The Committee met at the D. H. Hill Library, State College, Raleigh, N. C., Saturday morning, October 8, 1949.

Harlan C. Brown, Librarian of State College and President of N. C. L. A. welcomed the members and thanked them for their generous response to his call for service on this Committee. He announced that he had appointed Miss Elisabeth House as temporary chairman, and he requested that the group elect its permanent chairman and secretary.

Miss Elisabeth House was elected permanent chairman, and Mrs. Lilian Buchanan was elected secretary.

Mr. Brown was requested by the Committee to sit in on all of its meetings.

Miss House prsented the purpose of the meeting by reading to the group the letter which Mrs. Elisabeth Johnson, Executive Secretary of the N. C. Negro Library Association had written to Miss Margaret Ligon, immediate past president of the N. C. L. A. This letter is attached to these minutes.

Miss House explained that it was the duty of this Committee to draft a recommendation which the Executive Committee of the N. C. L. A. could deliver to the Negro Library Association as a reply to its petition.

Mr. Brown asked to introduce three letters as having bearing on the question to be discussed. The first letter was from George M. Stephens, Trustee, Pack Memorial Library, Asheville, N. C. The second letter was from George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc. Atlanta, Georgia. The third letter was from Miss Gladys Johnson, Chief Library Assistant of N. C. Library Commission, Raleigh, N. C. The three letters are attached to these minutes.

There followed a discussion of many of the problems involved in the petition presented by the Negro Library Association. Miss House reported that she was present at the Negro Library Association meeting and heard much of the discussion which preceded the drafting of the petition. She was sure there were agitators from the outside who were urging the Negroes to action. She had also attended a recent meeting of the South Carolina Library Association and observed that four Negro librarians attended the Convention; however, the Negroes did not attend the banquet, but sat in the balcony. Miss House reported that N. C. State Aid is administered regardless of race, if the Negroes are interested in having State Aid. In counties where Negro librarues are established, the Negroes get their proportional amount of State Aid. If there are no Negro libraries, all of the allotment goes to white libraries.

Dr. Powell told of the liberal policy of the Duke libraries in regard to Negroes. He admits even groups of high school pupils, if they are accompanied by a teacher.

Miss Harrison said that Negro women students in Durham could use the library at Womans College, and that they made no attempt to segregate them. Only two white students had moved from a reading table when a Negro student came to sit with them. One of the white students who moved was from New Jersey!

Miss Nancy Gray discussed the problem of giving service to Negroes in a public library. She also made the point that the Negroes would be deprived of much personal development which they received in the Negro Library Association, if they became lost in a merger of the two Associations.

Miss Faison reported that Negroes had been using the library facililities at the University of N. C. for fifteen or twenty years, and they were not segregated in the reading rooms. She also pointed out that the University did graduate work for the Negroes at N. C. College in Durham.

Mr. Brown said that Negroes were given service at State College Library. Up until 1936 they had been segregated. Now they sit where they wish. If they wish to check out library materials, they are handled through inter-library loan.

Miss Susan Borders favored the Negro librarians joining the N. C. L. A. as individual members, thus bringing about a merger of the two Associations by infiltration.

Mrs. Buchanan felt this would be tantamount to temporising with the problem rather than solving it. She favored a more direct course of action by inviting a committee from the Negro Library Association to meet with our Committee and face forthrightly the problems involved. In this way she felt the Negroes would see for themselves that our disposition was one of friendly cooperation, and they would decide for themselves, after a full discussion, that a merger was not the best course to pursue at this time. Mrs. Buchanan made a motion to this affect. Her motion did not receive a second.

Miss Gray made a motion that we recommend to our Association that Negroes be admitted to membership as individuals. This motion was not seconded.

Dr. Powell finally combined both of these motions into one motion which passed the Committee unanimously. The motion follows:

> "I move that we convey to the Executive Committee of the N. C. L. A. that it is our opinion that we should invite Negro librarians to become members of our Association, with the approval of our Association at their next Convention, but that we believe the Negroes should continue to maintain their own Association; and that the Executive Board of the N. C. L. A. should request the President of the Negro Library Association to appoint a committee of Negro librarians to meet with our Committee and discuss with us the problems involved in a joint Association."

After voting to pass this motion, the Committee adjourned.

Respectfully submitted.

_____

Chairman

_____

Secretary

35 S Misc.
Stephens

The STEPHENS PRESS
GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
46 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

June 2, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Thanks very much for the kind letter of May 4 telling about the success of The Changing South in Print. We were proud to have a part in it but the booklets you describe are, of course, the reason for your success.

I do hope things are going well with your general operation, especially the budget. I know what it is to struggle, as that is what we have been doing for the last twelve months with this larger new equipment, and we face the prospect of doing so for another year at least.

When you get in this area remember a few minutes or a few hours with you at lunch, or in the evening, are a very welcome pleasure.

Cordially,

George

George M. Stephens

GMS/j

RECEIVED
JUN 5 1950
Southern Regional Council

HF
File

35-S11-misc
S Stephens

The STEPHENS PRESS

GEORGE MYERS STEPHENS
50 WALNUT STREET
ASHEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA

September 13, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Here is the little booklet by Mr. R. Beverley Herbert of Columbia, entitled What We Can Do About the Race Problem. Things are beginning to leaven a little in South Carolina. People like Mr. Herbert and Arthur Williams will probably respond gratefully to any encouragement you give them.

It was good to see you those all too brief minutes last week. Please be sure to give me a better chance at you when you come again.

Cordially,

George

George M. Stephens

GMS/j
Encl.

RECEIVED
SEP 14 1950
Southern Regional Council

December 16, 1965

Dear Mr. Howe:

I am, of course, very pleased that you want to use a condensed version of "Enoounter With the Future" in Dissent. There are problems.

The main one is my own critical time problem right now. I have had to cut out all extra-duty work like this because of (a) a March deadline on a book we are doing here at the Council on the Voter Education Project of 1961-64, and (b) ironically enough, a switch-over in our own publication, New South, from monthly to quarterly with considerable expansion of subject matter.

Beyond this, the pamphlet will appear in an anthology of magazine stories next spring, and a much condensed version -- reduced I fear almost to meaninglessness -- will appear I think it is in January in a new publication called Counterpart. (This is an attempt to contrast Russian and U. S. life, edited by Leo Gruliow -- you probably know about it.)

Anyhow, if against all such obstacles as that, you would want to do the cutting and let me try to update -- on the basis, I fear, of little more than random contect with the movement down here and hearsay -- I'd be willing to give it a try. But I would much prefer to think about doing a fresh piece in the spring (when my time is more my own again), developing as one strong theme the paradox of how the more the movement wins, the more it loses its original purity and flexibility, a study in short of its Americanization, of what getting "in" entails.

Let me know. And thank you again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Irving Howe
509 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

May 17, 1966

Miss Edith Tarcov
37 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10023

Dear Miss Tarcov:

As you may have read, SNCC has had a big shake-up in its officers. This is closely tied in with what I had been trying to develop for the Dissent article. It will be impossible to talk with the people I need to before late this week or early next week and this runs me closer than I like to be on your deadline.

I hate to keep putting you off, but I wonder if it would be possible to miss one more deadline and aim for your next issue? I think I could give you a better and perhaps longer piece discussing politics of the movement, tendencies toward black nationalism and new directions in community organizations. I think I could have this to you by June 15; certainly no later than June 30. The SNCC developments are crucial, particularly on politics and black nationalism.

You can let me know if this is all right by return mail.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

File

DISSENT

A BI-MONTHLY OF SOCIALIST OPINION 509 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

MU 7-0890

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May 16, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thanks very much for your letter of May 9. We are very glad that you are planning to finish your article in time for our next issue.

As to the matter of SNCC -- Yes, this is what we would like for you to write about. Also -- SNCC's line on the voting in the Alabama elections, and SNCC's relationship to the strategy of the rest of the movement would probably be of great interest to the readers of DISSENT.

Thanks again. I'm looking forward to reading your article.

Sincerely,

Edith Tarcov

Edith Tarcov
Editorial Assistant

P.S. Please send the piece directly to my home address. Could you include a short biographical note, for our contributors' column?

May 9, 1966

Miss Edith Tarcov
37 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10023

Dear Miss Tarcov:

Forgive me for not answering your previous letter sooner. I need to do some interviewing, but with any luck on this, I will be able to send you a ten-page piece on the movement by May 25. I had been holding off deciding whether to shoot for something longer until I could do the interviewing, but I think having a deadline for the shorter piece will be the best thing all around.

One of the things I wanted to explore is SNCC's moving to all-black stances in various circumstances. I think I can tie this in with the Alabama elections. I had not heard about any unusual difficulties SNCC is having with other organizations. Do you have any particulars?

Thank you again for wanting me to write these things and for your patience. I will send you something by May 25.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

DISSENT

MU 7-0890

A BI-MONTHLY OF SOCIALIST OPINION 509 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

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May 5, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Now that the dramatic Alabama primaries have taken place, we are indeed eager to receive your article on the Movement -- on the Alabama elections, too -- in time for our next issue. Could you please also write in it of the difficulties between SNCC and the rest of the civil rights movement?

I look forward to hearing from you -- and am eager to read your piece. May we, please, ask you to let us have it by May 25?

With best wishes, and best regards from Irving Howe,

Sincerely,

Edith Tarcov

Edith Tarcov

P.S. Could you please send your answer to my home address -- 37 Riverside Drive, New York 10023 -- as it will simplify matter for us? --Thanks in advance.

DISSENT

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Paid 4/14/66

April 12, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for your letter of April 1. Your proposal to write the piece on the Movement after the Alabama elections in May seems excellent.

To enable us to carry it in the following issue, the piece should not exceed about 10 typewritten pages. Should you, however, prefer to do a more extensive, longer article, we would want to hold it for a later issue.

Please let me know what you would prefer to do.
May I suggest -- if possible -- that your typist set her line for about 70 letter spaces? This would enable us to estimate type space needed.

If you decide to write the current, shorter article, the deadline of June 1 (latest) makes indeed good sense.

Irving Howe joins me in sending best regards.

Sincerely,

Edith Tarcov

Edith Tarcov
Editorial Assistant

P.S. To facilitate matters, could you kindly send letters and article to my home address directly? It is: 37 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10023

April 1, 1966

Ms. Edith Tarcov
Editorial Assistant
Dissent
509 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York 10017

Dear Ms. Tarcov:

Thank you for your letter of March 17. I have just returned to the office and should be able to start work on a piece about the movement. Since much of the activity now involves politics, I think it would be good to include the outcome of the May 2 primaries in Alabama in the piece. This should give a sounding on the future of all black parties.

Does the deadline around June 1 make sense? Let me know.

My regards to Mr. Howe.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

DISSENT

MU 7-0890

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Rec'd 3/18/66

March 17, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

With spring just around the corner, we would like to let you know that we are still very much interested in receiving an article from you. We hope that, some time in the near future, you will be able to spare the time to write the piece you had discussed with Irving Howe some months ago.

He joins me in sending best regards.

Sincerely,

Edith Tarcov

Edith Tarcov
Editorial Assistant

DISSENT A QUARTERLY OF SOCIALIST OPINION 509 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y. MU 7-0890

January 4, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Mr. Howe asked me to thank you for your letter and to give you his regards. He agrees with you. We too would prefer to receive a fresh article from you in the spring. Paul Feldman is now working on a report about "the movement" for us, but there is not likely to be any overlap. We will send you a copy of the piece as soon as we have it.

You will hear from us again in a little while.

Sincerely,

Edith Tarcov

(Mrs.) Edith Tarcov
Editorial Assistant

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CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Erich Fromm, Sid Lens, Frank Marquart, A. J. Muste, George Woodcock

June 2, 1966

Miss Edith Tarcov
37 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10023

Dear Miss Tarcov:

Thank you for your letter received here today. Mr. Watters is out of the city at the present time, but I am sure he will be pleased to find your complimentary comments awaiting his arrival.

I have enclosed the biographical sketch you requested. If I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to ask.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

jcs

Enclosure - 1.

June 2, 1966

Biographical Sketch - Walter Patterson Watters, Jr.

Born February 28, 1927, Spartanburg, South Carolina. Lived in several South Carolina and South Georgia towns until age of ten when family moved to Atlanta. This has been home since.

Army of Occupation service in Germany, 1945 to 1947. B. A. in journalism from Emory University in 1951; Phi Beta Kappa; M. A. in journalism from University of Iowa, 1952.

Married to the former Cecile Rhinehart of Detroit, 1952; two children.

Worked for the Atlanta Journal as reporter, assistant city editor, city editor, and daily columnist and book editor from 1952 to 1963. Information Director, Southern Regional Council from 1963 to the present.

Articles on the South and race relations have appeared in the Nation, New Republic, Progressive, Reporter, New York Times, and Atlantic magazines.

DISSENT

MU 7-0890

A BI-MONTHLY OF SOCIALIST OPINION 509 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

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Herman Singer
Norman Thomas
George Woodcock

May 31, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Rec'd 6/2/66

Dear Mr. Watters:

Our thanks for the fine and informative article! We are very happy with it and most grateful that you were kind enough to let us have it in time for this issue. We worked on it -- did a little cutting and editing, keeping your sense and argument intact, of course -- and it's already at the printer's.

May I please have a short biographical note -- a couple of sentences -- for our contributors' column?

Really, we are very grateful -- and happy to receive this excellent piece.

With best wishes, also from Irving Howe who joins me in thanking you and wants you to know how very much he likes the piece,

Sincerely,

Edith Tarcov

Edith Tarcov

June 3, 1966

Miss Edith Tarcov
37 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10023

Dear Miss Tarcov:

Thanks very much for your kind comments.

I am writing to be certain that I will get proofs. There is one rather important correction I need to make. If there is not time for proofs, let me know and we can fix it by phone.

You might want to include in the biography that "Encounter With the Future" is appearing in an anthology to be published June 20 by Crown, Best Magazine Articles: 1966. It was, of course, concerned with the movement also.

Thanks again.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters

PW:js

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

June 6, 1966

Miss Edith Tarcov
37 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10023

Dear Miss Tarcov:

Following are the other two corrections we discussed:

On page 8 of my manuscript, second paragraph, second sentence, make it read: SCLC, which had more than 1,000 of them down last year, apparently would not have many this year . . . Inserting: have many.

On page 13, in the first full paragraph, after first sentence: The Wallace victory was surely a shot from the dark of the past. Insert the following two sentences:

> The Democratic Primary victory of the moderate Robert King High over Gov. Haydon Burns, who reverted to racist form in the run-off campaign, fit the new hopeful pattern. Surely it is more typical than Alabama.

Then pick up: The work goes on . . . etc.

Thank you again. And again, my regards to Mr. Howe.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

June 21, 1966

The Editors
Dissent
509 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

I would appreciate receiving eight copies of the issue of Dissent in which my article is to appear.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

DISSENT

509 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Date: June 20/1966

Dear Friend:

The next issue of DISSENT will contain your article. As an author you are entitled to 20 copies of the magazine, without charge. Please advise us by return mail how many copies you would like us to send you. We do not have reprints; additional copies are 40¢ each.

Cordially yours,

The Editors

PS. If you furnish us with names & addresses we will be pleased to send copies directly to your friends.

VIA AIR MAIL

September 16, 1966

Miss Edith Tarcov
737 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10023

Dear Miss Tarcov:

Thank you. I will send 1,500 words or less by October 1 on the Atlanta-SNCC imbroglio, trying to put it perspective of black power developments. Everything considered, I don't think we came out too badly on the last piece, considering all that happened after it went to press.

My regards to Irving Howe.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

DISSENT

MU 7-0890

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September 13, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Would it be possible for you to let us have a short piece -- we would like no more than 1500 words-- on the situation of SNCC in Atlanta? We would need the piece by October 1, as we are going to press again.

We would be very pleased, if you would write the piece and hope to hear from you soon that you will do so.

(This will give me an opportunity to write of your contribution to Best Mag. Articles 1966 in our contributors' column...)

Hoping to hear from you soon -- and that you have had a pleasant summer -- I remain, with best regards,

Sincerely,
Edith Tarcov
Edith Tarcov

Irving Howe also sendshis regards.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Harry Fleischman

REGARDING

Mass Media Committee meetings re: "tokenism"

DATE

June 12, 1962

(SEE)

Name or Subject

National Labor Service - ltr. from Harry Fleischman

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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RECEIVED
JUL 11 1962

July 9, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is in response to your letter of June 22nd. I have discussed the outline of the proposed publication on Tokenism with some of my colleagues in the office. We like the outline very much and think it is substantially adequate with a few minor revisions and changes.

We believe that the question of resegregation might very well be considered in the publication. While it may be related to the matter of slow desegregation, we have no strong feelings as to exactly where it belongs in the outline. However, I am certain we agree that it should be dealt with.

We also are of the feeling that there should be some expansion of the last section dealing with the matter of law. Beyond the question of the continued legal attack on school desegregation is a whole complex of questions. The matter of the use of law to speed desegregation as well as its use for retarding it, might well be considered. Certainly there are other aspects of this which you and your staff and Branton and Foster might wish to consider.

There is a question also as to the impact of such a pamphlet on Negro leadership and the general Negro community. I suspect, of course, that Jim can be very helpful on that.

Finally, much as I am flattered at the possible relating to educational theory, for several reasons I think it better that I not undertake the task. For one thing, I shall be in and out of the office from now through Labor Day. I just will

not have the time available to do this. Additionally, I have the feeling that an important name in education, possibly from a southern institution, might be more appropriate. People like Dean J. B. White and Kim Wiles at the University of Florida, Herbert Wey at the University of Miami, or Ed Ladd at Emory whom I do not know but of whom I have heard fine things could be possibilities for this memorandum. Obviously, I would be happy to go over it and do what I could to make appropriate comments and suggestions and the like. You can certainly count on me for that.

I think your deadline of October would be just fine -- if it can be realistically attained. Let's continue to keep in touch.

Cordially,

Mort

Morton J. Sobel, Director
National Dept. of Colleges and Universities

MJS:le

June 22, 1962

Dr. Mort Sobel
Anti-Defamation League, Inc.
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mort:

At long last.

It would seem to us that the next step would be that you ruthlessly work over this outline. We would hope that after you have done so you could come down to Atlanta and talk it out. If this isn't possible, perhaps we can reach the necessary concensus by correspondence.

We are still inclined toward the method of soliciting memoranda on the various aspects of the subject, and then turning the material over to one person to write-up. Please, however, be free with your criticisms of this approach.

As you know, C. H. Parrish, Professor of Sociology at the University of Louisville, is already working on II-A1 and II-A2. We have a good bit of data already assembled here on the first part of II-A3 (special sessions and litigation, etc.). We think it would be fairly easy to do II-A4. Out best suggestion of an expert to write the memorandum on II-B is Mort Sobel. I believe I told you of the very able psychiatrist, Dr. M. Robert Coles, who is with us and who could probably be prevailed upon for II-C. Jim Moss is already at work on II-D. Our

staff member, Benjamin Muse, could make the strongest legitimate case under II-E; this seems to us worth doing because of the value of viewing with as much clarity and charity as possible the other side of the argument. Wiley Branton, who handled so much school litigation, is now on our staff and I believe that not only he but Bill Foster of the University of Wisconsin would be willing to put some thought on II-F; we would hope that Arnold Forster would also. We have at the moment no one specially in mind to do the final writing.

Having procrastinated, it ill behooves me to speak of deadlines. Nevertheless, there would be a great advantage, we think, in aiming for publication in early fall, say October. By doing so, the study could take account of enrollment data for this September. We think that appearing shortly after school-opening the pamphlet would be provided with good leverage for getting public attention and could be, at least in primary significance, a report in depth to the country of what the ninth year of school desegregation has attained.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

I. The theme of the study would be the harm done to the public interest by the effort to hold school desegregation to the smallest possible numbers.

The effect on the public interest would be shown in various aspects: economic, social, psychological, educational, etc.

While recent court decisions make it more difficult for southern states to use pupil placement laws and grade-a-year plans for the tight limitation of desegregation, only the naive would believe that the days of tokenism have ended.

At the same time, tokenism is today a moving target. The ridiculously small numbers of two years or even a year ago are growing. In perhaps some cases - e.g., Charlotte - a decisive change of policy has occurred. The study will be pointless if it aims at the nightmares of the recent past, and not at the changing - even if slowly - situations of the present.

The study might well be directed at three "audiences":

--southern white liberal opinion, to help disabuse it of complacency

--federal courts, to contribute to a climate of ideas guiding the shaping of decrees

--northern press and other media, to inform them that Atlanta's and New Orleans' and Richmond's, etc., schools are not - as they like to say and believe - "integrated"

II. OUTLINE OF THE PAMPHLET:

A. Results of eight years of school desegregation in the South.

1) Compilation and analysis of figures on Negroes in schools with whites in the 17 states. The analysis should get into such questions as desegregation rates in the various geographical and cultural sections of the area; the tendency of desegregation to hit a plateau; why there are sudden spurts, as in Nashville in 1960; relationship between the rate of desegregation and the type of desegregation plan: etc.

2) Compile and analyze such data as may be obtained from at least one or two school systems on the academic results of desegregation. This would have to be done in a school system which has had substantial desegregation and, desirably, in school systems as far south as possible. Louisville, perhaps. Nashville, perhaps.

3) The vigor and rigor of southern effort to retain segregation as spelled out by certain illustrative costs, such as cost of special sessions and litigation, etc; but also and more importantly as spelled out by such costs as the duplication or non-use of school property in order to maintain a racial system, and the mis-use of school administrators; time, thought, and energy in defense of segregation.

4) A brief sketch of the history and nature of the various types of desegregation plans (which have often been plans for the evasion of desegregation).

B. An evaluation of the effects, implications, problems, etc., from the standpoint of educational theory, of maintaining an artificially low number of Negro students in predominantly white classrooms, while at the same time maintaining all-Negro schools and, some all-white schools. This would seem to be an issue pregnant for discussion and analysis. It is hard to believe that educationists in our colleges have not developed criteria which would enable them to speak to the educational problems (never mind the social, political, or psychological ones) of token allotments of Negro children. Yet there has been little or no such guidance given by the schools of education.

C. A consideration of the effects on the children involved. What it does to them and what it does to their futures. What it does to their families.

D. A description and discussion of some of the social problems created for a community by the community's own action in pursuing tokenism. Southern communities have tough racial problems. Are these problems added to and in what way? Are new problems created by a deliberate pursual of token desegregation? What is the effect on the political climate of the community by the everlasting debate about school desegregation? What is the effect on the concept of the school as a social center, by the artificialities of presently used pupil assignment procedures, etc.

E. What has been, in its best form, the case for slow desegregation of the schools. Rightly or wrongly, there are white southerners and some Negro southerners as well who are convinced that desegregation should begin slowly and proceed at a slow rate. What is the reasoning behind this?

F. The southern states and communities have, over the last decade, expended enormous sums of energy and money and brains in fighting losing court battles. What are the prospects for continued legal attack on school desegregation whose intention is the slowing of desegregation.

G. Conclusion.

July 18, 1962

Mr. Richard Shapiro
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dick:

You and Pete might like to look over the enclosures before Tuesday. You might keep in mind that Jim Moss is gone and will not be contributing.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Enclosures: Ltr. from Dr. Morton Sobel, ADL dtd. 7/9/62 and LWD ltr. to Dr. Sobel, dtd 6/22/62 - both related to proposed publication on Tokenism

August 3, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

This is very fine, and I shall see you on August 20 at Bethany Beach, Delaware unless you hear from me to the contrary. In the meantime, I am enclosing copies of a letter of ours of June 22 and the response of July 9 from the Anti-Defamation League. These will, I think, give you some background. I would like to repeat, however, what I said to you over the telephone that we would want you to revise the outline and strengthen it as you see fit.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Dr. Morton Sobel
Mr. Richard Shapiro

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

August 14, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

If my thoughts on "tokenism" should have any value for you, it would be at this juncture.

I do not wish to belabor the point, but I wonder if we are not dealing with a neat expression rather than an important phenomenon.

I don't think token integration is really an "ism" any longer. There was something of the sort in circulation in 1957-1960. Jack Kilpatrick, John Temple Graves and other segregationists played with the idea that we could "get the federal courts off our backs" by merely integrating two or three Negro children here and there.

That theory was hard hit in 1961 and will be completely exploded in 1962. Instead of integrating by the dozen, Charlotte, Nashville, Richmond, Fairfax, Arlington, etc. are now integrating by the hundred. Very few school districts where integration has begun are standing still. We would like to see integration by the thousand, but the value of a brochure on "tokenism" in hastening it, I think needs to be analysed.

A study of the harmful effects on piecemeal integration would be in line with our policy of reporting on the aspects of the Southern problem which give us concern. Such a report, I think, would be of interest and value to educators, sociologists, etc. If accompanied by a study of the economic waste in continuing the dual system, it might have some influence now upon the powers that be in Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee.

Generally speaking, I think communities will have to be well along in the desegregation experience before they will listen seriously to arguments, however cogent, for going all the way. Federal courts, or the threat of court action, remain the most effective means of extending integration gains after the initial breakthrough.

See you next Monday evening at the Washington airport.

Ben

August 24, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Morland
Randolph Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

I still feel a bit guilty about breaking in on you at the beach. It was good of you to give Henry and me an afternoon and I wish you would extend my apologies also to your wife.

I have a note of all the things I agreed to get to you and as we can they will be coming up. Under separate cover now are the following:

The Bob Coles memorandum
School Desegregation: The First Six Years
Action Patterns in School Desegregation
Saturday Review, December 17, 1960

The latter three items all contain good stuff on desegregation plans. An article by Bill Foster is in the Review. In School Desegregation: The First Six Years, see Answer #13. In Action Patterns, see generally Part 2. In addition I would recommend to you as being excellent background, Chapter 3 of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1961 report, Volume II. If you cannot conveniently get hold of this let me know.

We shall in addition try to do a memorandum along the lines of Answer 13 by covering considerably more places.

It may be in order for me to recapitulate our agreement. As I understand it you will, with aid from us and the Anti-Defamation League on materials and memoranda, draft a report, if possible, by the end of this year. We shall

pay you the modest honorarium of $400.00 plus reimbursement for any expenses you may incur.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:jl
cc: Mr. Henry Schwarzchild

September 11, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Moreland
Department of Sociology
Randolph Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Moreland:

I am enclosing a memorandum concerning "Token School Desegregation and the Law" as part of the background information we agreed to supply you for your pamphlet on "Tokenism." The memorandum was prepared by Professor William Foster of the University of Wisconsin Law School.

I am also enclosing a copy of a story which appeared in last Friday's Arkansas Gazette which may be of some interest to you.

We are in the process of collecting materials illustrating the costs of resistance to desegregation and will be forwarding it to you shortly. We are also preparing a memorandum on the various types of school desegregation plans put into effect in various southern cities, and I hope to have it ready for you by late this week or early next.

I hope all goes well on this project, and I look forward to reading your manuscript when it is completed. If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
enclosures (2)

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

P.S. Please give my regards to RMWC Alumnae Secretary Anne Ribble.

September 17, 1962

Professor C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Professor Parrish:

We are most grateful to you for your letter of September 10 and the accompanying data on desegregated school districts. I am sure this information will be very helpful to Dr. Kenneth Moreland in preparing his study of tokenism, and I am sending him a copy of your letter as well as copies of your enclosures.

I gather from your concluding paragraph that you are planning to send us further information, analysis, and interpretation involving the projects on which you have been working, and I look forward to receiving them.

Again, many thanks for giving us the benefit of your time and talent. Leslie Dunbar sends his best regards.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

REV. LOWNDES

rec'd

September 24, 1962

Professor Kenneth Moreland
Department of Sociology
Randolph Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Moreland:

C. H. Parrish of the Department of Sociology of the University of Louisville was here last Friday and brought along a further statistical breakdown by districts of "Negroes in Schools with Whites, 1954-1962." I am enclosing a copy of this information.

Since you may well be somewhat mystified by all this data, Professor Parrish has graciously volunteered to come to Lynchburg to discuss this material with you as well as to ascertain what sort of additional statistical information you might require in preparing your study of tokenism. He suggested that you write him directly to arrange such a meeting, and I hope you will do so as soon as it is conveniently possible.

I am also enclosing a few news clips with stories giving some examples of the costs involved in resisting desegregation. We have not had much luck in assembling such information, but we are hoping to unearth further illustrative examples and will send whatever we find to you as soon as possible.

Finally, I am sending by separate mail a copy of the 1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report on EDUCATION. It has a greal deal of information which I think will be useful to you in preparing your study. For example, I refer you to the discussion of the three basic types of plan for implementing desegregation, which begins on page 17. I only request that you return this booklet to us when you have completed your study.

I hope all this material will be helpful to you, and I trust you will let us know if you have further research requests. We will do our best to reply to them.

Yours sincerely,

REV. LOWNDES

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SB

September 27, 1962

Dr. Kenneth Moreland
Professor of Sociology
Randolph Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Dr. Moreland:

The statistical materials recently sent to you from the Southern Regional Council are patently incomplete. I hope you can make some sense out of them. Time ran out before I had an opportunity to prepare an adequate analysis and commentary. However, I still feel obligated to submit whatever ideas I have that may prove helpful in the development of your desegregation study. The only difficulty is that, now that classes have begun, there is no telling when I can organize the materials into a satisfactory report. Needless to say, I'll work at it every chance I get.

Meanwhile, I hope you will feel free to raise specific questions about the materials already at hand and to suggest other points that might be investigated while I am still sensitized to the SERS data. If it seems desirable and feasible, we can get together for a day sometime during the next few weeks and clear up many of the obscurities.

Let me hear from you as soon as possible in order that a mutually satisfactory arrangement can be agreed upon.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

Copy to:
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

October 2, 1962

Professor Kenneth Morland
Department of Sociology
Randolph Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Morland:

As an example of the costs involved in resisting desegregation, I am enclosing a copy of a letter received this week from Dr. William Havard, chairman of the government department at Louisiana State University. He kindly sent me a breakdown of the legislative expenses involved in the special sessions of the Louisiana legislature held in late 1960 and early 1961, as well as some information about the state's tuition grants-in-aid program. I am also enclosing a small pamphlet entitled "The High Cost of Conflict." It is a roundup of opinion from the southern business community on the economic consequences of school closings and violence." I hope the enclosures will be of use to you.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
enclosures (2)

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

October 5, 1962

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

I appreciate all of the material that you have been sending me. Although I have not begun to organize my writings, the things that you have sent are proving most helpful in directing my thought.

As I do move more deeply into this I shall be consulting with you to get your reactions.

Again, with appreciation,

Sincerely,

Ken Morland

J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman

JKM:pm

SBV

I have written separately to C.H. Please act to this letter as you feel best

Morland "Zakenism" file

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE
LOUISVILLE 8, KENTUCKY

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 3, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Under separate cover, I am returning the materials from SRC files which I borrowed for use in the research you asked me to do this summer. Also, I am sending other odds and ends for your review. Since I have heard no more about the study, I doubt that they will have any importance. I got a little discouraged with the whole thing, particularly, when I discovered that, after putting in more than the allotted time, there was practically nothing produced that wasn't known all along. It was somewhat frustrating, too, not to understand clearly how the materials were to be used.

In capsule form, you already have my comments on the materials. Four factors entering into a community's decision to desegregate its schools are: (1) The political posture of the state; (2) Local economic considerations; (3) The activities of NAACP in securing court orders; and, (4) Resistance to degegregation by the Negro community. The first of these is most important in distinguishing the hard core South from the fringe areas (including Florida and Texas). The second factor operates to speed desegregation in outlying counties with small Negro populations. Obviously, the effectiveness of the NAACP is greater in the large cities than elsewhere. And, finally, it is in the "in-between" places with a declining Negro population that the vested interests of Negro teachers are likely to slow down the desegregation process. It is also my view that these factors and other unmentioned ones seldom if ever appear in isolation. Thus the very complexity of the situation in any given instance makes a neat classification system impossible.

"Negroes in school with whites" is a misleading statistic for large cities because of the shifting enrollment of whites in predominantly Negro schools. If it is important, I can use Louisville and Washington data to illustrate this point. I have no immediate suggestion on the comparison of cities with respect to the academic results of desegregation, although I suspect that academic standards have been raised in almost every case, not because of the desegregation plan used but rather because the controversy has forced a reappraisal of the whole school system and the introduction of corrective measures.

If I can arrange to be there, I'll see you at the annual meeting. Meanwhile, if there are specific points of interpretation that need to be cleared up about the tables I have sent in, let me know.

Cordially,

C.H.

December 5, 1962

J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Morland:

Les Dunbar passed your letter of December 3 on to me. Regarding the deadline for your Token Desegregation pamphlet, I think if you could have the manuscript to us by early February at the latest, then we could have it ready for publication in the early Spring of 1963.

I hope this arrangement is suitable to you and will enable you to attend the Nashville conference later this month. I figure you can probably complete the writing between semesters rather than in the week following Christmas.

I trust you saw the story in last Sunday's Washington Post about the new two-volume study on Public Schools released by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. I imagine this will be most useful for the purposes of your study and should be readily available through the facilities of Randolph-Macon.

Please let me know if there is anything we can do further to help you in completing your study.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

December 3, 1962

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

early Feb, for spring publication

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have received an invitation, thanks to the good word from you and Paul Rilling, to attend The conference at Nashville in December. I would like very much to go, but the week following Christmas is the one in which I had hoped to wind up my initial draft of the token desegregation project. I am finding it very difficult to arrange for sustained periods to write with the heavy schedule I am carrying. What I need to know is something definite about the time limitations the S.R.C. and A.D.L. have for the token desegregation pamphlet.

The conference should prove helpful in finding out feelings concerning desgregation as related to integration. Therefore I would like to attend, but at the same time do not want to delay the writing unduly.

Sincerely yours,

Ken

J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman

JKM:pm

January 18, 1963

Professor Kenneth Morland
Department of Sociology
Randolph-Macon Women's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Morland:

Just in case you missed it, I am enclosing a copy of this week's "Speaking Out" column from the Saturday Evening Post. Written by noted Negro newsman and New Frontiersman Carl T. Rowan, the piece is a hard-hitting attack on tokenism. I don't know if it will be of any use to you, but I thought you might be able to use it for reference or possibly for some good quotes.

Incidentally, you may also want to see a new pamphlet called "An Adventure in Human Relations." Sub-titled "A three-year experimental project on schools in a changing neighborhood," the pamphlet focuses on the public schools in Wilmington, Delaware. Copies can be obtained from either the Wilmington Public Elementary Schools Department, Wilmington, or from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 West 57th Street, New York 19.

I trust you are now nearing completion of your study, and I look forward to seeing it within the near future.

Yours Sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

Enclosure - 1.

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

February 4, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Staige:

It will be the end of the week before the research report is in the mail. The final few pages have to be rewritten and the entire manuscript typed. Nothing was ever said about length, but I have said what I feel needs to be said in approximately 35 pages, double-spaced.

There are two references about which I have questions. One is a report to C. H. Parrish by the Superintendent of the Austin, Texas public schools. I have inclosed the correspondence, including the table from which I have arranged some data. Just what should be given as a source? Will permission have to be obtained from the superintendent himself?

Another reference is to the Alabama Law Review and is quoted in an unpublished manuscript. I can refer to the manuscript, but it would be preferable to refer to the Law Review itself without mentioning the manuscript. This will be clear, I think, when my paper arrives.

This has proved to be a formidable task for me, particularly with the need to peruse the Race Relations Law Reporter. But I have learned a great deal, and I trust that the paper will prove publishable.

Sincerely,

Ken

J. Kenneth Morland

AUSTIN INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT
OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
AUSTIN 1, TEXAS

August 30, 1962

Dr. C. H. Parrish
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear Dr. Parrish:

In answer to your request of August 2, Mr. Burnes, director of our counseling program, has prepared the enclosed statement.

Mr. Burnes states that we have had so few Negro pupils in our previously all-white schools he doubts that the data will be meaningful to you in your study. He has selected Allan and University Junior High Schools with one specific grade (the ninth) so that he could locate data for the before-and-after years.

We are glad to send you this information.

Sincerely yours,

Irby B. Carruth

Irby B. Carruth

IBC:ag

Enclosure

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AUSTIN, TEXAS

Achievement Test Medians at Ninth Grade Level in Two Schools,
Before and After Beginning of Desegregation

Desegregation is being accomplished in The Austin Independent School District on a plan of opening certain grades each year to Negro pupils, having begun at the high school level in 1954-55. There were only about a half dozen Negro pupils choosing to transfer to white schools during the first year and about a dozen by the end of the third year, when desegregation was extended to the junior high schools.

By the 1957-58 school year, with desegregation of the ninth grade, a few more Negro pupils enrolled in white schools. The two formerly all-white schools in Austin having the largest Negro enrollment were Allan Jr. High and University Jr. High — the two schools closest geographically to Austin's largest Negro residential area. Even these two schools had so few Negro pupils that little or nothing could be reflected in any comparison of before-and-after achievement test results. However, the ninth grade, Calif. Reading and Calif. Arithmetic test score medians for the two schools are shown as follows below:

(a) for the two years preceding desegregation (prior to 1957-58)
(b) for the first two years of desegregation (1957-58 and 1958-59)
(c) for the most recent year (1961-62)

School	Grade	Av. No. of Pupils in Grade	Av. No. of Negroes in Grade	1955-56		1956-67		1957-58		1958-59		1961-62	
				Read	Arith	Read	Arith	Read	Arith	Read	Arith	Read	Arith
Allan Jr. High (Enrollment largely low socio-economic)	9th	300	20 (about 7%)	7.5	7.7	7.4	7.8	7.7	7.7	7.7	8.3	8.1	8.5
University Jr. High (Widely diversified socio-economic enrollment)	9th	275	15 (about 6%)	9.5	9.5	9.6	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.6	9.7	9.0	9.3

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

February 21, 1963

Professor Kenneth Morland
Chairman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Randolph-Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

I have now had a chance to read through your manuscript, and I would like to congratulate you for a job well done; your study of tokenism is excellent. We will, of course, have to do a bit of editing and polishing, but I see no need whatsoever for any heavy surgery. The study reads well, makes its points clearly, and adds up to a devastating indictment of all the schemes hatched to by-pass or evade the law of the land.

Since your manuscript arrived hard-on-the-heels of a study of the economic status of Negroes in the South and the Nation, by Vivian Henderson (which is also very good), we are rather swamped with publishable pamphlets at the moment. I hope, however, that we can have your manuscript ready to go to press within the next few weeks. Les has not had a chance to read it yet, but he plans to do so very shortly and undoubtedly will let you know what he thinks about it.

Needless to say, we are most grateful to you for expending so much time and effort on this study.

rest assured your struggle -- and those many evenings of work -- have been well worth it. A check for your fee of $400.00 will be written next week, and you should receive it well before the Ides of March are upon us

Again, many thanks for preparing this work for us. I hope you'll allow us to call upon your services again in the future -- and that we'll get a chance to meet each other before too many moons have passed.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB/mmj

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

February 14, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Staige:

Here, at long last, is the manuscript. There comes a point at which one must stop trying to polish and reorganize, otherwise one would never end.

It turned out to be longer than I wrote I expected it would. One reason is that in the final typing I decided to double-space, as well as indent, the long quotes. I thought this would make it easier for you edit the paper. And do feel free to cut at places which you feel do not add a great deal. After my initial drafts, I decided to begin to quote the courts directly, rather than paraphrasing their rulings. The actual statements by the courts are powerful, in my opinion.

Take a special look at footnote 42 on page 27. You will recognize this as information you received from Harvard. Is this the proper way to acknowledge it, or does it require a footnote? Also check footnote 49 on page 32. The photostat of the article you sent did not have the date or page numbers, and ~~fxx~~ I found these out by telephoning someone.

Getting this done amid all of my other duties has proved to be quite a struggle, taking up many of my evenings. But it has been stimulating and I have learned a great deal. I trust that it does prove to be publishable.

Many thanks for all the materials you have sent. They have proved to be most valuable, as is evident in the manuscript.

Sincerely yours,

Ken

Kenneth Morland
Chairman

P. S. The multilithed ~~paxxxxxxx~~ paper inclosed is for Les Dunbar. I promised to send it to him some time ago.

April 8, 1963

Professor J. Kenneth Morland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

Just a brief progress report on your "Tokenism" study: we have gotten John Seigenthaler, editor of The Nashville Tennessean, to write an introduction to the piece; and ADL is preparing a brief summary to go at the end of it. Once we have received the summary and come to an agreement with ADL about a printer we should be ready to roll.

Sorry for the long delay, but please bear with us: this study will see the light of print before we are all old and gray.

Best regards.

Your sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
AMON CARTER EVANS, PUBLISHER
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NASHVILLE 1, TENNESSEE

JOHN SEIGENTHALER
EDITOR

April 5, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of April 2.

I'll be glad to help out on Moreland's piece. Send it up.

Best,

JS

April 8, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

John Seigenthaler, editor of The Nashville Tennessean, has agreed to write an introduction to Ken Morland's piece. And, as agreed, we have assembled the state figures on biracial school districts, the number desegregated, and the percentage of biracial districts desegregated.

I trust that you were able to get a New York newsman to prepare a summary and that it is now nearing completion. Once we have received it, we should be ready to send this study to a printer.

I enjoyed our meeting here last month and hope we'll be seeing you again before too long.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp
CC: Monroe Schlactus

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

May 8, 1963

Mr. John Seigenthaler
Editor
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Seigenthaler:

Herewith, at long last, is the manuscript on "Token Integration in Public Schools," by Professor Kenneth Morland. I am sorry for the delay in getting this off to you, but we have been awaiting a summary which was being prepared by the Anti-Defamation League. As yet it hasn't arrived, but I don't think you need it to write the foreword.

The foreword need not be long; in fact, two to three double-spaced, typewritten pages will be just fine. If, however, you wish to say more, please by all means do so.

We are very grateful to you for agreeing to undertake this assignment and we are certain your foreword will enhance the value of the pamphlet. Since, however, we hope to send the manuscript itself off to the printer before receiving the foreword, I would appreciate it if you could let me know when you think you can have it completed.

Again, many thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
Enclosure: Token Integration in Public Schools, 59 pp., typescript

May 21, 1963

Professor Kenneth Moreland
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

You may want to send a wire to Ripley: at long last ADL has furnished us with a summary of your manuscript, which I hope we can use in a press release, rather than the pamphlet itself. At any rate, the manuscript was sent off to the printer last week, and we hope to publish it next month.

I was glad to see that Randolph-Macon is planning to desegregate next fall.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

March 4, 1963

Dear Staige,

The quotation that should be checked is the one on pages 4 and 5, illustrating the complexity of the North Carolina provision for application of transfer. Bill Bagwell of the American Friends in High Point, North Carolina, said that this particular ruling had now been superseeded by another. It is just as complex, he said, but it is slightly different now. Whether such a change is relevant, however, I am not sure. This is the provision used initially.

I trust that ADL can process this for publication without undue delay. Henry Schwartzchild called me about it, so they have maintained strong interest. If it will save the SRC money, I am all for it.

I am happy, of course, to receive your encouraging remarks about the report. It turned out to be a bigger job than I had thought—and a more exciting one, too.

I appreciate the promptness with which you had the remuneration sent.

Sincerely,

Ken

May 27, 1963

Mr. John Seigenthaler
Editor
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville 10, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Seigenthaler:

We will be getting the galleys back on the Moreland study very shortly. I hope, therefore, that you will be sending us your foreword as soon as possible, since the manuscript is now well on its way to publication.

Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

SB

File

THE NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
AMON CARTER EVANS, PUBLISHER
MORNING AND SUNDAY
NASHVILLE 1, TENNESSEE

JOHN SEIGENTHALER
EDITOR

July 3, 1963

RECEIVED
JUL 5 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your note about my late arrival. It was exceptionally good judgement to choose as a replacement some of Justice Goldberg's dicta.

I apologize for the lateness of my little squib. I look forward to reading the pamphlet.

Sincerely,

John

T opening.

July 9, 1963

Mr. J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

Herewith are two (2) copies of your pamphlet, which may have seemed longer to produce than the King James' version. At any rate, I hope is satisfactory with you.

We are planning to release the pamphlet next Sunday, July 14. Please let me know how many additional copies you might like to have or the names of friends and associates to whom you would like us to send the pamphlet.

All in all, despite the time it has taken to get this into print, I think the study is a good contribution to the growing literature on the American dilemma.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION,
HEALTH, AND RECREATION

AREA CODE 212 SP 7-2000

LWD: fyi
SB
file tokenism

Summer Address:
New York University Camp
Holmes, New York
July 15, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Staige:

Many thanks for sending me the copies of the pamphlet. It is good to see it in print, and I very much appreciate the attention you have given it and the way you have kept me informed. I, too, wished it could have come out earlier, but alert editing included the significant statement by Justice Goldberg and the June 3, 1963, Supreme Court ruling on the restrictive transfer provision. This helps to make the pamphlet timely.

I have seen the New York Times write-up, and I have wondered about the reactions elsewhere. If you find other newspaper treatments, I would like to have copies of them. Perhaps it is just as well that I am not in Lynchburg to see the comments of the local papers (and probably to receive the usual stream of anonymous phone calls). I am to be here in the foothills of the Berkshire Mountains some eighty miles north of the City for four more weeks. This is my ninth summer to teach course in sociology, anthropology, and social psychology to teachers trying to earn advanced degrees. My family is with me, and this is a vacation for us.

I can put 15 to 20 of the pamphlets to good use and will be glad to receive them here. In addition, I have included a few names on the inclosed sheet of persons I would like to have a copy. If there are charges for these, bill me, of course.

Did I ever tell you that Ann Ribble spoke of you in glowing terms and was glad to know of our work together. Again, I am grateful to you for all you have done.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth Morland
Visiting Professor

July 17, 1963

Miss Susanna McBee
2727 29th Street, N. W.
Apartment 631
Washington 8, D. C.

Dear Susanna:

Many thanks for sending us a copy of your story about the "tokenism pamphlet." I am glad to see that you concentrated on the high cost of resistance because I thought that was one of the strongest arguments in the pamphlet.too.

I am glad you met Bill, and I wish you would tell the cotton picker to drop me a line.

It was good to learn that LSU has received your ms, and I would be interested to hear what they think about it. I hope maybe we can meet personally in D. C. sometime before '63 is out.

In the meantime, best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

The Washington Post, July 14, 1963, p. A6

Report Shows South's Fight to Keep Schools Segregated Has Been Costly

By Susanna McBee
Staff Reporter

Southern efforts to fight school integration have kept all but a few Negroes out of desegregated schools in the 11 Confederate states, but the dollar cost of resistance has been high.

This conclusion is contained in a 27-page report published yesterday by the Southern Regional Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and written by J. Kenneth Morland, professor of sociology at Randolph-Macon Woman's College in Lynchburg, Va.

It has been nine years since the Supreme Court ruled that school segregation is unconstitutional, but today only four-tenths of one per cent of the Negro students in the Old Confederacy are attending desegregated schools, Morland noted.

The "resistant" Confederate states are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

In the District of Columbia and six "compliant" states—Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia—51.1 per cent of Negro students are in school with white students. The percentage of Negroes in desegregated schools throughout the South—"resistant" and "compliant" states combined—is 7.8 as of last November, the report showed.

If the "resistant" states continue to resist, they can be assured of two things, Morland said—"It will be futile in the long run, and it will be costly."

For instance, as of last November, 293 school cases had been filed in Federal and state courts. Figuring the cost of each case at $15,000, Morland estimated the total cost at $4,395,000.

Another cost has been that of drawing up and passing legislation designed to prevent or slow down integration. Morland said 379 such laws were passed by 16 Southern state legislatures after the 1954 decision. An "enormous amount of time, effort, talent and money" went into these laws, many of which have been declared unconstitutional, the professor observed.

Tuition grants have bee costly, too. In five years Virginia has paid more thai $7.7 million, Morland said Georgia paid $216,987 las year, and Louisiana paid $850,216 in the first fou months of the last schoo year.

"Less tangible but perhap more significant" costs in volve the "handicapping o school administrators in improving the quality of education in the public schools," he said.

"With so much time, energy, and money spent i keeping certain children ou of certain schools," he added, "less time, effort, and money have been available for strengthening the educationa program itself."

Monday, July 15, 1963

SB

Dear Staige,

Thank you for the report on school segregation. As you can see, I thought the economic argument was a good one to stress.

I've met Bill Rice, who seems like a very nice fellow. He has had several good stories and today got one on the first page.

LSU Press has received my manuscript. Mr. Wentworth sent me an "author's form," which asks for a picture as well as personal information. I finally got a print of the photo of me which the Post uses; so I'll send it along to LSU along with some corrections which I've discovered should be made in the manuscript.

Best regards,

Susie

To Kevin

July 20, 1963

Mr. Kenneth Morland
New York University Camp
Holmes, New York

Dear Ken:

Naturally I am very glad to learn that you were pleased by the pamphlet. Les was in Lynchburg last Sunday (returning from vacation), and told me there was a very good write-up of the pamphlet in the Lynchburg paper. Aside from the Times, I do know that it got a good play in the Washington Post and the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, and I understood that UPI was planning to carry a story of it with the Atlanta Bureau.

As requested I am sending you fifteen copies of the pamphlet, and I will be glad to see that the persons whose names you sent us also receive copies.

I have certainly enjoyed working with you, and I hope we can get together to do another project for us in the future (though preferably between you and me, without ADL). Any ideas for such projects will be welcomed here.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

Memo from **STAIGE BLACKFORD**

8/1/63

Les,

Herewith a list prepared by Carol of the papers which carried stories about the Morland pamphlet. It ~~xxxxxx~~ is probably not a complete list, and I will let you know as additional stories come in. Total papers thus far: 44

---SDB

P. S. I knew for a fact that Charlotte Sunday Observer did not carry a story, but would be surprised if there was no coverage in Norfolk papers. [redacted] considering Morland's RMWC connection.

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Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[redacted]ORGIA
[redacted]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date August 1, 1963

To: SB From: CH

Subject: MORLAND PAMPHLET

Papers which carried UPI story

New Haven, Conn. Register
Arkansas Gazette

Papers which carried AP story

The News, Lynchburg, Va. (Hoyt Harwell)
New York Herald Tribune
Danville, Va. Register
Newport News, Va. Press (Hoyt Harwell)
New Orleans, La. Times-Picayune (Hoyt Harwell)
Asbury Park Evening Press, New Jersey
Albuquerque, N.M. Journal
Oakland, Calif. Tribune
Trenton Sunday Times Advertiser, New Jersey

Papers that carried their own story

New York Times
Atlanta Journal and Constitution (Fred Powledge)
Lynchburg, Va. Advance
Memphis, Tenn, Tri-State Defender
Boston, Mass. Jewish Advocate
The Christian Science Monitor (Bicknell Eubanks)
The Washington Post (Susanna McBee)
~~Milwaukee, Wiss. Labor Press~~

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INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: SB _____ From: CW _____

Subject: Addendum

Papers which carried UPI story

Boston, Mass. Advertiser
St. Louis, Mo. Post- Dispatch
Middletown, N.Y. Times Herald Record
Jackson, Miss. Clarion-Ledger
Houston, Texas Chronicle

Papers which carried AP story

Duluth, Minn. News Tribune
Roanoke, Va. Times (Hoyt Harwell)
Macon, Ga. Telegraph and News
Vallejo, Calif. Times-Herald (Hoyt Harwell)
Raleigh, N.C. News and Observer
Agusta, Ga. Chronicle-Herald
Long Beach, Calif. Independent-Press-Telegram (Hoyt Harwell)
Houston, Texas Post
Chicago, Ill. Chicago's American (Hoyt Harwell)
Washington, D.C. Star
Birmingham, Ala, News (Hoyt Harwell)
Minneapolis, Minn. Tribune
Chicago Tribune

Papers that carried their own story

Atlanta World
Cleveland Plain Dealer (Robert C. Doty

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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Subject: _____

Papers that carried their own story, cont.

Middletown, N.Y. Times Herald Record
Memphis, Tenn. Commercial Appeal
Richmond, Va. Times-Dispatch
Omaha, Nebr. World-Herald
Chattanooga, Tenn. Times (Robert C. Doty)
Boston, Mass. Herald (Robert C. Doty)

COVERAGE OF MORLAND PAMPHLET

Papers that carried UPI story

Chicago, Ill. Daily Defender

Papers that carried AP story

Morning Democrat Davenport, Iowa (Hoyt Harwell)
Pensacola, Fla. News-Journal

Papers that carried their own story

New York Amsterdam News

Marlene File

KELLOGG
CENTER MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY • EAST LANSING

September 5, 1963

Dear Staige,

It is encouraging to hear about the use to which our pamphlet on token integration may be put in South Carolina. I appreciate your letting me know, since most of my "fan" mail has been anything but complimentary.

In event another printing is ever needed — and I realize how dated the statistics are — I have run across these printing errors:

(1). p. 23, in the quote from Dr. Fischer, 2nd paragraph, 2nd line, "their" should be "there"

(2). p. 24 - 3rd ppg., 2nd line "There is less agreement, however, on HOW many ...." The "how" was omitted.

(3) p. 25 - in the ppg. following the American Anthropological quote, line 7, "geneticists" is misspelled.

(4) p. 25 last ppg., 1st line "range" should be "ranges".

At present I'm here at Michigan State working on the data we've collected on

children out of school in Prince Edward County, Va., under a U.S. Office of Education grant.

On Monday the 9th I am to be in Atlanta to speak to a regional meeting of H.E.W. I trust there will be time at least for me to call you by telephone.

Sincerely,

Ken

November 26, 1963

Mr. J. Kenneth Morland
Chairman
Department of Sociology &
Anthropology
Randolph-Macon Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Ken:

Many thanks for sending me the reprint of your article "The Development of Racial Bias in Young Children," which I look forward to reading with great interest.

We shall be glad to send you 10 copies of your pamphlet. You should receive them shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

RANDOLPH-MACON WOMAN'S COLLEGE
LYNCHBURG, VIRGINIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Nobly, please send Morland 10 copies his pamphlet

November 21, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

Dear Staige,

Enclosed is an article in which you might be interested. It quotes some very helpful materials from Bob Coles. ADL ordered 1000 extra copies of the June, 1963 issue of Theory into Practice (which includes this article) for special distribution.

Did you see the mention in a recent issue of the Saturday Review of the pamphlet on token desegration? Several of my friends called it to my attention, so it appears as though it should be a boost for our publication.

I am completely out of the pamphlets and would like for you to send me 10 more copies. I shall be glad to pay for them. Yesterday on a plane trip from Memphis, I sat with a personnel man from Huntsville who said he was very much interested in reading the pamphlet and anything else that dealt with race relations in the South. I promised that I would send him a copy.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ken

J. Kenneth Morland,
Chairman

JKM:ss

II-D. - Sociologists

Dr. Ernest Q. Campbell	North Carolina
Charles Gomillion	Tuskegee
Steve Smith	Tuskegee
~~Willis Sutton~~	~~Univ. of Kentucky~~
Charles McGlamery	Alabama
Wayland Hayes	Vanderbilt
John Mogey	Vanderbilt
John Blue	Norfolk State
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Educ - Ed Zadd.

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Kim Wiles }

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Token School Desegregation and the Law - by Professor William Foster, U. of Wisconsin Law School

The Supreme Court, in its mandate decision of 1955, reached the basic decision that school desegregation could be carried out as a process of gradual transition. The directives the Court fixed were general, and contemplated considerable flexibility in approaching problems which the Court had reason to believe would differ widely from community to community and state to state.

The directives obligated school authorities to commence the transition promptly and complete it with all deliberate speed. School authorities could ask for delay in making their plans but the burden shifted to school officials to justify any delay which was sought. It was evident that these general directives would require some years of spelling out before they would take on precision. It was evident, too, that much of the South would seek to limit these in every way possible.

Nevertheless, some of the early judicial opinions of the lower federal courts promptly attempted to give more precise meaning to the general command of the Supreme Court. These initial views tended to take ~~[illegible]~~ conservative positions. There was no affirmative duty to integrate. Whites and Negroes could not be compelled to attend school together. The rights to the Negroes were individual and, particularly in the cases out of North Carolina, there was no general obligation to abandon the South's traditional set of dual schools. More than this, it was said to be sufficient that some means of access to formerly white schools existed even though implicitly this shifted to Negroes the burden of lengthy administrative procedures not required of whites who attended white schools.

In the early period, too, much of the Middle and Lower South adopted elaborate legislation regulating initial assignment and

transfer between schools, all of it aimed at deterring the timing and scope of desegregation when it came. The principal one of these statutes - the Pupil Placement Law - got a boost in November of 1958 when the Supreme Court declined to strike it down as unconstitutional on its face. That part of the South which did not want to understand the narrow grounds of the Court's decision read the result as giving implicit approval to merely token desegregation. In point of fact the case which reached the Supreme Court had been badly prepared and no effort had been made to demonstrate the manner in which the Placement Laws had been administered. On the record before the Court there was little else it could do, though the decision was careful to preserve an opportunity for cutting down the sweep of the Placement Acts where it was demonstrated that they operated in a discriminatory manner.

i.e. the Alabama case

At base, the Placement Laws operated on the assumption that all pupils could be initially assigned by race, leaving to the Negroes the initiative for seeking re-assignment via a cumbersome and discriminatory administrative machinery intended to frighten them off or wear them down before any relief was finally granted. Nine of the Southern states - Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia - enacted Placement Laws. And Atlanta, even though Georgia had not formally adopted Placement legislation, employed a comparable plan in fashioning its desegregation program.

Both judicial decision and subsequent administrative practices have substantially curtailed the thrust of the Placement Laws. As early as 1958 a District court at Nashville had held that the Placement Law did not constitute a plan of desegregation and re-affirmed an order previously put into effect which required geographic initial

assignment. Later case decisions in Tennessee have pretty much made a dead letter of the Placement Act as a device for administrative discrimination in the assignment of children to schools. Comparable decisions at New Orleans and in a number of Virginia communities have produced a like result. As this is written an appeal taken from Durham, North Carolina, awaits decision in the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit which is likely to undo the persistent view of the federal courts in North Carolina that Negro plaintiffs must present their rights individually and are not entitled to systemic changes which strike at the existence of the dual sets of schools themselves.

While judicial decision had not altered directly the structure of dual school systems in North Carolina, school board action undertaken without court decision was producing beginning programs of geographic assignment by unitary school zone maps. Chapel Hill, in the Fall of 1961, had first introduced this at elementary grade levels, For the Fall of 1962 Asheville and Durham had followed suit, and a smaller beginning in this direction was installed at Charlotte.

Another device aimed at holding desegregation to token levels consisted of the so-called stair-step plans which extended desegregation at the rate of a grade or two a year. The Nashville Plan, introduced in the Fall of 1957, had begun with geographic initial assignment confined to the first grade with a projected grade a year extension of the program thereafter. Later Tennessee cases, still insisting on geographic initial assignment, required these stair-step programs to move on an accelerated basis. When Davidson County, surrounding Nashville, commenced its program three years later it was required to install geographic assignment in the first three grades to bring it in step with Nashville. Knoxville, which inaugurated

its geographic program in 1960 on a grade a year basis beginning with the first grade, was directed by the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in the Summer of 1962 to speed things along. The geographic program initiated at Chattanooga in the Fall of 1962 was given a deadline of 1969 to complete its entire program. Memphis, which commenced a token program at the first grade level in 1961 under the Placement Act, introduced geographic assignment for the first three grades in the Fall of 1962. And at least three rural counties in Tennessee - Humphreys, Obion, and Wilson - installed under court orders in 1961 or 1962 what were essentially geographic programs which operated at all grade levels.

What the cases were making very clear by 1962 was that the dual system of schools had to be done away with in the plans which could hope to win court approval. The tendency was to conceive this in terms of unitary school districts, with pupils in effect being given a choice either to attend school in the district of their residence or in a school in which they found themselves in a racial majority. Even in Tennessee, where geographic assignment had been more completely insisted upon than elsewhere in the Middle and Lower South, an escape valve had been provided which permitted children to escape from the school in their zone of residence when they found themselves in a racial minority in their school of residence. The effect of this was to allow white minorities to run away from Negro schools and in practice all but a few Negro children withdrew from their zone of residence when this involved attending schools with whites.

A few systems, New Orleans for one, gave children a choice either of the formerly Negro or formerly white school nearest their homes, usually combining the choice program with some sort of stair-step device which confined the choice to a few grades in the beginning years. These choice programs produced results, like those in Tennessee,:

whites almost never elected to attend Negro schools and the largest fraction of Negroes chose to remain in Negro schools, although the percentage of Negroes electing to remain in school with whites tended to rise steadily over the years once the program was installed.

It could be said in 1962 that most of the school systems in the Middle and Lower South which had introduced desegregation still operated with only token numbers of Negroes attending school with whites. It also had to be said that the discriminatory barriers in these systems were steadily being lowered as the particular systems moved into their second, third, and later years of desegregation. What seemed missing was Negro pressure for speeding the change itself. Complex forces in the Negro community made the Negro hang back even after the walls of discrimination came down. Even in communities where much or all of the old discrimination remained, there were few signs of organized pressure or even willingness to press for school desegregation in more than token terms. The customs of separation seemed almost as deeply ingrained in the Negro community as the white.

A few words should be said in closing about other techniques the white South has attempted for evading school desegregation. Court decisions in many cases have now made it clear that a state cannot operate some of its public schools and permit others to shut down in order to resist desegregation. Such a decision has finally been reached even with respect to unhappy Prince Edward County and earlier cases at Norfolk, Little Rock, New Orleans, and St. Helena Parish had declared the same thing.

~~The use of~~ State tuition grants to be used in private schools by those who wished not to attended desegregated public schools have been authorized in six states - Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia - but only in Virginia and Louisiana have the programs thus far been put into substantial operation.

Growing discontent over tuition grants in Virginia suggests that communities may before long be given the local option to withdraw from the program and deny grants. Louisiana, on the other hand, seems at the moment on the verge of expanding its tuition grant program substantially.

Several legal questions concerning tuition grants are relevant. First, a school district cannot wholly abandon its public schools and make use of tuition grants which provide private schooling for its pupils; the use of tuition grants by Prince Edward County was barred so long as the system refused to operate its public schools. A second, and more significant point is drawn from the observation of the Supreme Court in Cooper v. Aaron that the duty to desegregate could not be nullified by evasive schemes. If, then, state funds are employed in support of private segregated schools, it would appear reasonably clear that private schools can be legally compelled either to decline state tuition grants or to proceed with desegregation if they elect to accept state tuition aids. No case has yet held this but the legal basis for such a holding seems to be solidly grounded.

Cost in appropriations necessary to underwrite
massive resistance program

Costs under this heading include special appropriations to establish state sovereignty commissions and similar bodies, appropriations to enable "selling" the segregationist side to the nation, funds to investigate the NAACP and similar organizations, amounts set aside for special expenses (sometimes undefined) necessitated by the integration crisis. Documented appropriations of this nature by southern legislatures and other official bodies, 1954 to date,+ total $2,130,600.00; actual appropriations must have been at least twice this figure (often a published amount covers only one year, or a biennium, while the expense is known to have continued for five or six years).

Dodumented amounts total: $2,130,600.00

Costs of contesting desegregation litigation

At least 174 cases have been filed in federal and state courts in connected with school desegregation and closely related issues.* On the basis of estimates provided by Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission on Civil Rights, the cost to the school board or state for contesting each suit has averaged approximately $15,000.00. Cost to taxpayers:

$2,610,000.00

Some 74 cases have been litigated on the issue of desegregation of other public facilities: beaches, buses, county buildings and rest rooms, golf courses, swimming pools, waiting rooms, and on issues connected with the right to vote.** Using the estimated average above, the total cost has already reached approximately $1,110,000.00

In only a few of these cases has the position of the state or locality been sustained.

Approximate total costs, computed from estimated averages: $3,720,000.00

Costs of scholarships to Negroes for out-of-state schooling

States unwilling to open white colleges to Negroes have for years attempted to provide "separate but equal" educational opportunities in this manner: if a Negro wants to take a course offered in the state schools for whites but not offered in the Negro colleges, the state pays the difference between costs of attending the out-of-state school of his choice and what it would cost to attend a state institution. In 1958-59 this program for Negroes cost Georgia $267,266.38. If $250,000.00 may be taken as an annual average, Georgia has spent $1,500,000 in the six years (academic) since May, 1954. Three other southern states are still paying the costs of out-of-state "scholarships" to Negroes.

Documented cost to one state for one academic year	$267,266.38
Georgia, since May, 1954	$1,500,000.00

****

+ Generally, material in this memo current as of December, 1960.

* Total number of cases taken from Southern Education Reporting Service, November, 1960. Includes original 1954 cases.

**Total number of cases derived from indices of Race Relations Law Reporter, covering years 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959.

Documented

Cost in appropriations ~~made~~ necessary to underwrite massive resistance program

Costs under this heading include special ~~legislative~~ appropriations to establish ~~committee~~ state sovereignty commissions and similar bodies, appropriations to enable to "sell" the segregationist side to the nation, amounts set aside for special expenses (sometimes undefined) necessitated by the integration crisis, et cetera. ~~Published~~ appropriations of this nature by legislatures and other official ~~state~~ bodies ~~in 8 states~~ total $2,130,600.00; actual appropriations must ~~have~~ be at least twice this figure. (See breakdown attached. Often a published amount covers only one year, or a biennium, while the expense is known to have continued for five or six years.)

to investigate the NAACP and similar organizations.

Documented amounts alone total: $2,130,600.00

Costs of ~~fighting school~~ contesting desegregation litigation

At least 174 cases have been filed in federal and state courts ~~on~~ in connection with school desegregation and closely ~~connected~~ related issues.* On the basis of ~~figures~~ estimates provided by ~~Director~~ Gordon M. Tiffany, Commission on Civil Rights, the ~~average~~ cost to the school board or state ~~has averaged $15,000.00~~ for contesting each suit has averaged approximately $15,000.00. ~~The Total, May, 1954~~ cost to taxpayers: $2,610,000.00. - - -

Costs in appropriations by legislatures
and other official state bodies

Costs of scholarships to Negroes
for out-of-state schooling

States unwilling to open white colleges to Negroes have for years attempted to provide "separate but equal" educational opportunities in this manner: if a Negro wants to take a course offered in the state schools for whites but not offered in the Negro colleges, the state pays the difference between costs of attending the out-of-state school of his choice and what it would cost to attend a state institution. In 1958-59 this program for Negroes cost Georgia $267,266.38. If $250,000.00 may be taken as an annual average, Georgia has spent $1,500,000.00 in the academic years since May, 1954; three other Southern states are still paying the costs of out-of-state "scholarships" to Negroes.

Documented cost to one state for one academic year - - - - - - - - - $267,266.38

(or Estimated cost to Georgia since May, 1954 - -$1,500,000.00)

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Atlanta 3, Ga.

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1 - L-17	
1 - L-34 (semi copy updated report)	
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7-15.1963

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Captain Frank W. Spencer
Box 136
Savannah, Ga.

telephone 7/16

7-16-63

24 - Southern Schools: Token Desegregation
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North Carolina 27706

M. J. C. Thomas
Georgia Education & Teachers Association
220 Griffin Street, N. W.
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Attention Mary E. Plowden, Order Dept.

Letter, July 23, 1963

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This has no doubt been overlooked.

Westminster Fellowship
Presbyterian Church
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Attention: Harry Thomas Frank

letter 7-25-63

7-29-63

100 - The Case for Integration, @ 5¢	$5.00
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Mr. Frank W. Spencer
P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Ga. 31402

letter, 7-26-63

7-29-63

12 - Southern Schools—Token Desegregation
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Mr. William Dickson
U. S. Information Agency
1776 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

telephone

July, 1963

50 - New South, January 1963 issue, @ .20	$10.00
shipped airmail, 1st class by request	2.68
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copy

Mr. J. O. Thomas
Ga Teachers' & Edu. Assn
220 Gregson St.
Atlanta, Ga.

July, 1963

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M. B. O. N. D.

Mr. Monroe Schlactus
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

telephone

8-9-63

100 - L-44 (Charlotte) @ .05 $5.00

SEA FOAM

Mrs. Matthew Budd
3542 N. Druid Hills Road
Decatur, Ga.

telephone

8-12-63

1 - School Desegregation: Token .25
1 - " " Psychiatric Study .25

.50

SEA FOAM BO

The Rev. J. C. Ulrich
270 Miramar Road
Ft. Myers, Fla. 33905

card

8-12-63

10 - Segregation in Space Age, @ 5¢ .50

The Rev. Allison Williams
Trinity Presbyterian Church
Atlanta 27, Ga.

telephone

8-12-63

2 - Southern Schools: Psychiatric Study @ .25 .50

send c c to
Sylvan Myers
8-12-63 - sent
w/ note

U. S. Student Press Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Attention: Dean M. Gottehrer

letter 7/29

7-30-63

50 - Racial Crisis and the Press @ .10 $5.00

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Matthew Budd
3542 N. Druid Hills Road
Decatur, Ga.

****

Purchase Order # telephone

Date Shipped 8-12-63

1 -	School Desegregation:	Token	.25
1 -	" "	Psychiatric Study	.25

.50

entered 8-15-63 MA

CR RHA 8/17/63

Business and Science Dept.
Atlanta Public Library
Carnegie Way and Forsyth Sts. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

telephone

8-13-63

3 ~~The~~ Southern Schools: Token Desegregation

@ .25 .75

Mr. Martin England
P. O. Box 10201
Greenville, S.C.

telephone call

8-13-63

100 - L-44 (Charlotte) @ .08 $8.00

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				O.A.S.I.	CREDIT UNION	WITHHOLDING TAX	M.M. & L.	BLUE CROSS		
	REG. TIME OVERTIME									

DATE	DESCRIPTION	GROSS AMOUNT	DEDUCTIONS	NET AMOUNT
8-7-63	Program Resources - Literature Invoice dated 6-12-63			2.50

CR
8/14/63
RHA

American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
PACIFIC SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
Box 991
PASADENA 20, CALIFORNIA

APPROVED _____

DATE _____

Mr. James A. Sawyer
First Baptist Church
212 Oak Street
Cocoa, Florida

letter

8-16-63

1 - Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study .50

Mr. Rodney H. Clurman
Washington Action for Youth
1420 New York Ave. N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

letter

8-16-63

1 - Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study .50

Mr. Paul Skelley
309 North Cedar
Montecello, Iowa

letter

8-19-63

1 - Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond .50

original letter to J Smith because also subscribed to New South & requested back issues, beginning "Good bye America"

Mr. David A. Lane
USAREUR Operations Division
APO 403
New York, N. Y.

letter

8-19-63

1 - Southern School Desegregation: A Psychiatric Study .50

For 100 copies reprint L-44

at .08 _____ $8.00 CR

RHA
8/19/63

J. Martin England
P. O. Box 10201
Greenville, S.C.

ATKINSON
407 Terrace St.
Ashland, Ore.

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1963

Remember - Only you can
PREVENT
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materials

8/19/63

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Mr. Dwight Eisenhower Campbell
Congress of Racial Equality
146 Pine Street
Cambridge, Maryland

letter

8-20-63

1 - Executive Support of Civil Rights	.35
1 - Federal Executive and Civil Rights	.50
1 - Study of Negro Farmers in S.C.	.10
1 - Desegregation in Higher Education	NC
	.95

Mr. Victor Rabinowitz
Rabinowitz & Boudin
30 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N. Y.

letter

8-26-63

2 - Albany I, @ 25¢	.50
2 - Albany II, @ 25¢	.50
	$1.00

1 copy each mailed to above
1 copy each mailed to

Mr. Hal Witt
600 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Richard Abel and Company, Inc.
Scholarly Books in the Arts and Sciences
P. O. Box 5357
Portland 6, Oregon

E 18743

8-29-63

New South, Vol. 9, No. 1, January 1954
Holden, "Color Line in Southern Libraries .50

Note: if your client is interested, we have, of course, much later information which we will be glad to send on written request.

12 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A
Psychiatric Report @ .50 $6.00

United Presbyterian Church, USA
Witherspoon Bldg.
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Attention: Mrs. Helen Harder, Office of Church & Society

letter

9-3-63

12 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A
Psychiatric Report @ .50 $6.00

ck $1.00
9/5/63
L/K

Materials

2 - Albany 1
2 Albany 2

Staunton-Augusta County
Chamber of Commerce
112 N. Augusta St.
Staunton, Va.

letter

9-10-63

12 - L-44, Charlotte Has Built its Integration Road
@10¢ $1.20

Mr. Louis A. Guidry
4401 Stephen Girard Avenue
New Orleans, La. 70126

letter

9-10-63

1 - Coles, Southern School Desegregation:
A Psychiatric Study .50

Quantities over 10 @ .35
" " 50 .25

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: State of West Virginia Human Rights Com.
State Capitol Building
Charleston 5, West Virginia

Attn: Mr. Howard W. McKinney, Exe. Director

****

Purchase Order #

Date Shipped
9/11/63

300 - L-44 "A Different Way: Charlotte..."
.10 @

Total ----------$30.00

Signed_____
Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

PLEASE NOTE: THE AUDITOR'S OFFICE REQUESTS THAT WE SUBMIT A SIGNED INVOICE, IN ORDER TO HAVE PAYMENT MADE. PLEASE FORWARD US THREE COPIES WITH SIGNATURE OF PERSONX RESPONSIBLE FOR BILLING

THANK YOU,

L. V. Kelly

L. V. KELLY (MRS.)

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

State of West Virginia Human Rights Commission
State Capitol Building
Charleston 5, West Virginia

Attention: Howard W. McKinney, Executive Director

****

Purchase Order #
Letter 9/11/63

Date Shipped
9/13/63

300 - L-44, "A Different Way: Charlotte..."
@ .10 $30.00

State of West Virginia Human Rights Commission
State Capitol Building
Charleston 5, West Virginia

Attention: Howard W. McKinney, Executive Director

letter 9/11/63

9/ 13/63

300 - L-44, "A Different Way: Charlotte..."
@ .10 $30.00

American Friends Service Committee
4717 Crawford Street
Houston, Texas 77004

Attention: Garnet Guild

289

9-18-63

L - City and the Negro	.10
1 - Unequal Badge	.10
1 - Population Map	.25
1 - Student Protest Movement: a Recap.	.10
5 - Employment Study @ .15	.75
1 - Organizations Supporting SPM	
1 - Am. Anthropological Statement on Race	
1 - Slipping Segregation	
1 - Study of Negro Farmers in S.C.	.10
1 - Plans for Progress: Atlanta	.10
1 - What Price Violence?	
	$1.50

PURCHASE ORDER

NO. 289

TO Southern Regional Council DATE 9/16 19 63

ADDRESS 5 Forsysth Street, N. W. , Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SHIP TO American Friends Service Committee
4717 Crawford Street
ADDRESS Houston, Texas 77004

SHIP VIA	F.O.B.	TERMS	DATE REQUIRED
			RUSH

	QUANTITY	STOCK NUMBER/DESCRIPTION	PRICE	PER		
1	1	The City and the Negro Charles E. Silberman	.10	ea		
2	1	The Unequal Badge Elliott M. Rudwick	.10	ea.		
3	1	MAP (showing percentage of non-white population)	.25	ea.		
4	1	The Student Protest Movement A Recapitulation	.15	ea.		
5	5	The Negro and Employment opportunities in the South	.15	ea.		
6	1	Organizations Supporting the Student Protest Movement	FREE			
7		NOV.61, (L-28)				
8	1	American Anthropolgical Resolution on Race	Free			
9	1	Slipping Segregation (~~jan~~ Jan. 16, 62)	Free			
10	1 1	Study of Negro Farmers IN S.C. Plans for Progress , study		10¢ 10¢		
11		What Price Violence? (L-38)	Free			
12						

IMPORTANT
OUR ORDER NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON INVOICES, PACKAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE
ACKNOWLEDGE IF UNABLE TO DELIVER BY DATE REQUIRED.

Garnet Guild

Buyer Garnet Guild
Executive Secretary

GrayLine "SNAP-A-WAY" FORM 44-111 3-PARTS ORIGINAL
PRODUCT OF WILSON JONES COMPANY © 1961

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: Mr. Ashmead Pipkin
Mellon B-23
Harvard Business School
Boston 63, Mass. 02163

****

Purchase Order #

Date Shipped

9/26/63

1 cy - Plans for Progress --- @ 10¢

Total due 10¢

Thanks

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: Mr. Stanley Mailman
Fried & Mailman
Attorneys at Law
295 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

****

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Date Shipped

9/ 26/ 63

1 cy - Morland's pamphlet @ 25¢

Total due 25¢

Thank you

ck $1.00
9/27/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Allen N. Koplin
Area Medical Office
United Mine Workers
P. O. Box 3305-A
1005 South Sixteenth St.
Birmingham 5, Alabama

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Purchase Order # letter -3-19-63

Date Shipped 3-20-63

20 - Southern Student Newspaper Opinion on University of Mississippi

@.05 $1.00

Race Relations Department
United Church of Christ
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

letter

10-2-63

20 - New South, July-August 1963 @ 20¢	$4.00
4 - Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢	1.00
	$ 5.00

California Book Co., Ltd.
2310 Telegraph Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

J 4949

10-3-63

1 - McMillan: Racial Violence and Law Enforcement .25

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Carl A. Rudisill Library
Lenoir Rhyne College
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Letter

10-4-63

5 - The South and the Nation @ 10¢	.50
5 - A Hundred Years Later @ 20¢	1.00
5 - The Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢	1.25
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For Business office: Oct. 14, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
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5 - The Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢	1.25
	$2.75

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

INVOICE

O.K.

The University of the South
Sewanee, Tennessee

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No. 52054

Invoice School of Theology Library dated 9/5/63.	1.00
Invoice School of Theology Library dated 10/4/63.	10.40
	11.40

St. Luke's Lib. - Periodicals $11.40

*

Mr. W. Ellison Chalmers
Professor of Labor & Industrial Relations
University of Illinois
504 East Armory Avenue
Champaign, Illinois

letter

10-8-63

2 - Economic Status of Negroes...@ 25¢	.50
2 - The South & the Nation @ 10¢	.20
2 - A Hundred Years Later @ 20¢	.40
	$1.10

Midwest Library Service
6348 S. Rosebury
St. Louis, Mo. 63105

#19871

10-9-63

1 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes... .25

Mr. Bruce M. Stave
5922 Nicholson St.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15217

postcard

10-9-63

2 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes..... .50

Purchasing Department
Tuskegee Institute
P. O. Box 1239
Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 36088

61597

10-10-63

100 - Economic Status of Negroes @ .20 $20.00

Mr. Lewis P. Jones
325 Rivermont Dr.
Spartanburg, S. C.

letter

10-14-63

10 - L-44, Charlotte @ .10 $1.00

American Friends Service Committee
Purchasing and Shipping
160 North 15th Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

PC-B-176

10-14-63

16 - Economic Status of Negores: in the nation
and in the south @ .25 $4.00

Miss Patricia L. Ziegel
Box 5, Scott Quadrangle
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio

letter

10-14-63

80 -	This I Believe	$1.60
80 -	A Southern View of the South	1.60
80 -	Three View of the Segregation Decisions	—
80 -	The Easy Chair	—
80 -	South Carolinians Speak	—
80 -	~~L-20, Problem Solving Through ...Committees~~	—
	L-29, Am Anthro. Ass'n Resolution on Race	—
	L-30, A Positive Plan ...	—
	L-33, ...Recommended Police Policy...	—
1 copy each		
	The Annealing of the South	.10
	The City and the Negro	.20
	Virginia View of Race and Reason	.05
	Racial Violence & Law Enforcement	.25
	School Desegregation: the first 6 years	.25
	The Negro Voter & The Negro & the Ballot	.40
	The Freedom Ride	.25
		4.70

Miss Patricia Ziegel, continued

	4.70
What the Supreme Court Said	.10
Church in Areas of Racial Tension	.05
Are Southern Ministers Failing the South?	.05
Sanctuaries for Tradition: Va.'s Private Schs.	.10
This Is What We Found	.25
L-16, Racial Differences in Academic Achiev.	—
	5.25

out of stock: The STudent Protest Movement
L-20, Problem Solving Thru Race Relations Committees

Hopkins Sr. High School
1001 Highway #7
Hopkins, Minnesota

Attention: Mr. C. Caruson

5409

10-18-63

4 - Economic Status of Negroes....@ 25¢ $1.00

ck $1.10
10/18/63
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INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. W. Ellison Chalmers
Professor of Labor & Industrial Relations
University of Illinois
504 East Armory Avenue
Champaign, Illinois

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 10-8-63

2 - Economic Status of Negroes...@ 25¢	.50
2 - The South & the Nation @ 10¢	.20
2 - A Hundred Years Later @ 20¢	.40
	$1.10

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10/18/63
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INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Bruce M. Stave
5922 Nicholson St.
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15217

****

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2 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes..... .50

Family Life Bureau
National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Attention Mr. John T. Kenna

letter

10-18-63

10 - Economic Status of Negroes.... @ .25 $2.50

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INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH
SEWANEE, TENNESSEE

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v. 1 except nos. 3, 6, 9
v. 2 " nos. 6, 8, 12
v. 3 " nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 12
v. 4 " nos. 1, 2
v. 5 " no. 7
v. 6 " nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12
v. 7 " nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12
v. 8 " nos. 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 12
v. 9 " nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12
v. 10 " nos. 2, 11, 12
v. 11 " no. 12
v. 12 except no. 1
v. 13, nos. 2, 4
v. 14, no. 1
v. 16, nos. 9, 10, 11
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v. 18, 1 through 6

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SEWANEE, TENNESSEE

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July-August 1963 ending December 1963 $1.00

(July-August issue will be released soon.)

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Mr. T. Emory Daniel
127 Peachtree St., N.E. - Suite 1431
Candler Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

telephone order

10-21-63

20 - Letter from a Birmingham Jail @ 10¢ $2.00

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				DISCOUNT			

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200 - L-37

B O N D

The Rev. J. E. Lowery
1908 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tenn.

telephone

10-23-63

200 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes...@ 25¢

$50.00

200 - L-37 no charge

1 - each, Employment Studies: Atlanta, Chattanooga, Houston
L-Reports 37, 41, 43 plus Montgomery on "Negro"s Pay Rises Half..." no charge

Plus postage $

M R O N D

Richmond Public Library
Civic Center
Richmond 2, California

0-12871

10-23-63

3 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢ $ .75

Attention Ethel C. Burns, book buyer
City of Richmond, California

Council for Christian Social Action
United Church of Christ
2969 W. 25th St.
Cleveland 13, Ohio

10-15-63

10-23-63

1 - Racial Violence & Law Enforcement .25

Publications list

(not available: Intimidation, Reprisals, & Violence)

Miss Una Mae Hargrave
127 Cherry Street
Lafayette, La.

card 10/18

10-23-63

10 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes...
@ 25¢ $2.50

Continental Can Company, Inc.
1200 West 76th Street
Chicago 20, Illinois

Attention: Thomas B. Ewers

letter

10-24-63

5 - Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢ $1.25

VANDERBILT

Mr. Clarence H. Sanders
10517 Superior Avenue
Cleveland 6, Ohio

letter

10-24-63

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study	.50
1 - Token Desegregation and Beyond	.50
1 - Economic Status of the Negro...	.25
	$1.25

Program & Training Dept.
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Avenue
New York 38, N. Y.

Attention: Miss Shirley Sacks

letter

10-24-63

1 - Economic Status of Negroes in the Nation
and in the South .25

Order Department
D. H. Hill Library
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, N. C.

63-24114

10-24-63

1 - Zinn, Albert .25

Vernon Branch Library
4504 S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles 11, Calif.

Attention: Mrs. J. G. Sutton

letter

10-24-63

1 Desegregation of Southern Schools .50

Mr. Donald L. Singer
4031 Don Tomasco Dr., Apt. 1
Los Angeles 8, California

letter

10-24-63

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools .50¢

Clark College Business Office
240 Chestnut Street, S.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

245

10-24-63

2 - Coles, Desegregation of Southern Schools: A
Psychiatric Study @ .50 $1.00

Lilly Library
Earlham College
Richmond, Indiana

Attention: Acquisitions

L-00018

10-25-63

L - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes .25

ck $2.50
10/25/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Family Life Bureau
National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.
Attention Mr. John T. Kenna

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 10-18-63

10 - Economic Status of Negroes.... @ .25 $2.50

M. Katz
100 La Salle St. apt. 16B
New York 27 New York

ck $5.00
10/25/63
LK

NEW YORK 1, N.Y.
OCT 23
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1963

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ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta
Georgia

.25 stamps
10/28/63

C.O.R.E. 38 Park Row
NY 13, NY.

HK Eco. Status of
Negroes in Nation
& South -

.25

Miss Myrtle S. Larkin
Head, Social STudies, Dept.
Niskayuna High School
1626 Balltown Road
Schenectady 9, New York

letter

10-29-63

4 - Economic Status of Negroes @ .50 $2.00

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study .50

Mr. Bradford E. Brown
Church Committee
Cape Cod Branch NAACP
14 San Paulo Drive
East Falmouth, Mass. 02536

card

10-29-63

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study .50
1 - Economic Status of the Negro .25

.75

CR
$1.25
11/1/63
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INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Clarence H. Seniors
10517 Superior Avenue
Cleveland 6, Ohio

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 10-24-63

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study	.50
1 - Token Desegregation and Beyond	.50
1 - Economic Status of the Negro...	.25
	$1.25

Miss Evelyn Sell
12100 Prairie
Detroit, Mich. 48204

letter

11-1-63

2 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes
@ 25¢ .50

Mrs. W. P. Wallett
700 Mt. Washington Dr.
Los Angeles 65, Calif.

postcard

11-4-63

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Report .50

Professor Glen H. Elder, Jr.
Institute of Human Development
University of California
Edward Chace Tolman Hall
Berkeley 4, Calif.

letter

11-4-63

1 - City and the Negro	$ .20
1 - Population Map	.20
1 - The South and the Nation	.10
1 - A Southern View of the South	F
1 - A Study of Negro Farmers in S. C.	.10
1 - The Economic Status of Negroes	.25
1 each - L-Reports 16, 23C, 34A, 40, 45	F
	$ .85

ck .50
11/4/63
LR

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Vernon Branch Library
4504 S. Central Avenue
Los Angeles 11, Calif.

Attention: Mrs. J. G. Sutton
****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 10-24-63

1 Desegregation of Southern Schools .50

Campbell and Hall, INc.
989 Commonwealth Ave.
Boston 17, Mass.

7-1017 1575

11-4-63

1 - Price, Negro and the Ballot in the South .25

including mimeographed later figures on
voting registration, no charge.

coin. 50
11/4/63
LR

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Donald L. Singer
4031 Don Tomásco Dr., Apt. 1
Los Angeles 8, California

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 10-24-63

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools .50¢

ck $1.25
11/4/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Continental Can Company, Inc.
1200 West 76th Street
Chicago 20, Illinois

Attention: Thomas B. Ewers

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 10-24-63

5 - Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢ $1.25

Thank you very much.
Thomas B. Ewers
Personnel Supervisor

November 4, 1963

INVOICE

To: Dr. W. Judson King
Franklinton Center, Inc.
United Church of Christ
Bricks, North Carolina

1 - The City and the Negro	$	.20
3 - The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South Atlanta, Houston, Chattanooga (3 studies) @ .20		.60
1 - A Virginia View of Race and Reason		.05
1 - The Unequal Badge		.10
1 - The Annealing of the South		.10
1 - This I Believe		F
1 - Racial Violence and Law Enforcement		.25
1 - Racial Crisis and the Press		.25
2 - The Negro Voter in the South; The Negro & the Ballot (plus mimeographed later registration figures)		.40
1 - The South and the Nation		.10
1 - The Church in Areas of Racial Tension		.05
1 - Georgia's Divided Education		.35
1 - A Southern View of the South		F
1 - Sanctuaries of Tradition		F
1 - This Is What We Found		.25
1 - Three Views of the Segregation Decision		F
1 - South Carolinians Speak		F
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750 Lenox Dr.
Jackson 6, Miss.

letter

12-3-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Mrs. Kathryn Ewbank
1280 Barrington A enue, #5
Los Angeles 25, Calif.

letter

12-3-63

1 - Racial Crisis and the Press $ .25

Miss Marjorie Reeves, Librarian
Chapman College
Orange, California

Letter

12-3-63

17 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes
@ .25 $4/25

Com. 75
12/3/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Richmond Public Library
Civic Center
Richmond 2, California

****

Purchase Order # 0-12871

Date Shipped 10-23-63

3 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢ $ .75

Attention Ethel G. Kerns, book buyer
City of Richmond, California

Dr. May Ringold
History Department
Clemson College, S.C.

J.S.

12-5-63

2 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $1.00

Mr. W. L. Sherwood
25 Tudor City Place
New York 17, New York

J.S.

12-5-63

1 - Missipsippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Mrs. Katherine Boyd
Southern Pines
North Carolina

J.S.

12-5-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Mr. J. D. Wise
P. O. Box 572
Hazlehurst, Miss.

letter

12-5-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Dr. Alan Watson
Oriel College
Oxford, England

J.S.

12-5-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

REWOWND

Mr. David S. Newton
General Delivery
University, Miss.

letter

12-5-63

2 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $1.00

Detroit Public Library
5201 Woodward Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

56788

12-5-63

1 - Economic Status of Negroes	.25
1 - The South and the Nation	.10
1 - A Hundred Years Later	.20
	$ .55

Miss Gladys Harburger
Nat'l Council, Panel of Americans
2061 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10023

letter

12-5-63

1 - Coles, A Psychiatric Study	$ .50
1 - Morland, Token Desegregation & Beyond	.50
	$1.00

Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle,
New York 19, N. Y.

Attention Derrick A. Bell, Jr.

letter

12-5-63

3 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study @ .50	$ 1.50
3 - Token Desegregation and Beyond @ .50	1.50
	$ 3.00

Professor Charles V. Hamilton
Department of Political Science
Rutgers - The State University
Newark 2, New Jersey

letter

12-5-63

4 - New South, 1960-61 @	.20	$ .80
1 - Settling A Sit-in		.25
1 - Lunch-Counter Desegregation in W-S		.35
		$1.40

50 ck
12/5/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Fred Gareau
Department of Government
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

****

Purchase Order # JS

Date Shipped 12-62-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

ck #3.75
12/9/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Una Mae Hargrave
127 Cherry St.
Lafayette, La.

****

Purchase Order # postcard

Date Shipped 11-5-63

3 - The Negro and Employment Opportunities: Atlanta, Houston, Chattanooga @ .20	.60
1 - Virginia View of Race and Reason	.05
1 - each, Negro Voter and Negro & the Ballot	.40
1 - Population Map	.20
L-Reports, 1 each: 1, 38, 43	Free
	$1.25
	2.50
	$3.75

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Una Mae Hargrave
127 Cherry Street
Lafayette, La.

****

Purchase Order # card 10/18

Date Shipped 10-23-63

10 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes...
@ 25¢ $2.50

3.04

.50 coin
12/9/63
LP

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Rev. C. C. Clark
Box 1201
Jackson, Miss. 39205

****

Purchase Order # postcard

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156 ACKLEN STATION
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

coin .50
12/9/63
LK

PUBLISHERS OF
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

December 6, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed please find. 50 (fifty cents) in coin to cover the cost of the following which we have received:

Mississippi: The Closed Society

Thank you for sending us the publication.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. G. M. Hardacre

Mrs. G. M. Hardacre
Librarian

GH:ep

.50 stamps
12/9/63
LR

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Wm. H. Feldman
3210 - 38th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C.

****

Purchase Order # JS

Date Shipped 12-2-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

ck 2.95
12/9/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Professor G. Franklin Edwards
Sociology & Anthropology Dept.
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

****

Purchase Order # letter, 9-15-63

Date Shipped 11-19-63

Publications, as listed,
except for The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation (we no longer have on hand) .15

Substitution: Synopsis III @ .20

Total cost of publications $2.95

ck B/10
12/9/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Henry C. McGee
P. O. Drawer 2131
Jackson, Miss.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Jewish Labor Committee
25 East 78th Street
New York 21, N. Y.

letter 12-6-63

12-9-63

10 - Economic Status of Negroes @ .25 $2.50

Economic Research Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Attention: Elmer J. Moore, Research Agricultural Econ
mis
letter 12-5-6

12-9-63

25 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes
@ 25¢ $6.25

ck $5.00
12/9/63

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

DEDUCTION CODE
1. CASH DISCOUNT
2. MDSE. RETURNED
3. ADJUSTMENT
4. NO PURCHASE ORDER
5. LESS SALES TAX
6. REFUND

INVOICE NO. OR DATE	VENDOR'S ABBR. OR DESCRIPTION	ACCT. NO.	DEDUCTIONS	AMOUNT
	20 - New South, July-August 1963 @ 20¢	E-1615		4 00
	4 - Economic Status of Negroes @ 25¢			1 00

DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

IF INCORRECT RETURN

as

ck .50
12/9/63
LK

M. M. ROBERTS
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
CITIZENS BANK BUILDING
HATTIESBURG, MISS.

December 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is my check for $.50 in payment for one copy of "Mississippi: The Closed Society."

Very truly yours,

M. M. Roberts
M. M. ROBERTS

MMR/hes
enclosure

Miss Susan Zeller
63-25 Saunders St.
Rego Park 74, N. Y.

letter

12-10-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Coin .10
12/11/63
LK
mA

Oak Hill School
Lowell, Indiana

Coin .50
12/11/63
LK

Your Invoice dated 12/5/63.
1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society .50¢
(Cash attached)

Name J. D. Wise

Street and No. P. O. Box 572

City and State Hazlehurst, Miss.

MADE IN U. S. A.

VOUCHER NO. 3- 30876

THE MEMORANDUM BELOW IS FOR YOUR FILES. PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK. IN ENDORSING THE ATTACHED CHECK THE PAYEE ACCEPTS IT IN FULL SETTLEMENT OF THE ACCOUNT INDICATED BELOW.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A., 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

TYPE	ACCOUNT CODE	INCOME CODE		AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
ck $17.50 12/11/63 LK mA	460091280			17.50	50 COPIES OF MISSISSIPPI: THE CLOSED SOCIETY-AT. $.35 EA.

com .50
12/11/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Judy Solomon
28 Mellon Street
Cambridge 38, Mass.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

coin .50
12/11/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Robert H. DeKay
114 Lea Circle
Jackson 4, Miss.

****

Purchase Order # Letter

Date Shipped 12-2-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

ck .50
12/11/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Zoe Sarbanes
Freeman Hall
Wellesley College
Wellesley, Mass.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Thank you very much for your prompt reply to my request.

ZS

cash $1.00
12/11/63
L/S

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. May Ringold
History Department
Clemson College, S.C.

****

Purchase Order # J.S.

Date Shipped 12-5-63

2 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $1.00

Thank you.

May Ringold

ck .50
12/11/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Carol Bassuk
Braddeis University
Waltham 54, Mass.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

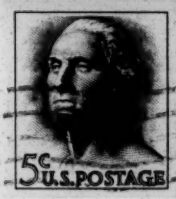
1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

ABADIE

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
Department of History
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

ck. 50
12/12/63
LK

UNIVERSITY
DEC 10
10-AM
1963
MISS.



Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

	CHECK NUMBER	INVOICE DATE	GROSS AMOUNT	DISCOUNT	NET AMOUNT
15 ck 12/12/63 LK MA	162000032	11/19/63	2.15		2.15
YALE UNIVERSITY TREASURER'S OFFICE NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT THE ACCOMPANYING CHECK IS IN FULL SETTLEMENT OF THE ACCOUNT AS STATED HEREON. NO RECEIPT IS REQUIRED.	YALE LAW LIBRARY L 16543= 49				

81830

ck .50
12/12/63
LK

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Joan M. Kanavich
Davis Hall
Wellesley Collegg
Wellesley, Mass.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Enclosed herewith please find check covering the above amount.
Thank you —

Joan M Kanavich

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. David S. Newton
General Delivery
University, Miss.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-5-63

2 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $1.00

12/12/63 Cash
RHA

Thank you for
sending these to me.
D. S. Newton

Miss Mary Adams
Box 71
Greenwood, Miss.

stamps, .50
12/16/63
HK

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Many thanks,
M Adams

Ck 50
12/16/53
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Professor Samuel F. Wells, Jr.
Instructor in History
Wellesley College
81A Oxford St.
Cambridge 38, Mass.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: A Closed Society	$.50
1 - 64 Acts of Violence	-

Coin. 50
12/16/63
LR

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. E. A. Zucco
635½ Jefferson Avenue
Niagara Falls, N. Y.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-3-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

ck $5.00 .50 + 4.50 con.
12/16/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Alec Bayless
1410 Hoge Bldg.
2nd Avenue at Cherry St.
Seattle 4, Washington

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Please send normal additional [illegible]
Thanks
Alec Bayless

MacDonald, Hoague & Bayless

Coin .50
12/16/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Gerald S. Pierce
1103 South 14th Street
Oxford, Miss.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-27-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

ck. 50
12/16/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Professor Gordon G. Henderson
Chairman, Political Science Dept.
Millsaps College
Jackson 10, Miss.

****

Purchase Order # JS

Date Shipped 12-2-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

PLEASE RECEIPT AND RETURN

cb $17.50
12/16/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TO: The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

****

Purchase Order #

Date Shipped

12-3-63

50 Copies ----- Silver's Report 35¢@

Total Amount -------- $17.50

Thanks for your order

ck #2.00
12/16/63
LK

E.Y.C.

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Saint Stephen's Church
N. James at W. Mulberry
Goldsboro, N. C.

Attention: Jean W. Abbott

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-14-63

100 - Hill, This I Believe @ .02 $2.00

Coin. .50
12/16/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Bruce F. Kennedy
1508 N. Street, Apt. 4
Sacramento, California

****

Purchase Order # J.S.

Date Shipped 12-2-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
INVOICE-VOUCHER

ck 18 90
12/16/63
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1. Submit separate voucher for each order. Voucher each purchase order separately.
2. Payments made from Voucher only.
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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Invoice Date: 11-18-63
Date Shipped: 11-11-63
Invoice Number: 55919
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Department: CONTINUING EDUCATION
Purch. Order No.: 55919
Account No.: 21-2902-180 C

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Liquidation | Actual Charge

COMPLETE DESCRIPTION OF ARTICLES OR SERVICES RENDERED	QUANTITY	UNIT	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
The Economic Status of the Negro: in the nation and in the south, by Vivian Henderson (list price, 25¢)	125		.20	$ 25.00

To Be Returned With Check As A

REMITTANCE ADVICE

Audited	Purch. Approved

Gross Total	$ 25 00
Discount	6 25
Net Total	18 75

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Standard Voucher Form V-1 (5-56) A/C

2 ck #1 50 12/16/63 LK

STATE OF COLORADO

REMITTANCE ADVICE

Colorado Anti-Discrimination Comm.
Department, Institution or Agency

306 State Services Bldg., Denver, Colo. 91
Location of Department, Institution or Agency — Voucher No.

Date November 27, 19 63

General Revenue

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE ATTACHED WARRANT IS IN PAYMENT OF THE CLAIMS SET FORTH ON THIS COPY OF VOUCHER

James F. Reynolds, Director

Sylvia Pfeffer
Office Manager

Purchase Order Number	VENDOR'S INVOICE Number	Date	Gross Amount	Correction or Elimination		DISCOUNT		NET AMOUNT	
			11/8/63						
ISSUE WARRANT TO: (Show exact name of payee) Southern Regional Council, Inc.							$	1	50

634

Warrant Number 91

Voucher Number

1-4043 — 21

Fund Number — Budget Class

03-53 — 1 50 — 45108 — 1 50

Address all inquiries regarding payment of claims shown on this advice to the department, institution or agency shown hereon, giving warrant number, voucher number and fund number.

DESCRIPTION	DATE	INVOICE NUMBER	CREDITS	DEDUCTIONS	BALANCE	PROOF
863 79 0.00	DEC1063		1.50		1.50	3.00

Ck $1.50
12/18/63
LK

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THIS CHECK BECOMES A RECEIPT IN FULL

THE REED INSTITUTE
PORTLAND 2, OREGON

Ⓟf
DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Reed Institute
Education Office - Eliot 318
Portland 2, Oregon

****

Purchase Order # 27175

Date Shipped 11-22-63

3 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, Coles @ .50 $1.50

D Bruce

ck $1.00
12/18/63
LR

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Christ Episcopal Church
Box 164
Blacksburg, Va.

Attention: Rev. R. Baldwin Lloyd
****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 11-19-63

10 - L-~~444~~: Charlotte @ .10 $ 1.00

Miss Beatrice Sealy
100 LaSalle St.
New York 27, N. Y.

letter

12-19-63

1 - Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, Coles .50

1 - Token Desegregation and Beyond, Morland .50

$1.00

Miss Jane C. Stoutenburg
Curriculum Department
Ithaca City School District
Ithaca, N. Y.

letter

12-18-63

10 - The Economic Status of Negroes @ .25 $2.50

ck $2.00
12/19/63 ✓
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. T. Emory Daniel
127 Peachtree St., N.E. - Suite 1431
Candler Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

****

Purchase Order # telephone order

Date Shipped 10-21-63

20 - Letter from a Birmingham Jail @ 10¢ $2.00

ck $5.00
v 12/19/63
LK

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

315 LEXINGTON AVE.
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

ACCOUNT	YOUR DATE	INVOICE AMOUNTS	DEDUCTIONS

THIS ATTACHED CHECK IS IN FULL PAYMENT OF ITEMS LISTED ABOVE.

Behl Printing Co.—F.17450

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Catholic Council on Human Relations
1046 Baronne St., Suite 2
New Orleans, La.

letter

12-27-63

500 - L-46, New Orleans @ 2¢ $10.00

Bookazine Co., Inc.
Wholesale Book Distributors
43 East 10th St.
New York 3, N. Y.

SPE 122063

12-27-63

1 - Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes .25

JD coin
1/3/64
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Susan Zeller
63-25 Saunders St.
Rego Park 74, N. Y.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-10-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

Thankyou

ck $1.00
1/3/64
HT

100 La Salle Street
N.Y.C. 27, N.Y.
December 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a check for $1.00 in payment for 2 pamphlets sent to me on December 19th.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Pearce Sealy

44427

REMITTANCE ADVICE FROM: RICHARD ABEL AND COMPANY, INC.

CR. 75
1/7/64
LK

PO# LA 11359 25 —
" " — 18743 50 —
2 75 S

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK.

er ®.

DATE	REFERENCE	GROSS AMOUNT	DISCOUNT	PREVIOUS BALANCE	BALANCE	REMARKS
1,805.63	4,601	4.25			4.25	8333
ck B4 25 1/7/64 LK						

PLEASE DETACH THIS STATEMENT BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK

CHAPMAN COLLEGE
333 NORTH GLASSELL STREET
ORANGE, CALIFORNIA

THIS CHECK IS TENDERED IN PAYMENT OF ITEMS LISTED

ck $10.00
1/10/64
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Catholic Council on Human Relations
1046 Baronne St., Suite 2
New Orleans, La.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-27-63

500 - L-46, New Orleans	@ 2¢	$10.00

Coin .25
1/10/64
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Kathryn Ewbank
1280 Barrington Avenue, #5
Los Angeles 25, Calif.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-3-63

1 - Racial Crisis and the Press $ .25

ck $2.50
1/10/64
LK

COPY

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Streetn N.W.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

Miss Jane C. Stoutenburg
Curriculum Department
Ithaca City School District
Ithaca, New York

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-18-63

10 - The Economic Status of Negroes @.25 $2.50

ck 8/10
1/10/64
KK Thank you —
Please send me another
Copy - !

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Thos. J. Brooks
750 Lenox Dr.
Jackson 6, Miss.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-3-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

ck .50
1/10/64
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Alex Fanelli
859 North Longfellow St.
Arlington 5, Va.

****

Purchase Order # letter

Date Shipped 12-2-63

1 - Mississippi: The Closed Society $ .50

December 5, 1963

Mr. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

As promised, during our phone conversation today, I am enclosing a copy of the material that was used in the survey, which appeared in last Sunday's papers.

I understand we only mimeographed a few copies of this material, which is why you did not get a copy. You are still on our mailing list, but this was not for general distribution.

Glad to be of help.

Sincerely,

Walter P. Watters, Jr.
Director of Information

WPW:nm
Enclosure

July 7, 1965

Mr. Carl Holman
U.S. Commission on
Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

I don't reckon I'll ever get any higher praise. Thanks.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mpa

October 30, 1964

The Honorable Leroy Collins
Director
Community Relations Service
United States Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Collins:

With as little trouble to you as possible, I need to make a few advance preparations for press coverage of your speech to the Southern Regional Council November 20.

We've already had several requests for copies of the speech in advance of its delivery. If it is possible to get advance copies by mail in time to distribute them during the day, November 20, that would be fine. Otherwise, we will distribute them at the dinner. Probably twenty copies will be needed.

I have also had a request from Al Kuettner, who does regional coverage for United Press International, for a thirty minute private interview while you are here. This is of course up to you and your schedule. So is the matter of whether you want to hold a press conference. Whatever, you want to do, let me know and I will do whatever is necessary at this end.

We're looking forward to seeing you and hearing you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:MP

File

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

November 16th 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters,

Because of what appears to be a very close schedule, I will not be able to hold a press conference before my dinner engagement on November 20th. Now, the situation might loosen a little, so if Mr. Kuettner will leave a message at the hotel as to where he can be reached, we can get in touch with him if anything can be worked out.

We will do our best to get copies of the speech to you on Thursday, if not by Friday morning.

I am looking forward to meeting with all of you.

Sincerely yours,

LeRoy Collins

LeRoy Collins

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Community Relations Service

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

File

TEXT OF REMARKS BY LeROY COLLINS, DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, TO THE ALABAMA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA, JANUARY 30, 1965, 1:00 P.M.

My first feelings today are of commendation to this Council for what you have done and are doing. Your work is of extreme importance -- to the people of Alabama, to the people of America -- and you richly deserve the heartfelt thanks of us all.

More important, of course, you deserve our cooperation -- and I am here to offer our help in any way that it can be utilized by you.

President Johnson has said "the time has come to bind up the nation's wounds and heal its history." This, essentially is the work in which you are engaged -- just as it is the essence of the assignment of the Community Relations Service, which it is my privilege to serve as Director.

Civil rights is a touchy subject, to say the least. And, as in all fields of controversy some false and some exaggerated statements are uttered. So I am neither surprised nor too distressed that some confusion may exist in some places about the Community Relations Service, which was created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

For example, during the congressional debates one member of Congress painted a picture of the Service as some kind of a monster "without any particular authority or function other than to meddle in community affairs."

Let me take just a moment to set the record straight as to what this Service really is and what we are striving to do.

In creating the Community Relations Service, the Federal government has for the first time assumed direct responsibility in the field of community relations, and it has accepted a role in the prevention as well as in the resolution of disputes arising out of unlawful racial discrimination.

Title X of the new Civil Rights Act, provides a broad mandate for our Service to go into any community, with or without an express invitation, to assist that community: to settle disputes arising from racial tensions which threaten community peace, or which may affect interstate commerce.

And under Title II, the Community Relations Service may accept referrals from Federal district courts of specific disputes arising out of discrimination in places of public accommodation.

All settlements -- and I want to emphasize this -- all settlements, of course, must be made within the letter and spirit of the law.

We have quickly learned that we cannot be content to settle a dispute, that we cannot leave the deep-seated reasons which created the disturbance in the first place. So, we encourage and assist communities to develop plans of action, designed to remedy the root causes of their trouble. This may involve a whole range of reforms -- in education, employment, law enforcement, housing, recreation and public facilities, as well as public accommodations; and it will involve the fostering of new attitudes through the opening of better lines of communication.

Beyond this it is our job to assist all Americans to understand that the Civil Rights Act -- which the overwhelming majority of them approve and enacted through their elected representatives in Congress -- is the law of this land and therefore must be obeyed.

But, more than that, we try to persuade people that the Civil Rights Act is right, that it is fair, that it responds to the best impulses of the true American character, that it meets the moral imperative of a concerned society and that it is too important to be allowed to suffer evasion, much less outright defiance.

We seek to demonstrate that not only is the law in keeping with the nation's democratic and spiritual commitments but that good human relations produce good business, and bad human relations invariably provoke bad business.

Obviously, this is not a job for Washington alone. Unless problems in this field are attacked and solved in the communities by the people who live in them it would be foolish to anticipate any lasting solutions.

Therefore, we have come to value more and more the role which state and local human relations groups can -- and must -- play.

Limited as our staff and resources are, we stand ready to help your state human relations council, as well as any other group in Alabama, private or public, in the development of local human relations councils.

Our staff will be happy to meet with you or with local leaders, offering the benefit of experience we have gained from many other states and localities on how they have succeeded or failed in their human relations programs.

I am hoping we will be able to move this coming year into an expanded program of special assistance to state and local groups.

It is a sad commentary, but just as America most needs them, the available supply of trained community relations professionals in this country is woefully inadequate to meet current and anticipated needs.

We hope to find funds, public or private, to establish training centers, located at and operated by, universities in the East, the South, the Midwest and the Far West, where states and communities can send their people to receive the specialized training necessary to developing professional community relations competence.

First, of course, a state or locality must decide that it will not abandon the welfare and future of its citizens and their businesses to the fires of whatever racial passions may be blowing down the street at the time.

Once a community or a state has decided to master its own destiny and to work to solve its racial problems rather than to remain the victim of racial unrest, then generally it can profitably use expert assistance to help it do the job.

As I am sure you are aware, there is hardly anything more useless, and sometimes even harmful, than a human relations group, or a community relations agency, which is off on the wrong foot or which -- to be blunt about it -- is no more than a sham.

To succeed, a community relations group must represent the entire population and thus merit the confidence and support of all groups in that community. Otherwise, it becomes either an ineffectual pleader for a worthy cause, or an all-too-effective defender of the status quo. A community is better off with no agency than with one of this type.

A human relations committee's aims must be to bring about change -- peaceful, constructive and lawful change, but change nonetheless.

No community would install a new water system without obtaining professional assistance. Where there is substantial racial tension, the same insistence on professional help for the improvement of human relations is required.

Of course, we have all long realized that any time you deal with a problem involving the emotions of human beings, you will find manifestations of human shortcomings. At the very least, you will run into differences in viewpoint on how things should be done.

Also, it is quite a temptation to blame others, and pass on to them your own assessment of what you think they should be doing.

There are plenty of things about the civil rights groups and the Negro leadership in this country which undoubtedly could stand improvement. Being human, Negro leaders naturally disagree at times among themselves. And I am sure you have on more than one occasion heard criticism of them.

Well, I will not join in that -- not because I have no criticisms to make, for I do. (I also have some strong views on how the New York Yankees should be managed.)

But I am not going to try to tell the Negro leadership how to perform their role -- for the very good reason that I am not a Negro. The old injunction notwithstanding, in the final analysis it is impossible for any man to put himself in another man's shoes.

But as a white man I can try to understand the problems a Negro faces. I can try to imagine what it must be like to be a Negro, what it must be like to be black in a predominantly white society, what it must be like to go to sleep every evening and wake up every morning knowing that so long as one lives and no matter what he does it never will be possible for him to walk the streets with the full dignity and assurance he would have if his skin were not dark.

I feel that the role of Negro leadership within lawful bounds should be left to those Negroes who emerge as the spokesmen of their people.

Of course, I am entitled to have strong views on the problem of civil rights, for -- as a white man -- I most certainly am a big part of that problem..

And I feel especially challenged and obligated to speak on that subject to my fellow white southerners. For any criticism or suggestions I have for them must be directed to myself as well. And it is in this spirit that I would like to talk with you today.

Somewhere along the line as I was growing up in the small southern town of Tallahassee some people who took an interest in me as a little boy -- my parents, teachers, a lot of people -- somehow instilled in me a strong feeling that, to state it in its simplest terms, the right thing to do was to do the "right" thing.

Now if my life depended on it, I seriously question whether I could spell out for you precisely just what is meant by "right" in that context. Yet there never has been any question in my own mind as to what "right" meant. It is more a something you feel, or just know in your heart, than a something you can define in words.

Now there is nothing so special about this. Most southerners are brought up this way, just as are most Americans everywhere I suppose.

It is, perhaps, the most common of denominators which binds us together as a people -- particularly in times of crisis, whether that crisis be the sight of a child drowning or a nation in peril.

As I was growing up and taking my place as a young attorney in my home town -- an environment, incidentally, which was structured around the assumed second-class status of Negroes -- all that I did and said I tried to do and say in keeping with what I felt to be "right." Sometimes I succeeded at this better than I did at other times. But I was trying, trying, and I hope I maintained a rather consistent conformity with my conscience.

Yet, I am the first to admit that over the span of my life I have been quite inconsistent in positions I have taken, both public and private, concerning civil rights and the place of the Negro in our American society.

Political opponents have rapped me pretty hard for what they have claimed to be contradictions. The fact that I was able to win election in my home state by unprecedented margins over a span of 26 years, and that as Governor I was able to win approval of an unprecedented majority of recommendations to the state legislature, has not altogether removed the sting of those blows when they have fallen.

What sustained me throughout all of this, and through subsequent abuse which has come my way for having changed my attitudes toward segregation, is the sure conviction in my own heart that my determination to do what was "right" had not changed. What had changed was my own understanding and comprehension of what was right.

I admit that I have looked at segregation through the eyes of a man who was raised from a boy on the privileged side of a racially segregated social system. In the past I have even rationalized that Negroes actually preferred it that way. And I have embraced other comforting justifications which the segregated society has held out to salve the consciences of its worried white participants.

I am not ashamed to admit that my thinking has changed over the years as I have been able to see this question more from the other man's point of view.

All the while I have tried to have my conscience keep up with my knowledge and understanding.

And when, as I grew older, this knowledge and understanding led me to the realization that forced segregation was in truth a violation of what I felt to be "right," I did not hesitate to say so, both privately and publicly. My obligations of leadership changed also, because leaders must stand for what they believe; else how can others know what their aspirations are, or the direction in which they seek to go.

The fact that the world had been changing at an ever-increasing rate undoubtedly helped accelerate my understanding. No longer was Tallahassee a sleepy southern town with magnolias and moss and a rigidly-defined place in society for everyone in the community.

It became a different Tallahassee, and I did my best to help it change. Better education had its impact upon whites and Negroes; new businesses were demanding new skills of the work force; new people came to town from distant places; universities expanded rapidly in teaching competence and though the influx of more cosmopolitan students; most important of all, Tallahassee became more and more in tune with the hopes and aims of Americans everywhere.

But with all the change I tried to remain steadfast in my determination to do what was "right." I keep emphasizing this because I know there have always been many, many others who have felt exactly the same way.

This is the point I want to get across to my fellow southern whites:

No one is asking us to abandon our moral values, to give up principles of "right" and "wrong" which we and our families and our neighbors have cherished for generations.

What is being asked of all of us as Americans these days concerning civil rights is to be faithful to our obligation continually to renew our assessment of what is "right" -- to look about us and ask, in quiet and personal candor, is it really "right" that some people in our land should be treated as belonging to a separate caste, and relegated to second-class status, because of their appearance, or who their parents were, or where they came from? Can the denial to millions of our citizens of their right to be judged on merit alone be reconciled with our American ideals?

I have many vivid memories from my youth of Negro deprivations and disadvantages -- observed and accepted as normal conditions. Back then, they were viewed simply as a part of the Negro's "place" in our community.

For example, I recall the time when I was around 13 or 14, and worked on Saturdays in a local grocery store. A Negro man we all knew as "Charlie" came in from the country one day, shabby and dusty after a fifteen mile wagon ride to town. He asked me for a nickel's worth of lard and a nickel's worth of syrup.

I put the lard in a tray and when I asked him if he had a bottle for the syrup he asked me to pour it directly from the barrel over the lard. I handed him the tray, he found a box in the back to sit on, and with a stick for a spoon he proceeded to eat this combination salad for his dinner.

I thought it was a little funny until I noticed that there was a leak in the tray and the syrup was dripping in his lap. My sense of justice then caused me to run to his aid, substituting a new tray, and, as best I could with a cloth I cleaned the syrup from his trousers.

But that is all I did; all I felt any compulsion to do. It never occurred to me to question that what this man was eating was anything but nutritious; or to question why he was so poor; or to wonder what kind of children he left back home and what opportunities they would have for a decent break in life; or how the suffering of one man like this caused all the rest of us to suffer also.

Not then it didn't. My sense of injustice went no further than stopping the hole in his paper tray.

Most white southerners, I am sure, join me in categorically condemning the Ku Klux Klan attacks on Negroes. These brazen assaults upon the conventional concepts of what is "right" are that obvious. Brutality, cruelty, defrauding, hate -- all these things we can almost unanimously condemn.

But we begin to part company when the contradictions with what is "right" are less pronounced.

To many white southerners, it is still not wrong for white persons to occupy superior positions in our society solely because of their color, and to use this advantage to the disadvantage of the Negro in many, many ways.

And yet, when you come right down to it, for the Negro the differences between the ordinary manifestations of this attitude and brutality must really seem one of degree only.

For to be relegated to a second-class school, to find only second-rate jobs available, to be restricted to a slum or a second-class neighborhood, to be excluded from so very much of the main current of the life of your community and nation, to be reminded in countless big and little ways every waking hour that one is considered "inferior" -- in short, to be a Negro in such a society -- must really be like being lynched a little bit over and over again every day of a lifetime.

And this is just what segregation and discrimination do to these fellow Americans of ours who happen to be Negroes. And I come back to my basic contention that this simply is not "right."

Our problem here in the South, I think, has not been that we have lacked a proper commitment to do what is "right," or not to do what is "wrong," as much as it has been that we have failed to see how the realities of being a Negro in a racially segregated society relate to "right" and "wrong."

In the Bible, Jesus admonished some of his followers for not having fed Him when He was hungry or clothed Him when He was naked.

They were deeply troubled, for they simply were not aware of any instance in which they had thus neglected Him.

You will recall that He answered, in effect, that when they neglected any of God's children they actually did this to Him.

This means for us today exactly the same thing it meant for the disciples then: we neglect our God when we neglect the children of God. We serve our God when we serve our fellow man.

What we must seek for Negro Americans today is no more -- just as it is no less -- than what we must seek for all Americans. It is nothing other than simple justice. And there cannot be justice where freedom is rationed. There can be justice for none unless there is justice for all.

Wherever poverty is at its worst, there you also find that both the greater percentage of the poor and the pooorest of the poor, are Negroes.

And this, friends, is no accident. No heartless God so willed it.

We did it, we white Americans.

It was we who installed the institution of slavery on this continent.

It was we who perpetuated it as long as we could.

It was we who found more subtle substitutions for slavery when it was ended.

It was we who set up the society of forced segregation and tried to make it function to our material benefit, even though in the process it contributed to our spiritual impoverishment.

Now, thank God, all of that is doomed to pass away in America.

This is a greatly changed America we live in now, compared with what it was like only a few years ago. And our children's America will be even more changed.

Among the things which are happening and which cannot be stopped is that the Negro in America is on his way to being free, as all other Americans are -- to have opportunities for self-improvement as all other Americans do.

That day is not yet here for most Negroes, but it will dawn just as surely as there is still a sun to shine, and an earth for it to shine upon.

That day can come with a high degree of harmony or it can come with bitterness and untold anguish for all.

It will not come because we white Americans bestow it, for our bestowing days have already run out.

It will come because the Negro people, themselves, struggled to push it to the point where it could not be denied. We should have known all along, I suppose, that freedom never is given; it can only be won.

But this does not mean that white Americans have no hope for determining whether the day of equal opportunity for all Negro Americans dawns harmoniously or painfully. Indeed, we can play a very important role in determining the "how" of that dawning -- especially we white southerners.

It will take changes in some of our thinking -- changes in some of our attitudes toward Negroes; changes in our understanding of their lives.

To help facilitate these changes, to hasten the day of their acceptance, is for me and for you the greatest "right" to which we can commit ourselves; and the most noble task we can undertake.

Let me tell you a little story from my own life.

I was about 12, and a member of the town band. It wasn't much of a band, but we could play "The Old Rugged Cross," "The Stars and Stripes Forever" and two or three other pieces.

In the early 1920's some of you may remember that my State was experiencing a great boom in real estate. Everybody was going wild buying Florida land, and auction sales of subdivision lots were very popular.

I never shall forget one slick outfit that moved into my town. They bought a field nearby where I had always shot rabbits; they subdivided it and then had an auction sale of the lots.

They engaged our little band to come out and play for the auction sale. They would sell a number of lots in one place, then move over to another and sell some more. And we would move and play, trying to keep the people coming.

Well, beyond blowing my cornet, I was very interested in what was going on and actually became fascinated by that auctioneer.

In the afternoon, business grew a little dull, and the bidders weren't responding well. My auctioneer friend moved to a new location, and was calling for bids, but no one would bid.

I don't know what moved me but, remembering that the other lots had been selling for $140 and $150 and knowing that these would soon draw a much higher bid and to help my friend get things going, I called, "Twenty dollars." Well, I never will forget the way that auctioneer looked. The band was right out in front, and he looked over us all and then said, "Who was that who said $20 for this lot?" With great fear I confessed with a weak, "I did." "You said $20 for this piece of real estate?" he said. "Sold to that young man!" he boomed. "I like to see young people investing in real estate. This shows they understand what this great free enterprise system we have in America really means. Sold to that young man for $20!"

I don't think I have ever been more scared than I was at that moment.

They had a rule that if you bought one lot, you had to take two. So, I had a $40 obligation -- and I had a total of $14 in the bank. But the terms were one-third down and my bank account just covered this.

They made an escrow contract covering the balance and put it in the bank with a deed. Every month thereafter I went to the bank to make a payment on my lot. And every time I made a payment, I would get on my bicycle and go back out to that lot. I would put the bicycle down and just strut up and down in front of that lot -- and all around too, just hoping somebody would come by and ask, "Who is this land-baron who owns all this real estate out here?" But no one seemed to feel the importance of my position quite as I did.

Finally, I made my last payment. I never will forget it. I got my deed, took it to the courthouse and had it recorded.

And then I went back out there to my real estate. I never have had such a feeling of exhilaration in all my life. I sat down, right in the middle of that lot, and I got my hands down as deep in the dirt as I could dig them. And with tears streaming down my face, I cried in great joy, "It's mine! It's mine!"

Friends, we have many millions of Americans in this country who have been paying and paying on the installment plan to achieve the full rights of American citizenship, and I say it is time for them to get their deed.

Before I was introduced you were singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

Let us all help all Americans to get their deed to full participation in American citizenship.

Then can everyone feel "it's mine!"

Then can all sing:

"Glory, glory hallelujah...
His truth is marching on."

June 29, 1965

The Honorable LeRoy Collins
Director
Community Relations Service
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Collins:

Congratulations and best wishes in your new work. Big jobs on both state and national levels require big men. Naturally, you fill the bill.

I was away on vacation from the St. Petersburg Times when I got word of your nomination for another federal position. At the top of my list of things to do, after reporting for my new work at the Southern Regional Council, was this letter to wish you success in your new venture.

Sincerely yours,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

JUL 6 1965

Mr. Samuel Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

Thank you so very much for your wonderful letter about my new assignment. I am looking forward with a great deal of excitement to this new service.

Your confidence and good wishes mean a great deal to me, and I hope our paths will cross soon so that I can tell you personally of my appreciation.

Sincerely,

LeRoy Collins

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

August 13, 1965

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

Thank you for your letter of July 30.

You mentioned the possibility of the Community Relations Service being helpful to you in seeing that some of your publications are received in quarters where they will do the most good. If there are any specific suggestions you have in this regard, will you please let me know. Could you send me a copy of "Encounter With the Future" by Pat Watters, to which you referred? It might also be useful for me to have a listing of your publications and special reports -- as well as being placed on your mailing list for materials to be produced in the future.

I look forward to future opportunities for cooperative efforts.

Sincerely yours,

Bertram Levine

Bertram Levine
Liaison Officer for
Private Organizations

PW

NM- pls do pos

O.K.
M.M

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To MR. A. ROSS ECKLER, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF THE CENSUS Aug. 13 1965

Street and No. U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination*

THANK YOU FOR INVITATION TO AUGUST 30 MEETING. DEEPLY REGRET CANNOT ATTEND BECAUSE OF CONFLICT. MR. SAMUEL ADAMS, OUR RESEARCH DIRECTOR, WOULD BE AVAILABLE AND COULD CONTRIBUTE WELL TO THE MEETING. I WOULD LIKE TO REQUEST YOUR PERMISSION TO SEND HIM.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Rec'd 8/12/65

AUG 11 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
7 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In the next months the Bureau of the Census will be expected to conduct a number of surveys in situations which may call for some modifications of the usual field procedures. Information will be needed particularly in relation to the programs dealing with poverty, civil and voting rights, and aid to education. Collecting the necessary data will require that the Bureau give special attention to socio-economic groups and areas which previously have not been the focus of such intensive efforts. We believe that the Bureau would benefit greatly from the experience of persons who have taken surveys under the conditions similar to those which we anticipate.

In view of your experience in field surveys, we would like to draw upon your experience. We are asking a number of other persons with similar experience to share their insights with us by attending an informal meeting at the headquarters office of the Bureau, near Washington, on Monday, August 30. We hope that you will be willing and able to spend that day with us. Before the meeting we will send a more specific statement of surveys we expect to conduct this year to serve as a basis of discussion. We are prepared to provide transportation to and from Washington and to pay $16 per diem in lieu of subsistence.

If you can accept our invitation, we will send the necessary travel papers which provide for travel expenses and per diem payment, and other information in about a week. We would be glad to help with hotel reservations if you wish.

I hope that you will find it possible to assist us in this important undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

A. Ross Eckler

A. Ross Eckler
Director
Bureau of the Census

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

September 7, 1965

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

By the time your letter of August 27 reached my desk, the Bureau of Census Conference was over. I was disappointed not to get to see you while you were in town, but I am sure your schedule must have kept you pretty busy. Frankly, I don't have an easy answer to the specific questions you raised. VISTA probably is not the answer. I have taken the liberty, however, of sending a copy of your letter on to a friend of mine in the Community Action Programs. If he has any good ideas I will get back in touch with you.

In the meantime, it was good hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Pat Kennedy

Padraic M. Kennedy
Deputy Director, VISTA

September 8, 1965

Mr. A. Ross Eckler
Director
Bureau of the Census
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Eckler:

Thank you for your kind letter of September 1. It was indeed my pleasure to participate in your meeting of last week, and if I can be of service in the future, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

NM-Ack

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

IN REPLY REFER TO:

SEP 1 1965

Mr. Samuel Adams
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Adams:

I should like to express my appreciation and thanks to you for your participation in our discussion of survey problems.

You were indeed kind to share your experiences with us, and we feel that the insights you gave us will be very helpful in resolving our survey problems in the civil and voting rights area and in other areas as well. We may need your assistance again, and we hope we may feel free to call upon you.

It was a pleasure meeting you and having you with us.

Sincerely yours,

A. Ross Eckler

A. Ross Eckler
Director
Bureau of the Census

OFFICE OF
THE DIRECTOR

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

AUG 24 1965

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Samuel Adams
7 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Adams:

We are glad that you will join us on August 30, 1965, for an informal discussion of problems the Bureau of the Census will meet in conducting surveys in the areas of poverty, civil and voting rights, and aid to education. As a basis for the discussion we are enclosing a brief background paper on these surveys.

We have scheduled the meeting for 9:30 a.m.,Conference Room Number 2113 (second floor), FOB #3, Suitland, Maryland. From both downtown Washington and the National Airport the Bureau of the Census is about thirty minutes by taxicab.

Your travel order, together with instructions for using the transportation request, is enclosed.

We look forward with great pleasure to meeting with you on August 30.

Sincerely yours,

A. Ross Eckler

A. Ross Eckler
Director
Bureau of the Census

Enclosures (3)

September 24, 1965

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Acting Director
Community Relations Service
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Kytle:

It was good to see you in Atlanta.

Shortly after leaving the press luncheon, at which you spoke, Mrs. Mary Chapnick requested that we send you the enclosed information. We are glad to be of service.

Also, thanks for finding time to talk with me during my recent trip to Washington. Governor Collins insisted that I talk with you, and I am glad he did. You were surprised to see me in Atlanta rather than in St. Petersburg. I am sorry I did not make it clear to you that I am now Director of Research for the Southern Regional Council.

As requested by Mrs. Chapnick, we are enclosing a list (three xero copies) compiled by our research department. To the best of our knowledge, these are the deaths from 1959 to present of civil rights related deaths.

If we can be of further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosures

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

September 27, 1965

Mr. Samuel Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

I was indeed surprised to see you in Atlanta, but this is only because I didn't have a moment to reflect. You'd told me you were at the SRC as research director and I'm sure that if I hadn't been distracted shortly after we shook hands I would have remembered. I had, as a matter of fact, meant to get back to you after the program, if only to wish you well on your new assignment, but it seems that some TV people were waiting and anxious to have me make a statement, and by the time I got back to the dining room you had gone.

In any event, many thanks for sending me the information on deaths in connection with civil-rights events. It's precisely what I needed to document some points in an upcoming speech.

Next time you're up this way, please drop by. And all good wishes to you and the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle
Acting Director

THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

February 24, 1966

Rec'd 2/28/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Adams:

I have enclosed a copy of Dr. Brimmer's speech at Houston, Texas last month, in appreciation of your kind help rendered during the preparatory stages. It was certainly a pleasure both talking to you and making the contacts to which you so generously referred me. Dr. Brimmer joins in extending his thanks to you.

Sincerely yours,

Maria P. Beckles

(Mrs.) Maria P. Beckles
Staff Economist

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF
COMMERCE
John T. Connor, Secretary Washington, D.C.

Office of the Secretary

FOR RELEASE A.M., SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1966

REMARKS BY ANDREW F. BRIMMER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, PREPARED FOR DELIVERY AT THE ANNUAL BANQUET OF THE HOUSTON CITIZENS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, AT THE STATE ROOM OF HOTEL AMERICA, HOUSTON, TEXAS, ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1966, 7:30 P.M.

Economic Progress in Black and White

Next month, the United States will celebrate the fifth birthday of the longest peacetime economic expansion in the Nation's history. During these five years, Gross National Product, the broadest measure of the pace of business, rose by more than $171 billion, to a total of $675 billion in 1965. Last year alone, the gain was $46 billion, or well over 7 per cent.

As the President observed in his State of the Union message last week, these have been good years for America. I would like to add that these have been the best years for the American Negro.

These simple observations are an inadequate summary of a truly remarkable achievement by the American economy. What is remarkable is not merely the strength of the steady climb from the recession of 1960-61. Rather, the remarkable feature is that the period of expansion has endured so long that prosperity has begun to seep even into the Nation's backyards and by-ways populated primarily by Negroes. While the faster pace of business has not brought a bonanza to the

Negro community, it has brought the largest gains relative to the white community experienced since World War II. While prosperity has solved no basic problems of race and society, it has carried a record number of black people within reaching distance of the ladder to a middle class life. And because so many of the disadvantaged - both black and white - are just on the verge of reaching for the first rungs on the ladder, it is vital that economic progress not only be maintained but also broadened further to include those still living beyond the mainstream of well-being.

Looked at from the general situation of the American Negro, the national objective of sustaining a high level of prosperity is a matter of the greatest urgency:

- While the Nation has enjoyed five full years of prosperity, Negroes have participated in a substantial way in only the last three.

- Although generally good times have reduced the over-all unemployment rate to 4.1 per cent, for Negroes it was 7.3 per cent last December.

- The last few years of prosperity have enabled an increasing number of Negro families to escape from poverty, but two-fifths of such families are still poor.

Thus, the economic prospects for the Negro during the year ahead - far more than for any other large segment of the population - are intimately linked with a continued high rate of economic growth, coupled with lessened job discrimination, widening opportunities for training, and more rapid upgrading presently held jobs. Consequently, the President's determination to maintain a high level of national production, and his decision to continue laying the foundations for the Great Society while providing the men and means to support the military effort in Vietnam, are the best New Year's present the Negro community - and other disadvantaged groups - could receive.

In these remarks, I wish to look behind the contours of the general prosperity to examine the extent to which Negroes have shared - and have not shared - the fruits of economic growth during the last five years.

- I look first at the general profile of economic expansion.

- I trace the trends in labor force participation, employment and unemployment for white and non-white workers.

- I sketch the pattern of changes in personal income of white and nonwhite families, with special emphasis on the escape from poverty.

- I show the magnitude of the differential benefits of economic growth for the white and nonwhite population.

- Finally, I indicate why the hopes of the Negro community rest so heavily on the expanded opportunities which will come as the Great Society unfolds.

Labor Force, Employment and Unemployment

The lateness of the Negro's participation in the current prosperity is seen most clearly in the labor force statistics published by the U.S. Department of Labor. (The labor force consists of the number of persons 14 years of age and over who were employed or seeking work on the date of the monthly survey). These figures show that, over the five years since 1960, the total labor force increased by 5.0 million, a gain of 7 per cent. The nonwhite labor force rose by 600 thousand, or by almost 8 per cent. This faster growth raised the nonwhite proportion from 11 per cent of the Nation's active manpower in 1960 to 13 per cent in 1965.

The profile of year-to-year changes within the period is particularly sharp. During each of the first three years of the expansion, the nonwhite labor force grew by 100,000 persons. But in 1964, the rise was 200,000, followed by an increase of 100,000 in 1965. The movement for the white labor force was quite different: during the recovery year of 1961, the white labor force expanded by 900,000, followed by a gain of only 200,000 in 1962. As the pace of economic activity quickened, the white labor force climbed by 1 million each year in 1963 and 1964 and by 1.3 million in 1965.

We know in general that prosperity not only brings more jobs, it also induces more people to seek work. As more and more of the unemployed find jobs, this encourages others (including many businesses and others with only a moderate attachment to the work force) to become more venturesome. The opposite behavior is also observable: if the search for jobs produces little success, there is a progressive withdrawal from the labor force of those disappointed. This pattern of behavior was especially evident among nonwhites during the current expansion. Between 1960 and 1961, reflecting the impact of the recession, the male nonwhite labor force was static. However, some 100,000 more nonwhite females moved into the labor market - probably a good many of whom were seeking to compensate for the loss of income as males became unemployed. On balance, there was no net increase in nonwhite

female employment, and the full 100,000 moved into the jobless ranks. In the following year, 1962, the female component of the nonwhite labor force became static. But 1962 also saw the revival of hope among nonwhite men, whose numbers in the labor force advanced by 100,000. This was little more than matched by employment gains, and unemployment of nonwhite males fell only moderately. Beginning in 1963, the nonwhite female labor force rose by 100,000 each year through 1965. But it was only in 1964 that a substantial improvement occurred in their job situation, when a gain of 200,000 was registered. The nonwhite male labor force showed little change in 1963; but 1964 brought an increase of 100,000 followed by a levelling-off in 1965.

At this point, it would be well to focus more closely on the trends in employment and unemployment during the last two years. As mentioned earlier, 1964 marked the real entry of nonwhites into the current prosperity. In that year, the number of jobs held by nonwhites jumped by 300,000; in 1965 a gain of 200,000 was recorded. Moreover, these gains went primarily to nonwhite men. In 1963 - despite two years of vigorous economic growth - over 10 per cent of these men were jobless. By the end of 1965, this figure had dropped to 6 per cent. The progress among key bread-winners is even more striking. At the end of last year, the unemployment rate for married Negro men whose homes have not been disrupted by divorce or separation was less than 2 per cent - the same as for white men with the same marital status. Even the over-all rates of unemployment fell sharply for nonwhites in the last year - from 8.9 per cent in December 1964, to 7.3 per cent in December 1965. For the entire labor force, the decline was from 5.0 per cent to 4.1 per cent.

Nevertheless, the general participation by nonwhites in the Nation's prosperity remains far from satisfactory:

- In December 1965, 598,000 nonwhites were unemployed. This was 26 per cent of the total unemployment, although nonwhites constitute about 13 per cent of the labor force.

- The unemployment rate for nonwhites was 7.3 per cent, against 3.7 per cent for whites and 4.1 per cent for the labor force as a whole.

- Among youth just beginning their careers, the opportunity to participate was even less promising. The unemployment rate for nonwhite youth was 26.4 per cent in December 1965, compared with 11.3 per cent for white youth and 13.1 per cent for the total. And for nonwhite female youth, the rate was a discouraging 31.8 per cent, or 2.7 times that for white girls.

Income of the Negro Community

The delayed participation of the Negro in the current economic expansion is also thoroughly documented in the trend of personal income. The latest income figures available by color are for 1964. In that year, aggregate personal income (as defined by the Bureau of the Census) amounted to $395.7 billion. The income of nonwhites was $26.4 billion. Thus, nonwhites received 6.7 per cent of the total. This was a record share. In fact, this ratio alone tells a great deal of my story: in 1960, it was 6.2 per cent. With the rise of unemployment during the recession, it eased off to 6.1 per cent in 1961. Because Negroes lagged behind as the recovery got underway, the ratio declined further to 6.0 per cent. But as more and more nonwhites were drawn into the gainfully employed, the ratio rebounded sharply to 6.4 per cent in 1963, and it made a further strong advance to 6.7 per cent in 1964.

The share of personal income going to nonwhites since 1962 has risen faster than the nonwhite population, so there has been a genuine improvement in economic welfare. Between 1961 and 1962, nonwhite per capita income declined from $986 to $977. But during the next three years, there was a steady rise to $1,168 in 1964. Again the quickening participation of nonwhites is evident. The increase was 3.7 per cent in 1963 and 4.7 per cent in 1964. For whites, there was a fairly steady growth in per capita income from 1961 to 1964. It moved from $1,966 in 1961 to $2,188 in 1964. Over this period as a whole, per capita income for whites increased by 11.3 per cent - while for nonwhites it was 18.5 per cent. Nevertheless, by 1964 nonwhites still had only slightly more than half the income per head as whites.

When examined on the basis of median income, another striking change is evident as Negroes were pulled progressively into active participation. In 1964, the median family income of Negroes actually grew faster than the income of white families - in both percentage and dollar figures. This commonly used yardstick rose by $374 (or 10.8 per cent) for Negroes, compared with $310 (or 4.7 per cent) for white families. Of course, a large gap remained: the median was $6,858 for white families and $3,839 for Negroes. Thus, here also the Negro family's income was just over half that of white families.

The Escape from Poverty

Some of the most meaningful evidence of progress is found at the low end of the income scale - the percentage of families who have managed to escape from the poverty bracket.

Here again, the evidence indicates that prosperity quickly changed the lives of the white population, but it took two or more years to produce an impact on Negroes, Mexicans, and other minority groups.

In 1961, the first year of the present economic recovery, the number of nonwhite families with incomes below $3,000 actually increased by 1.4 per cent, or in actual numbers by 29,000. Meanwhile, some 297,000 white families were crossing the poverty line in the other direction, reducing the number of poor white families by 4.8 per cent.

In 1962, there was another 4.4 per cent reduction in the number of poor white families, but there was virtually no decline in the nonwhite poverty ranks.

In 1963, there was an 8.9 per cent drop in the number of white families living below the poverty line. And, for the first time, there was a sizable drop in the number of poor Negro families - 105,000, or 4.9 per cent.

There was a substantial change in the relative white and Negro gains in 1964. The number of white families living on the fringes of the economy was reduced by 3.2 per cent. But there was a 7.5 per cent decline in the number of Negro families in the poverty ranks.

Even though the total white families outnumbered Negro families by about 9 to 1, the number of Negro families who crossed that invisible line in 1964 was almost equal to the number of white families - 153,000 Negro families and 164,000 white families.

We do not have the score for 1965, but it seems likely that poverty's domain was again substantially reduced.

From 1959 to 1964, the number of poor families of all races declined by 1.4 million - despite an increase of 2.8 million in the total number of families.

Thus, sizable numbers of both whites and Negroes climbed above the bare subsistence level in those five years; the proportion of poor white families decreased from 15 per cent to 11.5 per cent; for Negroes, the decline was from almost half (49.6) to less than two-fifths (39.1). The poverty level can no longer be regarded as the approximate median income for nonwhite families.

While the incidence of poverty was moving downward, the total number of Negro families increased by 12.3 per cent and the number of white families by 6.2 per cent.

Economic Progress Among Southern Negroes

The current long period of economic expansion has made a particularly strong contribution to the improvement of the Negro's position in the South. Two big years, 1962 and 1964, resulted in a substantial improvement for them. Unlike the pattern elsewhere, the median family income of nonwhites in the South increased $340 in 1962; it rose by only $65 in 1963 and then moved strongly upward again by $378 in 1964. The median had declined by $5 - from $2,117 to $2,112 - in 1961. By 1964, the mid-point for southern Negro families had grown to $2,898.

This was still only about 44 per cent as great as the median income of $6,569 for all U.S. families, but it represented considerable improvement over the 38 per cent figure for 1960.

The position of Negro families outside the South in relation to all U.S. families has declined slightly, from about 81 per cent in 1960 to 79 per cent in 1964. The trend for this group has been upward the past two years, with the percentage figure rising from about 76 per cent in 1962. The median family income of $4,540 for Negro families outside the South was considerably more than twice as great as that of southern Negro families, but the 1964 median of $5,160 for Negroes in the North and West was less than 1.8 times as great as the southern median.

The remarkable gains of 16.2 per cent and 15 per cent in the median income of southern Negroes for 1962 and 1964, respectively, were far above any gain made by Negroes outside the South in the 1960-1964 period. However, the advance was only 2.6 per cent in 1963. The best years for Negroes in the North and West were 1963 and 1964, when median family income rose by 7.7 per cent and 6.5 per cent, respectively.

The Importance of Continued Economic Growth

The evidence presented above clearly demonstrates that the current prosperity - while delayed in reaching the Negro community - has finally begun to make a difference in the degree of their access to economic opportunity. This evidence also demonstrates the need to maintain the bridge of high level business activity over which Negroes can continue to move into the mainstream of the Nation's economic life.

Just how critical is this necessity can be seen from the results of some of the analytical work we have been doing in the Department of Commerce. We asked these questions:

- What is the rate of increase in economic activity required to reduce the level of total unemployment by 1 per cent?

- How does a given percentage change in economic activity affect nonwhite unemployment compared with the effect on whites?

The answers to these questions are both striking and instructive. We have concentrated on finding an answer to the second question. The answer to the first was provided some years ago by Arthur Okun who is now a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers. Okun estimated that over-all economic activity (or Gross National Product - GNP - after allowing for price changes) must grow by about 4 per cent each year to offset the long-run increases in productivity and the labor force. In other words, a growth rate of 4 per cent is needed simply to keep total unemployment from rising. Moreover, a 1 per cent increase in GNP over and above that required to keep unemployment from rising will usually bring a decline of about 0.3 per cent in the total unemployment rate.

Following the same statistical procedure used by Okun, the Census Bureau performed a set of calculations to estimate the effects of changes in GNP on the unemployment rates for a number of different groups of whites and nonwhites. The results can be summarized as follows: In general, a 1 per cent rise in GNP will <u>reduce</u> the rate of unemployment by the indicated percentage.

- Total	-.30
- Whites, total	-.26
- Nonwhites, total	-.47
- Males over 20 years of age:	
Whites	-.28
Nonwhites	-.56
- Females over 20 years of age:	
Whites	-.21
Nonwhites	-.31
- Youth (14-19 years of age):	
Whites	-.30
Nonwhites	-.61

These statistics tell us a considerable amount about the dependence of the Negro and other nonwhites on sustained prosperity.

- The total nonwhite unemployment rate is far more sensitive to changes in GNP than is the total white unemployment rate for all age - sex components. For a given increase in GNP, the nonwhite unemployment rate decreases about twice as much as the white unemployment rate, and for a given decrease in GNP the unemployment rate increases about twice as much.

- The male unemployment rate is more sensitive than the female rate for both white and nonwhite adults. For nonwhites, the male unemployment rate fluctuates almost twice as much as the female.

- The teenage unemployment rate is more sensitive than the rate for persons 20 and over and for both white and nonwhite.

- An average growth of GNP of 4 per cent per year has maintained all these unemployment categories at a given level in the past, except nonwhite teenage unemployment which has risen when GNP has increased less than 5 to 5-1/2 per cent per year.

From a review of this evidence, I conclude that prosperity pays high dividends for all of our citizens. I also conclude that without continued prosperity, our Negro citizens stand little chance of any dividends at all.

The Negro's Faith in the Great Society

The Administration of President Johnson, and that of President Kennedy before him, has followed a policy of actively promoting economic growth, balanced with price stability. A major element in this policy was the provision of incentives, such as tax reductions, to stimulate aggregate purchasing power.

At the same time we have actively tried to improve the economic status of those who are frequently bypassed, even during periods of general prosperity. This method of attack includes the anti-poverty program, job training, and Federally assisted projects in the fields of education and health.

Last week, President Johnson decided that this Nation possesses the human and material resources to continue and expand these programs, even though we are engaged in a costly

military effort, and maintain price stability at the same time.

This decision to continue laying the foundation for a Great Society has a special significance for nonwhites because a greater proportion of nonwhites need help to escape poverty, racial discrimination, ignorance and disease.

In citing the greater gains of the past year or so, I would like to caution against drawing the conclusion that nonwhites definitely are on the brink of a breakthrough. Many years of growth - even at the present accelerated pace - will be required to close the economic, educational and social gaps between Negro and white. No problems have been solved.

And, further improvements may be more difficult in the year ahead. It is much harder to achieve further reductions in total unemployment after the rate has dropped to around 4 per cent and still avoid inflationary pressures. Yet, it is precisely the high level of general economic activity which makes possible the strides necessary to take Negroes and other minorities into the mainstream of progress. This is fully recognized in the Federal Government. The Great Society - with its rich promise of opportunity - will continue to be built while we provide for the military effort in Vietnam. And - with the proper mixture of public policies - we can do both and avoid inflation at the same time.

BH File

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
~~WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230~~

550 Milner Building
Jackson, Mississippi 39201
June 23, 1967

Mr. Bob Anderson
7 Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30302

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Enclosed are copies of Press Releases related to approved projects through the Economic Development Administration in Mississippi, as promised by telephone last week.

If I can be of further service, please call on me.

Yours very truly,

Tom Hunt Cole

Tom Hunt Cole
Field Coordinator

THC:lp

Enclosures

File

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

October 5, 1965

Rec'd 10/7/65

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thank you for your letter of October 1 informing us of Miss Long's absence.

Quite coincidentally, Dr. Gouraige has just indicated to us by telephone that he must return to Haiti earlier than we had anticipated. Accordingly, we shall have to cut out the Atlanta visit altogether.

We appreciate your willingness to cooperate on that part of their program which relates to your work.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth W. Wood

Kenneth W. Wood
Assistant Program Specialist
Teacher Development Section
International Exchange and Training Branch

November 19, 1965

Hon. Francis Keppel
Commissioner of Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We respectfully call your attention to the following resolution passed at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council November 15-16, 1965 in Atlanta, Georgia.

School Integration

Questions have been raised to whether various official reports on the extent of school desegregation in the South reflect the true picture. Certainly such reports have not adequately covered the private and extra-legal economic and social pressures exerted to limit the rate of integration. We therefore urge that the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare make renewed efforts to determine the facts about school desegregation in the South, and that it consider the use of independent agencies, groups, and individuals toward this end. A similar recommendation is made regarding the use of funds designed to improve schools for the poor and disadvantaged.

Teachers and educators in state school systems and universities in the South are all too often both the products and prisoners of an historical system of segregation. Progress toward integration requires new insights and this requires people who are free to point out the flaws in the traditional patterns. We therefore urge the Department of Education to provide programs of technical aid to teachers and

others to prepare themselves for positive roles in the change to an integrated educational structure. We further urge that workers in the field of human relations as well as professional educators of quality who understand the social change involved be called on to plan and supervise such programs.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/pf

January 10, 1966

Mr. David S. Seeley
Acting Assistant Commissioner,
Equal Educational Opportunities
Department of Health, Education,
and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington, D. C 20202

Dear Mr. Seeley:

Thank you for your letter of December 29.

We are always happy to cooperate in any way we can toward the ends and in the various activities mentioned in your letter. The problem of gathering statistical information with racial breakdowns is a particularly tough one. I am sure you are familiar with the suggestions Carl Holman has made on this problem.

Please call on us if we can be of assistance.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Paul:

Unless you feel this calls for a debate, I thought I would just answer, thanks, we will be happy to cooperate at any time.

Pat

no debate, he's got his own problems

PA

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

DEC 29 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Commissioner Keppel has asked me to reply to your letter of November 19th concerning the extent of school integration in the South.

We agree with you whole heartly as to the need for better information as to the extent of desegregation, as well as other aspects of desegregation. I had a chance to discuss this to some degree with Mr. Paul Anthony during the White House conference on Civil Rights last month. I am less concerned perhaps than you are about the discrepancy between our sample telephone survey and the study done by the Southern Regional Council this fall, in that so far as I am concerned they both reflect the same picture--namely that desegregation this year is still "token." Our survey was not intended as anything more than an approximation.

What is of greater concern is whether the continual flow of necessary information can be provided in this area. As I explained to Mr. Anthony, we have determined that fact gathering in this area should be done by the Center for Educational Statistics in the Office of Education rather than by the civil rights unit, in order to insure greater objectivity, as well as greater competence in the statistical area. I will forward your letter to the Center for their information. The Center is currently considering ways and means for gathering more extensive data in this area.

As for your concern for training programs, I am enclosing some materials on the training programs sponsored under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act. The institutes and training programs operated by local schools are designed to improve the abilities of teachers, supervisors, and other elementary and secondary school staff members to deal effectively with special educational problems occasioned by school desegregation. In a great many of these training programs, of course, both those experienced in the field of human relations as well as professional educators have been heavily envolved.

I trust that in the coming months the Office of Education will be able to work more closely with Southern Regional Council on our areas of mutual concern. During this first year the Office of Education set to do a "mass production job" of getting as many school districts as possible to move from their position of saying "never" and to begin on desegregation.

During the coming year as greater emphasis can be placed on the quality of desegregation as well as quantity of districts. For this we will need the help of all resources available.

Sincerely yours,

David S. Seeley
Acting Assistant Commissioner,
Equal Educational Opportunities

Enclosures

PA ✓
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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

March 16, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Between now and June our Department hopes to recruit and employ about 200 permanent, professional staff members for work in our civil rights compliance program. In addition, we plan to employ about 100 professional persons and 200 graduate students for temporary summer work (8 - 10 weeks) in civil rights compliance.

For both the permanent and temporary professional positions we are seeking physicians, attorneys, welfare or hospital administrators, public health officers, chief school officers, and leaders in civil rights organization or others who have competence in an activity related to the programs of this Department. In general, professional applicants must have demonstrated qualities of leadership, maturity and stability. They also should have sufficient perception and sensitivity to allow them to acquire a ready understanding of the Department's civil rights compliance program. We also are seeking similar qualities in the graduate students we employ. Additional information about these positions is attached.

We shall appreciate your notifying any individuals, you believe qualified and interested, of these civil rights employment opportunities with this Department.

Your interest and cooperation is appreciated.

Sincerely,

James C. O'Brien

James C. O'Brien
Director of Personnel

Enclosures

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Temporary Professional Summer Positions

Civil Rights Compliance Programs

DUTIES: Individuals appointed to these positions will be concerned with investigating and negotiating civil rights compliance in schools, hospitals, and health and welfare facilities that receive Federal financial assistance. Typically, appointees will be team leaders and will have assigned to them two graduate student assistants.

LOCATION OF POSITIONS: Most appointees will be attached to a field office outside of Washington, D. C., and will be in travel status for most of the term of appointment. All temporary employees will be given one to two weeks of training in Washington, D. C. before intering into field assignments.

TERM OF APPOINTMENT: Eight to ten weeks of summer employment beginning about June 20, 1966.

SALARIES: Appointees will be paid at a salary rate ranging from $12,510 per year to $17,055 per year (from $2,400 to $3,200 for 10 weeks of summer employment). The specific salary an appointee is eligible for depends upon his particular qualifications, his education and experience.

TO APPLY - Send an Application For Federal Employment (Standard Form 57) to:

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Room 5316 North Building
c/o Mr. Charles Dawson
330 Independence Avenue, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20201

Application For Federal Employment blanks may be obtained from your nearest Post Office.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Permanent Professional Positions

Civil Rights Compliance Programs

DUTIES: Individuals appointed to these positions will be concerned with investigating and negotiating civil rights compliance (Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1965 in the areas of health, education, and welfare.

LOCATION OF POSITIONS: Positions will be located in Washington, D. C. or one of nine regional offices: Boston, Massachusetts; New York, New York; Charlottesville, Virginia; Atlanta, Georgia; Chicago, Illinois; Kansas City, Missouri; Dallas, Texas; Denver, Colorado; or San Francisco, California.

SALARIES: Appointees will be paid at a salary rate ranging from $7,479 per year (GS-9) to $17,055 per year (GS-15). The specific salary for which an appointee is eligible depends upon his particular qualifications, his education and experience.

TO APPLY - Send an Application For Federal Employment (Standard Form 57) to:

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Room 5316 North Building
c/o Mr. Charles Dawson
330 Independence Avenue, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20201

Application For Federal Employment blanks may be obtained from your nearest Post Office.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Temporary Student Assistant Summer Positions

Civil Rights Compliance Programs

DUTIES: Graduate students assigned to these positions will be concerned with investigating and negotiating civil rights compliance in schools, hospitals, and health and welfare facilities. Typically, appointees will be team members; two graduate students will be assigned to a team leader. Teams will be under the continuing guidance of a full time senior staff member.

LOCATION OF POSITIONS: Most appointees will be attached to a field station outside of Washington, D. C., and will be in travel status for most of the term of appointment. All temporary employees will be given one to two weeks of training in Washington, D. C. before entering into field assignments.

TERM OF APPOINTMENT: Eight to ten weeks of summer employment beginning about June 20, 1966.

SALARIES: Graduate students who have completed one full year of graduate study will be paid at a salary rate of $6,269 per year (about $1,200 for 10 weeks of employment). Graduate students who have not completed one full year of graduate study will be paid at a salary rate of $5,181 per year (about $1,000 for 10 weeks of summer employment).

TO APPLY - Send an Application For Federal Employment (Standard Form 57) to:

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Room 5316 North Building
c/o Mr. Charles Dawson
330 Independence Avenue, S. W.
Washington, D. C. 20201

Application for Federal Employment blanks may be obtained from your nearest Post Office.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 21, 1964

Dear Mr. Ferguson:

We want to help you recruit VISTA Volunteers. We will:

☐ Publish your material in our bulletin.
Deadline date is _____.
Our editor will contact you with specifications for mats.

☒ Help to secure attendance at local meetings on VISTA.

☐ Provide local speakers for such meetings.

☒ Offer information on other groups that can help.

☒ Distribute application forms for VISTA Volunteers.
Send us 100 (Number).

☐ Help you to organize Community Advisory Councils on VISTA. Please inform us further as to what the Councils will do.

Name VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
Organization SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
Address 5 FORSYTH ST. N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

Below are our suggestions on how you might interest our members and friends in the VISTA Volunteer program:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

VJ - pls reply

October 21, 1964

Dear Sir:

In response to President Johnson's request, the Office of Economic Opportunity has been created to wage the "War on Poverty." Through community and business groups, through national organizations, through action in our towns and counties, a good start has now been made to provide training that will help Americans to attack the causes of poverty. The Job Corps and the Community Action Program are designed to combat important aspects of the poverty problem. In addition, through VISTA we will use a time honored institution, the Volunteer, to fight poverty at its sources.

VISTA Volunteers will serve in many ways in urban and rural communities. They will assist local groups and agencies. They will live and work with our less fortunate Americans. America needs VISTA Volunteers, and all of us will benefit from their efforts. Through them, we can help to overcome the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty.

You can help us to find the right VISTA Volunteer for the right job. If you and your organization are willing to help, please fill out the enclosed sheet and send it to me.

We are looking for skilled workers and for those who would like to gain experience in new fields. We are looking for dedication, enthusiasm and energy.

Will you help us bring our message to potential VISTA Volunteers?

Sincerely,

Glenn W. Ferguson

Glenn W. Ferguson
Coordinator

Enclosure

December 17, 1964

Mrs. Mercedes Wright
415 Rendant Avenue
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mercedes:

As per your request, please find enclosed the resumes of three persons that might be suitable prospectives for the Savannah poverty program.

I'm working on some others and will forward them to you as soon as possible.

Best wishes to you and yours for a joyous holiday season.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:p

Enclosures - 3

415 Rendant Ave.
Savannah, Georgia
December 14, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

It was good to visit with you and your family on Friday. In keeping with our conversation regarding prospective applicants for our Economic Opportuntiy Program here in Savannah, please forward the names and resumes of the individuals that you mentioned to me during our conversation in Paschals.

Thanks for your hospitality. My best wishes to you and yours.

Sincerely,

Mercedes

Mercedes

January 12, 1965

Mr. Norman T. Rae
Director
Division of Volunteer and
Community Resources/VISTA
Executive Office of The President
Washington, D. C. 02506

Dear Mr. Rae:

In response to your letter of January 5, we are enclosing the Southern Regional Council's brochure, and the 1964 January issue of New South, which gives a historical background of our organization.

We are pleased to cooperate with VISTA and look forward to doing so when your plans and programs are more definite and complete.

If we can be of further service, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

January 5, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Jordan:

We deeply appreciate the interest of your organization in the Volunteers In Service To America Program.

Fact sheets and preliminary applications were sent if you requested them and additional material on VISTA is enclosed for your information.

You were kind enough to offer the assistance of your organization in securing attendance at local meetings on VISTA, and we will contact you when definite arrangements are made. Meantime, we would be very interested in knowing more about your organization.

If you would like any further information on VISTA, please do not hesitate to contact us. Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Norman T. Rae

Norman T. Rae, Director
Division of Volunteer &
Community Resources/VISTA

Enclosures

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ABOUT VISTA

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VISTA

WHAT IS VISTA

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is one of the major anti-poverty programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

WHAT DOES VISTA DO

VISTA recruits
selects
trains
assigns and helps maintain Volunteers in communities which have requested their services to combat poverty and its effects by living and working with people in poverty areas.

VISTA offers each man and woman in the United States and its territories the chance to take a personal stand against the destructive forces of poverty that now erode the lives of 1/5 of our population.

By living and working for a year or more within an environment of poverty, Volunteers will lend their energies and understanding, their skills and services to the fight for full opportunity for all our citizens.

They will help develop indigenous leadership within depressed areas to continue Volunteer projects and initiate further programs.

By their presence and with their skills, VISTA Volunteers will personify the spirit of the war against poverty.

VISTA VOLUNTEERS

WHO ARE VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA Volunteers are people with the spirit, ability, and determination needed to overcome poverty. They are specially trained men and women who live and work within poverty using their skills and understanding to help break the poverty cycle.

WHO CAN BECOME A VOLUNTEER

Anyone who wishes to make a personal contribution to the war against poverty. Any United States resident or resident of a United States territory who is 18 or over is eligible to become a VISTA Volunteer.

Married couples and those planning to marry before entering VISTA service must complete individual Preliminary Applications and mail them together in order to be considered as Volunteers. At present, we are unable to accept married couples with dependent children under 18.

WHAT ARE THE EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR VOLUNTEERS

There are no educational requirements. Emphasis is placed on personality qualifications, adaptability, leadership ability, and skills.

WHERE DO VOLUNTEERS SERVE AND WHO MAY REQUEST VOLUNTEERS

VISTA Volunteers will serve wherever a recognition of need exists and a request for their services has been made. Any neighborhood, larger community, local or state organization, agency or institution, be it public or private, may request Volunteers.

Volunteers will serve in rural and urban areas, on Indian Reservations, and among migrant workers, in mental health programs, and among the uneducated and unemployed--in any area within the United States and its territories that needs personal assistance and requests it.

WILL VOLUNTEERS BE ASSIGNED TO THEIR OWN COMMUNITY OR STATE

Though Volunteers may state a preference, the chances are slight that they would be assigned to their home communities.

Both mobility and adaptability are required of Volunteers since they will be sent where they are most needed, which may often be unfamiliar territory.

HOW LONG WILL VOLUNTEERS SERVE

The term of service is for one year. Enlistment for further service is possible.

WHAT WILL VOLUNTEERS BE DOING

While living within poverty, a Volunteer may be working on one or more of a wide variety of projects. He or she may be working:

with non-English speaking people
as a recreation leader
in a mental hospital
with homemakers
on an Indian Reservation
with functional illiterates

with very young children
with youth groups
with the mentally ill or mentally retarded

in a social agency or settlement house

as a tutor
in an urban (over 50,000) area

with migrant workers
with elderly people
providing knowledge of existing service agencies so families and individuals might make use of them
as a teacher or teacher's aide in community mental or public health centers
in a rural (small town or farm) area in a U.S. territory in the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean area

in setting up a new program, and in many other programs and projects that can lead to the elimination of poverty.

RECRUITMENT OF VOLUNTEERS

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS RECRUITED

Volunteers are recruited from the general public and through educational institutions, community organizations, state organizations, national organizations, religious groups, industry, labor unions, and other agencies, both public and private.

WHO RECRUITS VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA is responsible for the recruitment of all Volunteers.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE VISTA WANTS TO RECRUIT

The people VISTA wants to recruit range from young people 18 and over to senior citizens--any Americans or residents of a U.S. Territory who want to see action in the war against poverty; people of spirit, ability, and determination.

HOW MANY PEOPLE CAN VISTA RECRUIT

During its first year VISTA is authorized to recruit 5,000 Volunteers. Depending upon the need and the number of requests for Volunteers, the number may increase in the future.

SELECTION OF VOLUNTEERS

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS SELECTED

There are 4 steps in the selection of Volunteers:

* Anyone who wishes to become a Volunteer may send VISTA a completed preliminary application which asks for basic information such as name, age, marital status and availability.

* If the basic information in the preliminary application shows a person qualified to go on, the applicant is next asked to complete a detailed application form. Along with the application form, at least 5 references are required.

* All the information supplied by the applications and references is evaluated by a selection staff to determine whether the applicant is qualified to become a VISTA Volunteer.

  (No tests of any kind will be given to applicants. Selection will be made solely on the information provided by the applicant and the references.)

* If qualified, an applicant is then invited to become part of the training program for VISTA Volunteers.

TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS

WHO TRAINS VISTA VOLUNTEERS

With the cooperation of local organizations and institutions, including colleges and universities, VISTA will supervise the training of Volunteers. At special training sites, people who have lived and worked in poverty, as well as teachers, specialists, and advisors from the social science and related fields will provide the trainees with a comprehensive knowledge of poverty--its history, current problems and needs, and methods of overcoming it.

WHERE AND HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS TRAINED

Volunteers will be trained at sites similar to those areas in which they eventually will serve. Part of their training may take place on or near a college campus. Another part of their training may be field work in

rural or urban areas, among migrants or in mental health programs to acquaint the Volunteers with the physical environment of poverty and the problems they will face there.

HOW LONG IS THE TRAINING PERIOD

The training period will last from four to six weeks.

ARE VOLUNTEERS PAID DURING TRAINING

The living, travel, and medical expenses will be paid the Volunteer during training.

VOLUNTEER ASSISTANCE

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VOLUNTEER DURING THE TERM OF SERVICE

VISTA is ultimately responsible for the Volunteer, but the local sponsor will share this responsibility with VISTA and provide direct supervision of the Volunteer's service.

WHAT ARE THE PLANS FOR EVALUATING THE WORK OF VOLUNTEERS

VISTA and the sponsoring agencies will carefully evaluate the performance of Volunteers.

WHAT IS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN VISTA VOLUNTEERS AND PAID PERSONNEL WITHIN THE SERVICE AGENCIES AND OTHER PROGRAMS

A VISTA Volunteers is not a highly trained specialist or professional. He is a trained Volunteer.

WHERE WILL THE VOLUNTEER LIVE

The Volunteer will live within the area of need where he works in order to be available to the people there at any time.

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS FINANCED

All the Volunteers' rent, food, medical care, travel, insurance, and other living expenses will be paid for by VISTA and local sponsors. In addition, each Volunteer will receive a $50 per month stipend. The stipend will be received in full at the end of the term of service. Funding will be arranged by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

VISTA VOLUNTEER PROJECTS

WHO MAY SPONSOR A LOCAL VISTA PROJECT

Any bonafide organization at any level--any neighborhood, larger community, local or state organization, agency, or institution, be it public or private, may sponsor a VISTA Project.

WHAT FACTORS MAKE UP A VISTA PROJECT

* A local community need and a request from the community for a project to overcome the causes and effects of poverty.

* A desire for extensive personal contact between Volunteers and the people with whom they will be working.

* A responsible sponsoring organization.

* Available support from established agencies and the community.

* The Governor's consent.

* The involvement and consent of people with whom the Volunteer will work.

* The fact that Volunteer services will not duplicate, replace, or displace existing services or personnel.

HOW MAY A POTENTIAL SPONSOR OBTAIN VISTA VOLUNTEERS

Any group interested in becoming a sponsor for a VISTA Project makes an inquiry to VISTA.

A Letter of Intent is sent to the potential sponsor from VISTA to determine the eligibility of the sponsor and feasibility of the project.

If the outlined proposal seems feasible and worthwhile, the potential sponsor will be asked to complete a Project Proposal Form which asks for a detailed description of the nature, scope, and objectives of the project. At this point, the decision is made whether the proposal is acceptable as a VISTA Project.

After project approval, VISTA staff members and members of the sponsoring groups will discuss the project, answer question in depth, obtain additional information, and make arrangements for Volunteer support.

Upon approval of the project by the Director of VISTA and with the consent of the Governor, a contract will be drawn up between VISTA and the sponsoring organization.

Volunteers will then be assigned to the project.

HOW IS IT DECIDED IN WHAT AREAS AND ON WHAT PROJECTS VISTA VOLUNTEERS WILL WORK

The qualifications of the Volunteers are matched to needs of the areas. On this basis, Volunteers are assigned to specific areas and projects.

CAN A VISTA VOLUNTEER PROJECT BE PART OF A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

In many instances a VISTA Project may be part of a Community Action Program if the community and VISTA so desire. But VISTA Projects are also set up as separate, unique programs in areas that have no Community Action Program or have requested VISTA services exclusively.

WHO WILL PAY FOR THE VOLUNTEERS

VISTA will be responsible for the recruitment, selection, training, and assignment of all Volunteers. Where Volunteers are assigned to Youth Centers, Community Action Programs, or referred to local sponsors, the sponsors will be responsible for arranging the support of Volunteers through the program grant or other sources. The Volunteer Support will include food, housing, a small living allowance and a readjustment allowance of $50 per month to be paid at the end of service.

WHAT WILL BE THE YEARLY COST OF A VOLUNTEER

The average cost to the local sponsor is estimated at $2,500 to $3,000 per Volunteer each year. Costs may be paid in cash or kind.

HOW DOES A SPONSOR PAY FOR VOLUNTEERS

Volunteers costs can be paid for from private donations, foundation grants, community council aid, local and state funds, other federal programs, and many other available resources. A sponsor may also submit a request for Volunteers as part of its Community Action Program. In this way, VISTA Volunteers are financed out of the grant provided by CAP.

CAN VISTA EVER PAY THE ENTIRE COST OF A VOLUNTEER PROJECT

In five areas specified by Congress in the Economic Opportunity Act, VISTA may pay the entire cost of a project: in mental health and retardation, on Indian Reservations, in migrant labor communities, in the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

For further information write: VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

December 29, 1964

GSA-WASH DC 65-9545

FIRST VISTA VOLUNTEERS

An 81-year-old psychologist, three married couples, and a 20-year-old college student were among the first VISTA Volunteers welcomed by President Johnson at the White House on December 12, 1964.

Also among the initial group to be selected for training as Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), a domestic version of the Peace Corps, was a 71-year-old retired U. S. Army Colonel who read about this citizens' participation in the War on Poverty while on retreat in a Trappist monastery in Spain.

Greeting the 20 VISTA Volunteers with the President were Vice President-elect Humphrey and Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

VISTA is one of the three major programs administered directly by Shriver's anti-poverty coordinating agency. The others are Community Action Programs and the Job Corps.

VISTA Volunteers work only in areas where their help has been requested. Eventually they will serve in more than 100 types of anti-poverty projects. They will work and live in such places as urban slums, community mental and public health centers, Indian reservations, and rural areas in all States and U. S. Territories.

The first Volunteers are from 14 States and the District of Columbia. They are:

California - BRIAN A. CATTO, 23, of Lafayette, who worked his way through Brown University, spent six months at the Sorbonne in Paris, France, worked in a Puerto Rico hospital as a volunteer during a summer vacation, is an accomplished swimmer, and hopes to teach biological and physical sciences at elementary grade levels. He builds furniture in his spare time.

ELIZABETH A. BURNETT, 21, of San Francisco, who is interrupting her college study for VISTA service because she wants to work with children, especially the mentally retarded. She intends to complete work for her degree later.

District of Columbia - MARC J. LOGIE, Col.(Ret) U. S. Army, 71, who fought in France in the first World War and in the Pacific in World War II. He learned of VISTA while in a Trappist monastery in Spain last March, reading of it in a Spanish newspaper. He volunteered immediately.

Florida - Husband-and-wife team JAY E. HOLMES, 66 and his wife DOROTHY, 63, of Tavares. They retired to Florida after Jay spent 37 years as a principal and superintendent in Michigan schools. Mrs. Holmes has worked in veterans counseling, with retarded children, and on construction and planning a home for aged persons. They hope to work in a rural setting.

Georgia - CLARENCE WILLINGHAM, 24, of Camilla, educated in trade and vocational schools. From 1957-60 he was president of New Farmers of America. Despite having lost a leg in an automobile accident at age 10, he is highly mobile, and has a certificate in electronics.

Illinois - MARGARET E. KNIGHT, 23, of Wilmette, soon will graduate from the University of Illinois, and hopes to work on Indian reservations.

Maryland - CHARLES E. MASSBURG, 37, of Baltimore, who sings tenor, lived on a farm, has dairy experience, and for the last 10 years has worked for the Social Security Administration, adjudicating claims and interviewing benefits applicants.

Massachusetts - GEORGE GOTTELL, 70, of Fall River. Starting out as an electrician, he held business and administrative posts in labor unions. He was Executive Director of Fall River's Housing and Urban Renewal Authority until statutory retirement. He hopes to contribute organizational experience.

Michigan - JACQUELINE STEINGOLD, 22, of Detroit, a graduate of Wayne State University, and for four years a secretary in its Political Science Department while working her way through college. She has been working with Detroit youth, and wants to do the same in other cities.

North Carolina - ELIZABETH M. BROWN, 81, of Kinston, whom doctors describe as having the vigor and capacity of a person 30 years younger. She studied at Peabody College (Tenn.); the College of William and Mary, and Columbia University. For 18 years she was

director of psychological services at Caswell Center, Kinston, and was first president of the North Carolina Association for Retarded Children. With her application was a note that began: "For me to point the way to a better life is only neighborly."

BILLY L. WATTS, 22, of Statesville, is an organ and piano player who teaches at Beaufort County High School. Billy has long been active in college and youth groups and feels VISTA experience will make him a better teacher.

Ohio - JOHN C. HENRY, 50, of Cleveland, a retired Navy commander who worked his way up from the enlisted ranks. He wants to work in a social agency or settlement house.

Oklahoma - DORIS JAYNE BOYERS, of Edmond, a graduate of Central State College who has worked with emotionally disturbed children and delinquent boys. She hopes to work in mental health with adolescents.

Oregon - RICHARD P. GUSKE, 20, of Eugene, who says, "There's a great deal to do, and I want to help." Guske said he became convinced he should join VISTA because of conditions and people he noted during a four-month hitch-hiking tour of the country in 1963.

Tennessee - Husband-and-wife team ALBERT AND MARY SCHMIDT, of Erwin, 71 and 50. Albert oversaw operation of a veneer company in North Carolina "from tree to finished product," and is considered an expert in the lumber field. He wants to pass on his skills in working with wood, as well as in small business management. Mrs. Schmidt has office, administrative, and payroll experience, "and much practical experience in the home arts." She hopes she can help others to better their home conditions.

Virginia - Husband-and-wife team JAMES D. AND CYNTHIS MAWHINNEY, 66 and 57, of Alexandria. Both are college graduates. He is a retired Army colonel. They have lived in Europe, Panama, the Near East, and Japan, and have a preference for work with non-English speaking people.

Wisconsin - ALTA BEE WALCOTT, 73 of Ellison Bay, who worked 27 years as a physical instructor at Wisconsin State College. She managed an art gallery after retirement and raises her own vegetables. She recently built her own home.

VISTA officials report that, at last count, 3,080 Volunteers have been requested by communities, for work in 231 local anti-poverty programs.

Last week VISTA received a record 1,100 applications, bringing the total to more than 4,000. This figure was reached largely through word of mouth recruiting.

The 20 Volunteers, first of 3,500 expected to be in service by next October, will begin four to six weeks of special training next month. They will spend the rest of a year working and living among America's poverty-stricken. They will use a variety of skills to help people escape poverty, while also offering hope and encouragement.

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
TO THE VISTA VOLUNTEER GROUP
(IN THE T.V. THEATER)

(AS ACTUALLY DELIVERED AT 12:23 PM EST DECEMBER 12, 1964)

Mr. Shriver and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I want to welcome you here today, the first front line volunteers in our war against poverty. You have come from every part of this country, from every age group, from every background. You have come to serve the poor and the unfortunate of American society, and to open the door of American opportunity to all of our American people.

Your pay will be low; the conditions of your labor will often be difficult. But you will have the satisfaction of leading a great National effort, and you will have the ultimate reward which comes to those who serve their Nation and who serve their fellow man.

You are the first, as Sargent Shriver said, of the 3500 Volunteers In Service To America who will go into the field during this first year. No aspect of the war against poverty will be more important than the work that you do. New programs and new ideas, institutions and administrators all will be fruitless unless we can reach directly and personally those that we are all trying so hard to help.

This is your job -- to guide the young, to comfort the sick, to encourage the downtrodden, to teach the skills which may lead to a more satisfying and a more rewarding life. On your idealism and on your success rests much of our hope for the final elimination of poverty in our American life. You bring to this task many varied skills. You have been trained in educational institutions of every level. Many of you bring a lifetime of experience and of fruitful labor for this country that we all love. All of you are willing to share the privation of the poor. And ultimately you will share the greatest victory in the life of any nation.

It is characteristic of America that we meet our great challenges. We meet them in war and we meet them in peace, through calling on the idealism and the love of country of all of our people. They have always responded, and the challenge has always been met.

Your presence here this morning, and the many who will follow, testifies to the fact that this basic strength of America is always equal to any task.

MORE

The initials of your organization spell VISTA. It is an appropriate name, for you will be opening up new vistas of hope for the poor, achievement for yourself, greatness for your Nation, the nation you serve.

VISTA Volunteers stand ready to serve at the request of every community and every neighborhood, every organization and institution, which joins the war against poverty.

I believe -- I know -- that you will receive the support of all Americans, and I hope that all those with skills and dedication to offer will come and join with you in this most extraordinary force for good in our country.

It is a pleasure to welcome you here in the White House, and it is with great pride that I welcome you in this new undertaking.

GLENN FERGUSON NAMED TO HEAD VISTA

Glenn W. Ferguson has been nominated by President Johnson to be Director of VISTA - Volunteers in Service to America - one of the top jobs in the War Against Poverty.

Ferguson, a former Deputy Associate Director of the Peace Corps, was assigned by Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver to the President's Task Force on the War Against Poverty in early 1964. In this capacity, he coordinated the initial planning for VISTA which became a part of the Office of Economic Opportunity created by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

As Director of VISTA, Ferguson is responsible for the recruitment, selection, training and assignment of 3500 Volunteers for service in poverty-stricken areas of the United States and its territories.

Ferguson, 35, was born in Syracuse, New York and moved to the Washington area while in high school. He received his BA degree from Cornell in 1950 where he majored in Economics. At Cornell, Ferguson was active in football and track, was president of the Interfraternity Council and president of his sophomore, junior and senior classes. He received his masters degree at Cornell in 1951 from the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration.

In 1961, Ferguson joined the Peace Corps. After heading Sargent Shriver's talent search, he instituted and directed the Peace Corps program in Thailand. Under Ferguson's leadership, the Volunteer contingent grew from 45 to more than 250 in 18 months.

Prior to his Peace Corps service, Ferguson was a management consultant with McKinsey and Company in 1960 and 1961. One of his assignments there was the Presidential Transition Study for the Department of State and the International Cooperation Administration.

In 1956, Ferguson joined the staff of the University of Pittsburgh where he became Assistant Dean and Assistant Professor in the graduate school of public and international affairs, a new school he helped to create. He was also Administrative Assistant to the Chancellor.

In 1955, Ferguson joined the American Judicature Society in Chicago as Assistant Editor and Assistant Secretary-treasurer, remaining with the society until going to the University of Pittsburgh. In addition to receiving his law degree there, Ferguson also became Associate Director of the Coordinated Education Center. In this capacity, he helped to plan the curricula for six universities, 30 colleges and 100 school districts in Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia.

(over)

Upon separation from the U. S. Air Force in September 1953, Ferguson went to work for the Governmental Affairs Institute in Washington, D. C. as a staff associate, planning professional programs for foreign leaders under the auspices of the Department of State.

Ferguson took graduate work at Georgetown University in 1951-52 in International Relations and, and while in the Air Force, attended the graduate school in 1952-53 of the University of Santo Tomas in Manila, studying oriental government. He also attended the law schools of George Washington University, the University of Chicago and the University of Pittsburgh where he received his law degree.

Ferguson's teaching experience includes university courses in public and international administration, comparative government, Asian geography, social psychology and public opinion.

He has contributed numerous comparative government and judicial administration articles to professional journals and has served as consultant to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the International Cooperation Administration.

He has held memberships in the American Society for Public Administration, the American Political Science Association, the Foreign Policy Association, the Siam Society, the American Society of Planning Officials, Phi Delta Phi (legal) and Pi Sigma Alpha (political science).

Ferguson and his wife, the former Patricia Head of Falls Church, Virginia, live at 5311 Massachusetts Avenue in Washington. They have three children, Bruce, 10; Sherry, 8; and Scott, 6.

LWD ✓

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

✓ EV
✓ JAU

February 16, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Thank you for your letter of February 3 and the enclosed pamphlet Federal "Anti-Poverty" Programs, Present and Pending.

Enclosed is some material on VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America). Anything you and your organization can do to let people know of our interest in obtaining Volunteers for VISTA and projects in which they might serve will be greatly appreicated.

Sincerely yours,

John Harris

John Harris

Enclosures

December 18, 1964

Volunteers in Service to America
Guide for Potential Sponsors

A. Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, VISTA Volunteers may be requested by a sponsoring group which may be a local, state, or Federal agency, program, institution, or political subdivision, by any bonafide private non-profit organization, or any combination of these. Proposals are invited from large and small organizations.

B. Volunteers will be assigned to work in rural and urban community action programs, migrant worker communities, Indian reservations, hospitals, schools, and institutions for the mentally ill and mentally retarded. They will perform a variety of services depending on the needs and ingenuity of the sponsor.

C. The VISTA staff will work closely with potential sponsors in the preparation of proposals.

D. The following points are considered as guides in project proposal development--some may not apply in all cases.

1. The VISTA project should involve the Volunteers in working directly with the poverty population. (e.g., hospital patients, urban poor, migrant worker).

2. This involvement should be planned so that the poor will move toward specific goals (e.g., training, employment, leadership, leaving the hospital). Self help, instead of dependency, should be the focus.

3. The tasks proposed for VISTA Volunteers should be clearly differentiated from those performed by current staff and Volunteers.

4. Part of the role of any VISTA Volunteer will be to strengthen and encourage local, part time voluntary efforts. Plans for implementing this aspect should be spelled out.

5. New and creative techniques, roles, and types of Volunteer activities are strongly encouraged.

6. The sponsoring agency's program needs to be consistent with, or related to, other anti-poverty programs and organizations in the community.

7. The Volunteers should be able to meet together to exchange ideas and information. They should live as near each other as possible to maintain VISTA group identity and cohesiveness. Volunteers should live with or at least near the population served.

8. Plans for consultative supervision and in-service training should be specified.

9. Opportunities for Volunteers to develop their own potentials are important. This means having time to follow up ideas and discoveries made in the field and sufficiently flexible scheduling for Volunteers to take advantage of new learning.

10. The support of relevant segments of the lay, poor, professional, and organizational communities must be continuously developed.

11. Provisions for logistic support of Volunteers (housing, transportation, meals, health, care, etc.) should be clearly spelled out.

12. The specific poverty population should be described with respect to: age, residence area, type, and target problem(s).

13. The poor themselves should be involved in the planning and implementation of projects, and every attempt should be made to secure and expand indigenous leadership.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

FACTS ABOUT VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA - As the Peace Corps offers an opportunity for voluntary service abroad, VISTA offers a similar opportunity for dedicated Americans to serve their country at home. VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is part of the Office of Economic Opportunity which was created by President Johnson to wage the War Against Poverty. VISTA will recruit, select, train, place, and support qualified Volunteers whose services have been requested to assist in eliminating poverty in the United States.

WHO MAY APPLY - Any person 18 years of age or older may apply. Married couples are eligible, if both the husband and wife qualify for service. [redacted]. Volunteers will not be exempted from military obligations.

LENGTH OF SERVICE - The period of service is one year, including a four to six weeks training program.

TRAINING - The training program will be directed towards the needs of the job and location to which the Volunteer will be assigned. It will stress supervised field experience, the application of particular skills to the environment in which the Volunteer will work, discussion of the nature and causes of poverty in the United States, area and language study, health education, and the development of recreational skills. Training will be conducted by local private and public organizations, including selected colleges and universities.

ASSIGNMENTS - Volunteer assignments will call for a great variety of skills, trades and professions. Volunteers will work in rural and urban community action programs, Job Corps camps, migrant worker communities, Indian reservations, hospitals, schools, and institutions for the mentally ill or mentally retarded. Volunteers may be sent to any of the fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territories. An applicant may express an area preference.

ALLOWANCES - Volunteers will receive a monthly living allowance. Since the Volunteer will be expected to live where he or she works, the amount will vary depending on local conditions. In addition, Volunteers will receive a $50 stipend for each month of satisfactory service. Upon completion of service, the entire amount of the stipend will be paid to the Volunteer. During service, Volunteers will be reimbursed for medical and dental expenses.

HOW TO APPLY - Each applicant should obtain a preliminary application from VISTA or the local post office. Upon receipt of the preliminary application, VISTA will send each legally qualified applicant a detailed questionnaire. Selected applicants will be invited to participate in a training program. For further information or a preliminary application write:

VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

OEO-VISTA 9-64

FIRST VISTA PROJECTS

The first VISTA Volunteers in the War on Poverty will be sent to fight poverty, ignorance and apathy in 28 communities across the nation early next year.

They will make their homes for a year in California migrant worker communities, big-city slums, and blighted, mountain villages in Appalachia.

Their jobs will range from professionally directed training of the mentally retarded to mobilizing whole communities in local efforts to overcome poverty.

The first VISTA projects, calling for the services of 99 Volunteers, were announced December 16, 1964 by Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

VISTA (Volunteers In Service To America) is a major part of the nation's anti-poverty campaign. It accepts and trains men and women who volunteer to work in local efforts among the poverty-stricken.

The first Volunteers will serve in nine states. They are Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Kentucky, Missouri, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Virginia. The governors of all the states have given verbal approval of the projects which were initiated by local anti-poverty agencies. Any local agency, public or private, may request VISTA Volunteers.

To date, VISTA has received 231 requests for a total of 3,080 Volunteers. More than 4,000 applications from prospective Volunteers have been received.

Volunteers assigned to projects announced today will begin training in January and February, 1965, Glenn W. Ferguson, director of VISTA, said.

According to Ferguson, Volunteer training will consist of studying the economic and social effects of poverty, and learning under the direction of professional workers in the field. Training will last from four to six weeks. It will be conducted by cooperating colleges, universities, and organizations with field experience.

The first 12 projects are:

ARKANSAS - In Yell County, four Volunteers will give attention to young persons who are faltering in the transition from rural mountain life to modern education. As members of the community, the Volunteers will work with slow learners in school and those who have dropped out. They also will attempt to encourage interest in education among the parents of school children.

CALIFORNIA - Twenty-three Volunteers will work in ten migrant worker communities in the Central Valley and Santa Maria and Santa Clara Counties. They will give pre-school English training to Spanish-speaking children, plan and organize the building of community centers, initiate self-help housing projects, and stimulate community interest in education, health, and welfare activities. In each community, they will work under the direction of local agencies.

San Francisco's Aid to Retarded Children will receive the help of nine VISTA Volunteers to extend its comprehensive program of care and training of the mentally retarded among the city's poor families.

Working under professional direction, the Volunteers will seek out the families of retarded children and help them to participate in the organization's pre-school, day-care and job training centers.

CONNECTICUT - In Hartford, three Volunteers will devote a year of service to encouraging and assisting the transition from poverty to a useful life for families in six impoverished neighborhoods. They will work with the Community Renewal Team of Greater Hartford, helping families to relocate to and adjust to new homes, and will encourage participation in vocational and rehabilitation programs.

In New Haven, ten Volunteers will tackle the problems of poverty in the "inner city," an urban slum. Living in the neighborhoods where they work, the Volunteers will give vocational training and counseling to teenagers, operate a community school, organize groups for civic action and recreation, help students find jobs and scholarships, and encourage leadership. The program is directed by Community Progress, Inc., New Haven's pioneer anti-poverty organization.

KENTUCKY - Fourteen Volunteers are being sent to work in eight Kentucky counties in response to a joint request from the Council of Southern Mountains and Appalachia Volunteers.

They will live in mountain communities and assist in the education and community action programs to which students in nearby colleges have been giving volunteer service during week-ends and summers.

Among their neighbors, the Volunteers will stimulate interest in health, sanitation and modern homemaking. They will help communities define their needs and coordinate self-help efforts.

In Knox County, three Volunteers will begin organizing community councils in isolated mountain communities. Through these councils it is hoped that communities will identify local needs and mobilize the available human and economic resources to meet them. They will cooperate with Appalachia Volunteers, many of whom are students from Union College in Barbourville.

MISSOURI - Three Volunteers will concentrate their efforts on youth from six to 14 in Ripley County. Working with the Ripley County Economic Opportunity Corporation, they will teach crafts, job skills and physical fitness, and will involve youth in creative activities.

NEVADA - Las Vegas, known for its wealth and glitter, also is the home of 20,000 desperately needy people. In response to a request from the Nevada Tuberculosis and Health Association, VISTA will send eight Volunteers to help shorten the odds against those now living in poverty. Working in a program called Operation Independence, the Volunteers will operate day-care centers, encourage and help young people to continue their education, and organize community centers.

PENNSYLVANIA - Helping youth out of school and out of work will be the goal of ten Volunteers assigned to Pittsburgh.

They will work in community centers set up in the city's eight poorest neighborhoods. They will work under the direction of the Mayor's Committee on Human Resources.

TENNESSEE - Ten Volunteers will help the mentally retarded at Clover Bottom State Hospital and School for the Mentally Retarded, at Donelson.

Under the direction of the Clover Bottom staff, the Volunteers will begin a program of vocational training in crafts and simple job skills for the mentally retarded. They also will contact surrounding communities to develop employment and rehabilitation opportunities for some of the hospital residents.

VIRGINIA - Two Volunteers, the smallest team of the first 12, will be assigned to work in Hayter's Gap under the direction of the Progressive Community Club of Washington County. Starting with a pre-school for kindergarten-aged children in the Saltville Elementary School, they will seek to encourage interest in education among the children and parents in the district. There is no kindergarten grade in Virginia schools.

VISTA Volunteers serve one year in the War on Poverty. They receive subsistence and medical care, and at the end of the year a readjustment allowance of $50 per month. Anyone over 18 may apply. Married couples may serve if both are accepted as Volunteers.

QUESTIONS & ANSWERS ABOUT VISTA

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VISTA

WHAT IS VISTA

VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) is one of the major anti-poverty programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

WHAT DOES VISTA DO

VISTA recruits
selects
trains
assigns and helps maintain Volunteers in communities which have requested their services to combat poverty and its effects by living and working with people in poverty areas.

VISTA offers each man and woman in the United States and its territories the chance to take a personal stand against the destructive forces of poverty that now erode the lives of 1/5 of our population.

By living and working for a year or more within an environment of poverty, Volunteers will lend their energies and understanding, their skills and services to the fight for full opportunity for all our citizens.

They will help develop indigenous leadership within depressed areas to continue Volunteer projects and initiate further programs.

By their presence and with their skills, VISTA Volunteers will personify the spirit of the war against poverty.

VISTA VOLUNTEERS

WHO ARE VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA Volunteers are people with the spirit, ability, and determination needed to overcome poverty. They are specially trained men and women who live and work within poverty using their skills and understanding to help break the poverty cycle.

WHO CAN BECOME A VOLUNTEER

Anyone who wishes to make a personal contribution to the war against poverty. Any United States resident or resident of a United States territory who is 18 or over is eligible to become a VISTA Volunteer.

Married couples and those planning to marry before entering VISTA service must complete individual Preliminary Applications and mail them together in order to be considered as Volunteers. At present, we are unable to accept married couples with dependent children under 18.

WHAT ARE THE EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR VOLUNTEERS

There are no educational requirements. Emphasis is placed on personality qualifications, adaptability, leadership ability, and skills.

WHERE DO VOLUNTEERS SERVE AND WHO MAY REQUEST VOLUNTEERS

VISTA Volunteers will serve wherever a recognition of need exists and a request for their services has been made. Any neighborhood, larger community, local or state organization, agency or institution, be it public or private, may request Volunteers.

Volunteers will serve in rural and urban areas, on Indian Reservations, and among migrant workers, in mental health programs, and among the uneducated and unemployed--in any area within the United States and its territories that needs personal assistance and requests it.

WILL VOLUNTEERS BE ASSIGNED TO THEIR OWN COMMUNITY OR STATE

Though Volunteers may state a preference, the chances are slight that they would be assigned to their home communities.

Both mobility and adaptability are required of Volunteers since they will be sent where they are most needed, which may often be unfamiliar territory.

HOW LONG WILL VOLUNTEERS SERVE

The term of service is for one year. Enlistment for further service is possible.

WHAT WILL VOLUNTEERS BE DOING

While living within poverty, a Volunteer may be working on one or more of a wide variety of projects. He or she may be working:

with non-English speaking people
as a recreation leader
in a mental hospital
with homemakers
on an Indian Reservation
with functional illiterates

with very young children
with youth groups
with the mentally ill or mentally retarded

in a social agency or settlement house

as a tutor
in an urban (over 50,000) area

with migrant workers
with elderly people
providing knowledge of existing service agencies so families and individuals might make use of them
as a teacher or teacher's aide in community mental or public health centers
in a rural (small town or farm) area in a U.S. territory in the Atlantic or Pacific Ocean area

in setting up a new program, and in many other programs and projects that can lead to the elimination of poverty.

RECRUITMENT OF VOLUNTEERS

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS RECRUITED

Volunteers are recruited from the general public and through educational institutions, community organizations, state organizations, national organizations, religious groups, industry, labor unions, and other agencies, both public and private.

WHO RECRUITS VISTA VOLUNTEERS

VISTA is responsible for the recruitment of all Volunteers.

WHO ARE THE PEOPLE VISTA WANTS TO RECRUIT

The people VISTA wants to recruit range from young people 18 and over to senior citizens--any Americans or residents of a U.S. Territory who want to see action in the war against poverty; people of spirit, ability, and determination.

HOW MANY PEOPLE CAN VISTA RECRUIT

During its first year VISTA is authorized to recruit 5,000 Volunteers. Depending upon the need and the number of requests for Volunteers, the number may increase in the future.

SELECTION OF VOLUNTEERS

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS SELECTED

There are 4 steps in the selection of Volunteers:

* Anyone who wishes to become a Volunteer may send VISTA a completed preliminary application which asks for basic information such as name, age, marital status and availability.

* If the basic information in the preliminary application shows a person qualified to go on, the applicant is next asked to complete a detailed application form. Along with the application form, at least 5 references are required.

* All the information supplied by the applications and references is evaluated by a selection staff to determine whether the applicant is qualified to become a VISTA Volunteer.

  (No tests of any kind will be given to applicants. Selection will be made solely on the information provided by the applicant and the references.)

* If qualified, an applicant is then invited to become part of the training program for VISTA Volunteers.

TRAINING OF VOLUNTEERS

WHO TRAINS VISTA VOLUNTEERS

With the cooperation of local organizations and institutions, including colleges and universities, VISTA will supervise the training of Volunteers. At special training sites, people who have lived and worked in poverty, as well as teachers, specialists, and advisors from the social science and related fields will provide the trainees with a comprehensive knowledge of poverty--its history, current problems and needs, and methods of overcoming it.

WHERE AND HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS TRAINED

Volunteers will be trained at sites similar to those areas in which they eventually will serve. Part of their training may take place on or near a college campus. Another part of their training may be field work in

rural or urban areas, among migrants or in mental health programs to acquaint the Volunteers with the physical environment of poverty and the problems they will face there.

HOW LONG IS THE TRAINING PERIOD

The training period will last from four to six weeks.

ARE VOLUNTEERS PAID DURING TRAINING

The living, travel, and medical expenses will be paid the Volunteer during training.

VOLUNTEER ASSISTANCE

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE VOLUNTEER DURING THE TERM OF SERVICE

VISTA is ultimately responsible for the Volunteer, but the local sponsor will share this responsibility with VISTA and provide direct supervision of the Volunteer's service.

WHAT ARE THE PLANS FOR EVALUATING THE WORK OF VOLUNTEERS

VISTA and the sponsoring agencies will carefully evaluate the performance of Volunteers.

WHAT IS THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN VISTA VOLUNTEERS AND PAID PERSONNEL WITHIN THE SERVICE AGENCIES AND OTHER PROGRAMS

A VISTA Volunteers is not a highly trained specialist or professional. He is a trained Volunteer.

WHERE WILL THE VOLUNTEER LIVE

The Volunteer will live within the area of need where he works in order to be available to the people there at any time.

HOW ARE VOLUNTEERS FINANCED

All the Volunteers' rent, food, medical care, travel, insurance, and other living expenses will be paid for by VISTA and local sponsors. In addition, each Volunteer will receive a $50 per month stipend. The stipend will be received in full at the end of the term of service. Funding will be arranged by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

VISTA VOLUNTEER PROJECTS

WHO MAY SPONSOR A LOCAL VISTA PROJECT

Any bonafide organization at any level--any neighborhood, larger community, local or state organization, agency, or institution, be it public or private, may sponsor a VISTA Project.

WHAT FACTORS MAKE UP A VISTA PROJECT

* A local community need and a request from the community for a project to overcome the causes and effects of poverty.

* A desire for extensive personal contact between Volunteers and the people with whom they will be working.

* A responsible sponsoring organization.

* Available support from established agencies and the community.

* The Governor's consent.

* The involvement and consent of people with whom the Volunteer will work.

* The fact that Volunteer services will not duplicate, replace, or displace existing services or personnel.

HOW MAY A POTENTIAL SPONSOR OBTAIN VISTA VOLUNTEERS

Any group interested in becoming a sponsor for a VISTA Project makes an inquiry to VISTA.

A Letter of Intent is sent to the potential sponsor from VISTA to determine the eligibility of the sponsor and feasibility of the project.

If the outlined proposal seems feasible and worthwhile, the potential sponsor will be asked to complete a Project Proposal Form which asks for a detailed description of the nature, scope, and objectives of the project. At this point, the decision is made whether the proposal is acceptable as a VISTA Project.

After project approval, VISTA staff members and members of the sponsoring groups will discuss the project, answer question in depth, obtain additional information, and make arrangements for Volunteer support.

Upon approval of the project by the Director of VISTA and with the consent of the Governor, a contract will be drawn up between VISTA and the sponsoring organization.

Volunteers will then be assigned to the project.

HOW IS IT DECIDED IN WHAT AREAS AND ON WHAT PROJECTS VISTA VOLUNTEERS WILL WORK

The qualifications of the Volunteers are matched to needs of the areas. On this basis, Volunteers are assigned to specific areas and projects.

CAN A VISTA VOLUNTEER PROJECT BE PART OF A COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

In many instances a VISTA Project may be part of a Community Action Program if the community and VISTA so desire. But VISTA Projects are also set up as separate, unique programs in areas that have no Community Action Program or have requested VISTA services exclusively.

WHO WILL PAY FOR THE VOLUNTEERS

VISTA will be responsible for the recruitment, selection, training, and assignment of all Volunteers. Where Volunteers are assigned to Youth Centers, Community Action Programs, or referred to local sponsors, the sponsors will be responsible for arranging the support of Volunteers through the program grant or other sources. The Volunteer Support will include food, housing, a small living allowance and a readjustment allowance of $50 per month to be paid at the end of service.

WHAT WILL BE THE YEARLY COST OF A VOLUNTEER

The average cost to the local sponsor is estimated at $2,500 to $3,000 per Volunteer each year. Costs may be paid in cash or kind.

HOW DOES A SPONSOR PAY FOR VOLUNTEERS

Volunteers costs can be paid for from private donations, foundation grants, community council aid, local and state funds, other federal programs, and many other available resources. A sponsor may also submit a request for Volunteers as part of its Community Action Program. In this way, VISTA Volunteers are financed out of the grant provided by CAP.

CAN VISTA EVER PAY THE ENTIRE COST OF A VOLUNTEER PROJECT

In five areas specified by Congress in the Economic Opportunity Act, VISTA may pay the entire cost of a project: in mental health and retardation, on Indian Reservations, in migrant labor communities, in the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

For further information write: VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C. 20506

December 29, 1964

GSA-WASH DC 65-9545

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 24, 1965

Mr. Ed Hamlet
Southern Student Organizing
Committee
Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hamlet:

Thank you for the assistance you and your organization have given VISTA-Volunteers In Service To America - in our effort to find dedicated and qualified Volunteers to serve in the war against poverty. Here are some highlights of our progress. With your continuing help, we can do much more.

On February 26, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson addressed the graduating class of VISTA Volunteers who had completed six weeks of training at the Florida Institute for Continuing University Studies at St. Petersburg, Florida. Enclosed is a copy of her remarks to the Volunteers who are now starting their year of service in rural and urban poverty areas, where their talents and skills will help people to help themselves.

The first class of VISTA Volunteers whose training was conducted by the North Carolina Fund are already working in the field. Thirty-nine Volunteers are now in training at the Columbia School of Social Work in New York and several other training centers will begin soon.

As of March 9, VISTA had 183 proposals for projects asking for a total of 3,056 Volunteers and had received 10,011 Preliminary Applications and many more letters requesting information.

Enclosed are copies of the VISTA informational material which is now available in quantity. We hope that you will continue to assist us by publishing articles on VISTA in your journal, distributing material to your members and arranging for speaking engagements.

As the Director of the Division of Recruitment for VISTA, I would welcome your suggestions and comments. Thank you again for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Leo Kramer

Leo Kramer
Associate Director
VISTA

Enclosures

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Thursday - March 25th

Vern —

Your materials arrived.

Please fill out these forms — including being fingerprinted — & get them back to me immediately.

Address: Jack Wofford
Room 526
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington DC 20506.

I suggest Air Mail - but not special delivery.
Be sure to sign the Security Form on the original & the first carbon, in ink.

In the meantime, we're working on getting the papers through.

All the best,

Jack

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

L.W.S.

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NM-file

May 17, 1965

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordan:

Mr. Shriver has asked me to reply to your letter of February 3. The effort you have made in preparing and disseminating the pamphlet on Federal "anti-poverty" programs is commendable. I have no suggestions relative to the distribution you have made. It appears quite extensive to me.

I appreciate your consideration in furnishing copies to this office.

Sincerely,

Leon Gilgoff
Deputy Director, Research,
Plans, Programs & Evaluation

July 20, 1965

Mr. Patrick Kennedy
Placement Department
VISTA
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pat:

Darn it! When are you coming to see me, or call? I insist that you use those federal lease wires and telephone, rather than my telephoning you. However, I did call you prior to July 1, and found you away. I left word for you to return the call here at 522-8764 in Atlanta, but I have not heard.

I am anxious to comply with your request to train VISTA volunteers at Atlanta University, School of Social Work. Atlanta has just received its first VISTAS this week. Ours is a perfect city for both their training and permanent assignment.

My wife, Eleanor, sends her regards to you. I am gradually getting into my work here at the Council.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

October 14, 1965

Mr. Samuel Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Belated, but warmest, thanks for sending me the map showing distribution of minority population in the South. The map has been of tremendous help. If you have other materials of this type, I would appreciate receiving them from time to time also.

Keep up the good work, and stop in to see us when you are in Washington. Best regards,

Very truly yours,

Sam

Samuel F. Yette
Special Assistant
to the Director

cc: Mr. Frank Sloan, Regional Director
OEO
101 Marietta Street Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

November 18, 1965

Mr. Sargeant Shriver
Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Sir:

We respectfully call your attention to the following resolution passed at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council November 15-16, 1965, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Poverty Programs

The Southern Regional Council, assembled in its 22nd Annual Meeting, recognizes the Economic Opportunity Act as a most important effort. We commend the Office of Economic Opportunity for its swift establishment of programs in the South. We recognize that detailed evaluation of these programs is probably premature. However, we make the following broad recommendations for all programs, current and future, in the South:

(1) That the Office of Economic Opportunity implement its policy that the poor be represented in policy-making capacities on the local community-action agency boards, and that it require this representation to be in substantial numbers.

(2) That the OEO require that representatives of the poor be democratically elected by their peers in the target areas in some feasible fashion rather than appointed by local governing bodies.

We urge that the community action programs in Memphis, Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia, be required to meet these standards of maximum feasible participation and local self-determination. OEO's decisions regarding these two vital southern communities could establish a precedent for good or ill for the rest of the South.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA, INC.
101 MARIETTA STREET BLDG.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
525-4262

C. O. EMMERICH
ADMINISTRATOR

November 22, 1965

LPA
AO
~~EV~~
SA

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

Reference is made to your letter of November 19 in which you outlined two recommendations.

Attached for your information is a copy of our Statement of Philosophy of Citizens Involvement. The EOA Board feels this is an excellent start and if properly administered would give us a very strong voice of both the poor and the minority groups at all levels of operations.

Your interest in our program is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

C O Emmerich

C. O. Emmerich

COE:ac

Enclosure

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA, INC.

Citizen Involvement

Statement of Philosophy

A Community Action Program must involve the total community if it is to be successful. All citizens must be given a voice in the planning and implementation of the CAP and must feel that they are an integral part of all its activities. This includes business and labor, government and the schools, political officials and minority groups as well as individual citizens.

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 contains a basis philosophy that the poor shall participate to the maximum feasible extent in the planning and conduct of the War on Poverty. Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc. believes in and subscribes to this philosophy. The policy of EOA shall be that the poor shall be involved in all phases of EOA programs to the maximum extent feasible to carry out a positive and successful program of economic opportunity for every citizen.

EOA Governing Body and Committee Organization

The governing body and committee organization of EOA is composed of the following:

1. The Board of Directors

2. The Technical Advisory Committee

3. The Citizens Central Advisory Council

4. The Citizens Neighborhood Advisory Councils

Board of Directors
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
Membership

The EOA Board of Directors shall be composed of the fifteen original members appointed by the Mayor of Atlanta and Board of Commissioners of Fulton County, additional members recommended by the governing authorities of other counties joining EOA under terms of EOA by-laws, and additional members to be elected by democratic procedures as outlined below. The number of elected members shall be twenty per cent of the total Board membership.

The terms of the Board members shall be two years. Initially one-half of the Board shall be appointed for a one-year term and one-half for a two-year term. Subsequent appointments shall be for two-year terms. This will allow one-half of the Board to be appointed each year.

The Technical Advisory Committee

The Technical Advisory Committee shall be appointed by the EOA Board of Directors to advise the Board on programs planned and conducted by EOA. This committee will be composed of governmental department heads and agency heads or representatives of

those groups which are most obviously concerned with problems of the poor. Terms of members shall be of indefinite duration.

New members will be appointed as new agencies are formed or existing agencies become concerned with the Economic Opportunity Program.

Citizens Neighborhood Advisory Council (CNAC)

Each low income neighborhood served by an EOA Neighborhood Service Center (NSC) shall have a Citizens Neighborhood Advisory Council (CNAC) composed of indigenous residents of the area to be served and whose annual income is of such amount as to qualify them as eligible recipients of the provisions of the Economic Opportunity Act, and of recognized leaders of the community who have demonstrated an empathy for their less fortunate neighbors.

Numbers and Method of Selection

Before a new NSC is established within a designated low income neighborhood, the Center Director or Extension Worker assigned to the area and the Neighborhood Service Organization Community Development Coordinator shall determine the organizations (PTA, Civic Clubs, etc.) whose memberships contain a representative number of low income residents. From among the leadership of these groups and other citizens the EOA representatives shall organize a Temporary or Ad Hoc Advisory Committee composed of not

less than 25 members whose duties shall include advising EOA on matters affecting implementing the NSC and planning for the democratic selection of a permanent CNAC. This Ad Hoc Committee will sponsor a community-wide meeting of all interested citizens in order that the EOA representatives may explain the EOA program and urge the citizens to participate in the development of the program in their community.

An election committee of five members shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee to plan and direct the CNAC election. Sufficient care will be taken to assure all eligible citizens have the opportunity to participate in the selection of the permanent CNAC. Notice shall be given through the newspapers and radio stations servicing the community and handbills and posters shall be posted throughout the community calling attention to the date, time and place of the meeting. Churches and organized civic and social groups will be urged to announce the meeting schedule at the gatherings of their respective groups.

Prior to the date of the scheduled meeting, the Ad Hoc Committee shall nominate a minimum of three eligible residents of each Census Tract within the NSC area for consideration as members of the CNAC. Ballots shall be prepared listing these nominees and leaving space under each Census Tract listing

for further nominations from the floor on the meeting date. Any person who resides within the NSC area and who meets the Office of Economic Opportunity income eligibility requirements for participation under the Economic Opportunity Act shall be given the privilege of being nominated and elected.

The number of nominees to be elected from each Census Tract shall be determined by the number of Census Tracts within the NSC area. In no case will the community elect less than 20 representatives to the CNAC. For those areas containing less than 20 Census Tracts, the number of representatives from each Census Tract shall be determined by dividing the number of Census Tracts into 20. The nominees in each Census Tract who receive the greatest number of votes shall be considered elected as the CNAC representatives from that Census Tract.

General Procedures

Written ballots will be used.

All persons of legal voting age (18 years) will be allowed to cast ballots.

A list of all persons casting ballots will be kept by the designated recorder.

All CNAC members elected at the initial CNAC meeting shall serve for a period of one year.

If for any reason a vacancy should occur on the CNAC prior to expiration of a member's term, the CNAC membership shall elect a successor. Election shall be by secret ballot of CNAC members and the new member must be selected from among the residents of the Census Tract in which the vacancy occurred. The member will serve only until the expiration of the original term, at which time a nominee shall be elected for a new one year term.

Members must reside in the area served by the CNAC.

The CNAC shall meet monthly in regular meetings. Special meetings may be called at any time by the Chairman.

Minutes will be kept of all CNAC meetings. Copies of the minutes will be routed to the officers of all other CNAC committees.

Center Director Nominees

The NSC Director shall nominate and the CNAC elect an additional number of CNAC members to serve concurrent terms with those members elected at the CNAC organizational meeting. These nominees shall be selected from among the technical, professional and business leadership of the NSC area and shall not be eligible to participate as recipients of the program.

Each CNAC shall determine the number of NSC Director nominees, but in no event shall this number exceed more than twenty per cent the number of regularly elected CNAC members.

CNAC Officers

Within two weeks after the CNAC is formed, its members shall meet and elect a Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary and such other officers as the CNAC deems necessary for the conduct of the Committee. The NSC Director will appoint a temporary chairman to serve until a permanent chairman is elected.

Duties of the CNAC

The major duties and responsibilities of the CNAC shall include, but not be limited to:

1. Advise the Center Director on problems of NSC implementation in their community.

2. Recommend new programs.

3. Review and advise the NSC Director on all recommended or proposed projects.

4. Recommend to the NSC Director acceptable sites for establishment of the NSC.

5. Keep the entire community informed on EOA programs.

6. Elect a representative to serve on the EOA Citizens Central Advisory Council (CCAC).

Number of CNAC's

The number of CNAC's shall correspond to the number of EOA neighborhood Centers. For the year 1965-66, the number shall be twelve.

Citizens Central Advisory Council (CCAC)

Each CNAC shall elect from among its regularly elected members one representative to serve on the Citizens Central Advisory Council (CCAC).

The CCAC shall be composed of one representative from each CNAC and additional representatives nominated by the EOA Executive Administrator and elected by the EOA Board of Directors.

The number of representatives elected by the EOA Board shall not exceed twenty per cent of the total number of representatives elected by the CNAC's.

The CCAC shall serve as the official community-wide advisory council to the EOA Executive Administrator and EOA Board of Directors.

The major duties and responsibilities of the CCAC shall include, but not be limited to:

1. Review all proposed EOA programs and make recommendations to the EOA Executive Administrator and EOA Board of Directors.

2. Recommend new programs to EOA Executive Administrator and Board of Directors.

3. Keep CNAC's advised of EOA programs and projects.

4. Elect four members of CCAC to serve on EOA Board of Directors.

EOA Board Representatives

The CCAC shall elect by secret ballot four of its members elected from the CNAC's to serve on the Board of Directors of EOA. The two nominees receiving the greatest number of votes shall serve for two year terms; the two nominees receiving the least number of votes shall serve one year terms.

The four CCAC Board representatives shall be accepted for Board membership at the next regularly scheduled Board meeting following their election and shall enjoy all the rights and privileges as any other Board member.

# # # # #

November 19, 1965

Mr. Charles O. Emmerich
Atlanta-Fulton County
Economic Opportunity Authority
101 Marietta St., Bldg
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Sir:

We respectfully call your attention to the following resolution passed at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council November 15-16, 1965, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Proverty Program

The Southern Regional Council, assembled in its 22nd Annual Meeting, recognizes the Economic Opportunity Act as a most important effort. We commend the Office of Economic Opportunity for its swift establishment of programs in the South. We recognize that detailed evaluation of these programs is probably premature. However, we make the following broad recommendations for all proframs, current and future, in the South:

(1) That the Office of Economic Opportunity implement its policy that the poor be represented in policy-making capacities on the local community-action agency boards, and that it require this representation to be in substantial numbers.

(2) That the OEO require that representatives of the poor be democratically elected by their peers in the target areas in some feasible fashion rather than appointed by local governing bodies.

We urge that the community action program in Memphis, Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia, be required to meet these standards of maximum feasible participation and local self-determination. OEO's decisions regarding these two vital southern communities could establish a precedent for good or ill for the rest of the South.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/pf

File Rec'd 12/6/65 AU Ret PW

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

December 1, 1965

Source: Dr. Warren C. Haggstrom, Director CATC, 476-8978
Mr. Edward McGuire, Executive Director, SCDA, 475-0162

In a joint statement today Dr. Warren C. Haggstrom and Edward McGuire directors of Syracuse's controversial poverty demonstration project sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, accused OEO of "abandoning completely the idea that the poor can be helped to build their own organizations, completely of, by and for the poor, and that these organizations can be a powerful, effective means to improve their lives."

Referring to a decision made yesterday at OEO to fund the Syracuse project for only an additional 90 days rather than the 15 months balance of their original pledge, they stated that the Syracuse project was originally funded as the "only national demonstration throughout the United States to show that low income populations can be helped to form their own organizations and, through them, to exercise leadership in ending poverty. If this demonstration is abandoned in midpassage, it will represent a really untested conclusion that the poor are incompetent for such leadership and that their maximum participation in organizations which they control is not feasible."

To an OEO suggestion that additional funding be sought from the local Syracuse Community Action Program, the Crusade for Opportunity, they replied, "For obvious reasons this project was not originally funded through the local CAP. The local umbrealla program, formerly a Mayor's Commission, is the official City-Hall blessed antipoverty program. It operates with a slate of officers excluding poor people, Negor and white, and including only representatives of the white power structure. We cannot accept financing through the Crusade (the local CAP) even if it were offered, because such an offer would not and realistically could not provide a genuine guarantee for autonomous sponsorship and truly autonomous people's organizations. Such an arrangement would be a betrayal of the basic understanding and committment with which this project was initiated."

Dr. Haggstrom and Mr. McGuire made their statement in a telegram to Sargeant Shriver urging a review of the OEO decision on the grounds that "We wish to make it clear that our committment is no longer limited to the ideas which form the basis of the Syracuse project but moreover has been expanded by our responsibility to the people who have become involved."

Dr. Haggstrom is director of the Community Action Training Center of Syracuse University which sponsors the training and research sections of the project. Mr. McGuire is executive director of the Syracuse Community Development Association which sponsors the field operations of the project.

TELEGRAM TO SARGEANT SHRIVER:

Yesterday on the last day of the current funding period the Community Action Training Center of Syracuse University and the Syracuse Community Development Association were advised by the Office of Economic Opportunity that their application has been denied for a fifteen month refunding of their joint research, training and demonstration project. As you know, a two year funding of these projects was originally contemplated by OEO and this application was for the remainder of that originally agreed upon two year span.

Instead of refunding for the balance of the two year life of the project we have been advised that OEO will only continue direct funding of the project for another 90 days.

As an alternative for continuing the operations of the project OEO has suggested that we apply for additional funding through the local Community Action Program. This appears to us to be a futile suggestion because of the late date at which it was made. For the last three months we have conducted negotiations and discussions with the appropriate OEO officials concerning the proper procedure for applying for refunding. We have been open to any OEO suggestions concerning either the form or content of our proposal. The record will show that we have attempted to comply with all procedural and substantive suggestions that have been made to date. Within the three month period during which this application was prepared and considered by OEO there was no indication from OEO that we should have made application for refunding with the local Community Action Program. It was however suggested that the SCDA forward a copy of its proposal for the demonstration project to the local CAP for comment. This was done simultaneously with the submission of the proposal to OEO. No comment was ever received.

At the last hour, after following OEO's procedural guidance to the smallest detail for three months, we are told in effect that we were knocking at the wrong door. This suggestion at this point appears to us as merely another way for OEO to refuse any long term funding of the project and place the responsibility for the refusal elsewhere.

For obvious reasons this project was not originally funded through the local CAP. The local umbrella program, formerly a Mayor's Commission, is the official City Hall blessed antipoverty program. It operates with a slate of officers excluding people, Negro and white, and including only representatives of the white power structure. We cannot accept financing through the Crusade (the local CAP) even if it were offered, because such an offer would not and realistically could not provide a genuine guarantee for autonomous sponsorship and truly autonomous people's organizations. Such an arrangement would be a betrayal of the basic understanding and committment with which this project was initiated.

The Office of Economic Opportunity did not fund the Community Action Training Center as just anotherlocal antipoverty program but rather as the only national demonstration throughout the United States to show thatlow income populations can be helped to form their own organizations and through them to exercise leadership in ending poverty. If this demonstration is to be abandoned in mid-passage it will represent a really untested conclusion that the poor are incompetent for such leadership and that their maximum participation in organizations which they control is not feasible.

It appears that OEO is abandoning completely the idea that the poor can be helped to build their own organizations completely of, by and for the poor and that these organizations can be powerful, effective means to improve their lives. And it appears that OEO is abandoning this idea after giving it only half a chance in only one city. We hope that this is not the case.

We wish to make it clear that our committment is no longer limited to the ideas which form the basis of the Syracuse project but moreover has been expanded by our responsibility to the people who have become involved. On these grounds we urge you to review the OEO decision of yesterday and to continue direct funding of the Syracuse project for the fifteen month balance of the original proposal.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

PAL
VJV
Ret PW

File

JAN 6 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Thanks very much for your letter of November 18, 1965, bringing to my attention the resolution passed at the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

We appreciate the recognition by the Council that we have established poverty programs in the South in a relatively short period of time. In doing this, however, we have tried to insure appropriate representation of the poor on local community action boards as called for in the resolution. For example, a recent survey of 821 local community action boards shows that 5,987 poor persons make up approximately one-third of the 15,730 local community action board representatives.

Local citizens in Memphis are still working out an acceptable plan for involving the poor and racial minorities for a community action program in that City. Although one or two tentative plans have been devised by various groups in Memphis, we have not yet taken action on either plan.

In Atlanta, recent agreement with the 15-member local community action board provides for the addition of at least four poor representatives by March 2. These four additional members will be democratically selected by target area residents themselves. As in all of our programs, the Atlanta program is under continuing review in an effort to insure equitable representation and to make improvements in every way we can.

Thanks again for your thoughtful letter. Please do not hesitate to contact me again if you have additional questions or suggestions.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Sargent Shriver

Sargent Shriver
Director

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ATLANTA, INC.
101 MARIETTA STREET BLDG.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
525-4262

C. O. EMMERICH
ADMINISTRATOR

February 28, 1966

Mr. Samuel Adams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

This afternoon I received a phone call from Neal Gold and he advises he and Arthur Ellis will be in Atlanta Thursday, March 3, to review with some of us the final report on the NCDH study.

We have agreed he could use our conference room on the fourth floor of the 101 Marietta Street Building, and he will start his conference at 1 p.m. on Thursday and try to complete his work not later than Noon on Friday.

He asked me to invite you, Eliza Paschall and Harry Adley. I have tried to reach you by telephone but so far you have not been available. I am writing this letter to make certain you get the message even though I still plan to call.

I am looking forward to seeing you Thursday. Incidentally, they plan to stay at the Americana Hotel.

Sincerely yours,

Charlie

C. O. Emmerich

COE:aw

6 copies each went to the following:

Mr. Robert Saunders
OEO Office
101 Marietta St., NW
Atlanta

Mr. Gregerio Coronado
Lowich Bldg., 4th Fl.
Austin, Texas 78701

Mr. Vance Clark
1730 "K" St, NW
Washington, D. C. 20506

April 11, 1966

Mr. Samuel Yette
Assistant to the Director
Office of Economic Opportunity
Executive Office of the President
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Mr. Yette:

In accordance with your telephone request today, I have forwarded your civil rights coordinators in Atlanta, Washington, D. C., and Austin, Texas, the maps that show the percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states.

I am sorry your earlier request went unfulfilled; if we can be of assistance in the future, please do not hesitate to ask.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Adams

jcs

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 21, 1966

Recpt Date unknown

Mrs. Janet C. Shortt
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Shortt:

This is to thank you for sending copies of the non-white population map to our Civil Rights Coordinators per my request. I deeply appreciate your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Samuel F. Yette

Samuel F. Yette
Special Assistant
to the Director

LWD ✓
PW ✓

TELEPHONE: 298-7535
(Area Code 202)

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JOHN J. GUNTHER

April 27, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Vernon:

Both the Charlotte and Louisville studies will be exceedingly useful for our forthcoming institute of official community relations committee members. Would you please convey to Les that we are now aiming for the Southern Institute around June 15. I would appreciate knowing what plans you may have for the publication of these studies. Would you please remind Les that I believe it may be possible to get a publication grant from the Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation.

Sincerely,

John

John G. Feild, Director
Community Relations Service

April 15, 1964

Mr. John Feild
Director
Community Relations Services
U. S. Conference of Mayors
1707 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

I am enclosing the studies on Charlotte, North Carolina and Louisville, Kentucky. You might read and digest them, and let us have your response to same, at your earliest possible convenience.

How in the hell are you?

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures
(As stated above)

June 11, 1964

Mr. John G. Feild
Director
Community Relations Service
U. S. Conference of Mayors
1707 "H" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear John:

We are sending to you, under separate cover, five copies each of the Louisville and Charlotte Reports so that you might distribute them as you see fit. We will be interested in any comments, good or bad, you receive in reaction to these reports.

I plan to be in Washington during the NAACP convention. Hope to see you then.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

TELEPHONE: 298-7535
(Area Code 202)

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Executive Director:
JOHN J. GUNTHER

August 14, 1964

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Vernon:

Thank you for your cooperation on the materials. We will get the list to you as soon as possible.

Cordially,

Joe

John G. Feild, Director
Community Relations Service

FACTS ABOUT

The Community Relations Service

As provided under the 1964 Civil Rights Law

- The CRS
- The National Advisory Committee
- Staff and budget
- A summary of the Law

August 1964

U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20230

Responsibilities of the Community Relations Service (CRS)

The primary responsibilities of the CRS are set forth in Title X of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Its functions are "to provide assistance to communities and persons therein resolving disputes, disagreements or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the Constitution or laws of the United States or which affect or may affect interstate commerce."

The Service may "offer its services" in such cases "either upon its own motion or upon request . . ."

An additional responsibility of the Service is expressly provided under Title II (public accommodations). If a complaint is filed in Federal Court alleging a violation of Title II, and the state or political subdivision where the prohibited act took place has no law forbidding such act, the Federal Court may refer the matter to the Service for conciliation.

It is important to note that under Title X the disputes coming under the jurisdiction of the Service are not restricted to those arising under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. By statute, the responsibility of the Service is to "provide assistance to communities and persons therein in resolving disputes, disagreements or difficulties relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color or national origin which impair the rights of persons in such communities under the *Constitution* or *laws of the United States* or which *affect* or *may affect* interstate commerce." Here the express responsibility of the Service is to provide aid to local communities as a conciliator.

OBJECTIVES OF THE CRS

- To develop a conciliation service of superior competence to aid communities where and as needed, within the authority granted.
- To seek to bring litigation and disputes to

prompt settlements through voluntary compliance with the law.

- To reflect at all times an understanding of environmental conditions so that the CRS will be able to work harmoniously with local officials and citizens.
- To establish effective liaison with existing organizations concerned with the elimination of discrimination based upon race, color, creed or national origin.
- To establish effective liaison with all Federal agencies having responsibilities under the law in the field of human relations, so that duplication of effort will be avoided and economy and efficiency will be realized.
- To utilize the cooperation of appropriate state or local, public or private agencies whenever possible.
- To advance voluntary general compliance and thus prevent possible disputes through the use of the mass communications media, business, industry, labor and private organizations.
- To challenge the citizens of America to responsibility and unity under the law.

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

CRS is assisted by a group of several hundred citizens from over the Nation appointed by the President. They constitute a pool of available manpower for voluntary non-compensated assistance and will be called upon by the Director for specific duties commensurate with special needs and expertise. As members of this group they will also, on their own, encourage compliance with laws against discrimination and foster improved communications between those of different race, color, religion and national origin.

STAFF AND BUDGET

It is impossible to foresee the total future needs of CRS because there is no past experience to guide us. Our plans for staff are estimated at 50 persons (professional and clerical), all based in Washington. In addition to regular staff, we expect to utilize volunteer personnel as needed. Offices will be in the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Our suggested budget of $1,100,000 is an estimate of the first year's operational expenses.

SUMMARY OF THE NEW CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

In order to understand the work of the CRS, it is necessary to relate it to the new civil rights law itself. Following is a brief summary of the provisions of the law:

(The Act is divided into eleven "Titles." This summary follows the organization of the statute. The Act was signed July 2, 1964, and except for the enforcement provisions of Title VII, became effective immediately.)

TITLE I. VOTING RIGHTS

This title is designed to strengthen the voting provisions of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts. The following voting protection features are added with respect to federal elections, including primaries, held solely or in part for the office of President, Vice-President, presidential elector or member of Congress:

1) The application of standards or procedures different from those previously used to find individuals qualified to vote under state law is prohibited;

2) Immaterial errors or omissions in application or registration forms may not be used to deny the right to vote;

3) Literacy tests, if given, must be in writing, and a copy of the test and answers must be furnished to the applicant upon request, except that the Attorney General may enter into agreements with state authorities that local literacy test procedures meet the purpose of the act;

4) In any federal court proceeding where literacy is involved, a person who has completed the sixth grade is presumed to be sufficiently literate to vote, unless proved otherwise.

In addition, where the Attorney General brings any voting suit under this title, or under prior legislation, alleging a "pattern or practice of discrimination," either he or the defendant may ask for a three-judge federal court. A direct appeal from such court lies to the Supreme Court. Voting cases before three-judge courts or single judges must be heard promptly.

TITLE II. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

All persons are declared to be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the services and facilities of the public accommodations covered by this title regardless of race, color, religion and national origin.

The following establishments are expressly covered if
—they affect interstate commerce, or
—discrimination or segregation is supported by some form of state action, such as laws, ordinances or other official requirements:

1) hotels, motels and similar places open to transient

guests, other than owner-occupied buildings renting five rooms or less;

2) restaurants, lunchrooms, lunch counters and similar eating places, including those located in retail stores;

3) gasoline stations;

4) movie houses, theaters, sports stadiums and other places of exhibition or entertainment;

5) any place of business which is located in an otherwise covered establishment and generally serves its customers, *e.g.*, a barber shop or a tavern in a hotel; and

6) any place of business which houses a covered public accommodation and holds itself out as serving its patrons, *e.g.*, a department store with a lunch counter.

Also forbidden is denial of access to any other establishment (not included in those specifically enumerated above) on account of discrimination or segregation which is required by a state or local statute, ordinance, regulation or order. Thus where state or local laws require segregation in such places as swimming pools or taverns, the effect of this provision is to subject these facilities to the federal law as long as the state or local laws remain on the books.[1]

Bona fide private clubs not open to the public are exempt except when their facilities are made available to customers of covered establishments.

A restaurant or gasoline station affects interstate commerce if it serves interstate travelers or if a substantial part of the food, gasoline or other products it sells has moved in interstate commerce; a place of entertainment, if it normally presents exhibitions, athletic teams or other forms of entertainment which move in interstate commerce. Hotels and motels as such are considered to be in interstate commerce.

Prohibited acts under this title include:

1) the withholding or denial of any right secured by this title;

2) intimidation or coercion for the purpose of interfering with any right secured by this title; and

3) punishment for the exercise of any such right.

Suits to enjoin alleged violations may be brought by aggrieved individuals or by the Attorney General.

In suits brought by individuals,

—the court may appoint an attorney for the complainant;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to intervene;

—where there is a state law or local ordinance pro-

[1] Evidently this would be true even though such laws may be unconstitutional.

hibiting discrimination in public accommodations, the suit may not be brought until 30 days after written notice of the alleged improper act has been given to the state or local authorities;[2]

—once the suit is brought, and there is an applicable state law or local ordinance, the court may stay further action in the case pending the termination of state or local proceedings;

—where there is no applicable state law or local ordinance, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service, established in the Department of Commerce under Title X of the new act, for the purpose of securing voluntary compliance. The Service is authorized to investigate the complaint and hold hearings. The referral may be for a period not exceeding 60 days, with a possible further extension of up to 60 days.

The Attorney General may bring a suit to enjoin a violation if he believes that "any person or group of persons is engaged in a pattern or practice of resistance" to this title. There may be a pattern or practice of resistance if, for example, a number of companies in the same line of business discriminate, if a motel chain or a restaurant chain practices discrimination in all or a significant part of its system, or if a company or person is repeatedly and regularly engaged in acts prohibited by the statute. The provisions for notification of state or local agencies or for referral to the Community Relations Service are not applicable to suits by the Attorney General.

The Attorney General may ask for a three-judge court, in which case an appeal would lie directly to the Supreme Court. Suits before three-judge courts or single judges must be heard promptly.

Relief by the court in individual suit or suits by the Attorney General may be granted by the courts by way of temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders. Failure to abide by a court decree is punishable by contempt proceedings in accordance with Title XI.

While the only specific reference in this title to the Community Relations Service has to do with court referrals of complaints where there are no applicable state or local laws, the Service, under Title X, would appear to have the general power to provide conciliation assistance in any dispute arising in a public accommodations case.

TITLE III. PUBLIC FACILITIES

Upon the receipt of a signed complaint, the Attorney General is authorized under this title to institute suits to desegregate public facilities owned, operated, or managed by or for states or political subdivisions. (The

[2] Section 207(b) expressly provides that this act is not intended to preempt state or local laws or ordinances forbidding discrimination in public accommodations, and such laws may be invoked without resorting to the federal law.

desegregation of schools is covered separately in Title IV.) The individual complaint must allege a deprivation of the right to the equal protection of the laws by a denial of equal use of a public facility because of race, color, religion or national origin.

The Attorney General must certify that the complainant is unable to institute legal proceedings because of inability to bear the expenses or to obtain effective legal representation, or because of possible danger to his personal safety, employment or economic standing.

Publicly-operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the types of facilities covered.

Intervention by the Attorney General in privately-initiated suits seeking relief from denial of equal protection of the laws is authorized in Title IX.

TITLE IV. PUBLIC EDUCATION

This title encompasses:

1) a program for technical assistance, training and grants, administered by the United States Commissioner of Education, to aid in the solution of desegregation problems, and

2) the filing of school desegregation suits by the Attorney General.

Desegregation is defined as the assignment of students to and within schools without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. The definition specifically excludes student assignments to overcome racial imbalance. No order may be issued under this title requiring the transportation of students between schools or school districts to achieve racial balance.

The functions of the Commissioner of Education include:

1) Technical assistance, upon request of a state, political subdivision or school district, in preparing and carrying out school desegregation plans;

2) The establishment of institutes for teachers and other school personnel for training to deal with desegregation problems;

3) Grants to local school authorities, upon their request, for similar training purposes and for the employment of consultants;

4) A survey, to be completed within two years, of the availability of equal educational opportunities throughout the country.

Upon receipt of a signed complaint alleging school discrimination, the Attorney General is authorized to initiate school desegregation suits. As under Title III, the Attorney General must certify that the complainant, for the specified reasons, is unable to institute legal proceedings.

Before bringing suit, the Attorney General is re-

quired to give notice of the complaint to the school officials and afford a reasonable time for adjustment of the complaint.

The public schools covered by this title include public colleges.

The Attorney General may intervene in privately-initiated school desegregation cases under Title IX authorizing intervention in suits for relief from denial of equal protection of the laws.

TITLE V. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

The life of the United States Commission in Civil Rights is extended until 1968. It is given added authority to investigate voting fraud or voting discrimination practices in federal elections, and to serve as a national clearinghouse for information with respect to denials of equal rights. Changes are made in the rules of procedure for the conduct of Commission hearings.

TITLE VI. PROGRAMS SUPPORTED BY FEDERAL FUNDS

This title declares that no person may be subjected to discrimination or denied benefits in any federally-financed program on the ground of race, color or national origin. Religion is not specified.

Federal assistance by way of insurance or guaranty, such as VA or FHA insured loans, is not affected. Discriminatory employment practices are not covered under this title unless the primary objective of the assistance program is to provide employment.

Federal agencies may terminate assistance to the particular program or activity in which the discrimination is taking place. Each agency is required to issue rules or regulations, subject to approval by the President, to carry out the purposes of this title.

Financial assistance may be terminated by a federal agency only after there has been:

—notice to the political entity or other recipient of the federal funds of alleged failure to comply with the act;

—an opportunity for a hearing;

—a determination that compliance cannot be secured voluntarily; and

—a written report made to the appropriate House and Senate committees having legislative jurisdiction over the program, and 30 days have passed after filing of the report.

Termination of assistance is expressly limited to the "particular political entity or part thereof . . ." in which non-compliance has been found. Thus, if a particular school district is practicing discrimination in its school lunch program, financial assistance would not be

terminated generally in the state or in the lunch program of the schools of the entire state, nor would any other federally-financed program in the same school district be affected.

Any action by a federal agency terminating assistance is subject to judicial review.

TITLE VII. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT

This title, based on the commerce clause, establishes a new federal civil right to equal opportunity in employment. Charges of denial of this right may be asserted before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, followed by suits by aggrieved individuals where the Commission has failed to bring about voluntary compliance; or the Attorney General may initiate court action where there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

State or local laws relating to fair employment consistent with this title are expressly saved, as are federal, state or local laws providing special rights or preferences for veterans.

As soon as possible after enactment of the law, the President is required to convene conferences of leaders of public and private organizations affected by this title to familiarize them with its contents and to make plans for its "fair and effective administration."

Unlike the other parts of the act, the enforcement provisions of this title (specifically, sections 703, 704, 706 and 707) do not become effective for one year.

TITLE VIII. VOTING STATISTICS

This title authorizes the Commerce Department to compile voting statistics, in such geographic areas as the Civil Rights Commission may recommend, with respect to state-wide elections in which a member of the U. S. House of Representatives is being nominated or elected. In the conduct of the survey no person may be compelled to disclose his race, color, national origin, political affiliation or how he voted. Every person interrogated must be advised of his right to decline to give such information.

TITLE IX. INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL

Authority is conferred upon the Attorney General to intervene in any suit which has been commenced in a federal court seeking relief from denial of equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment, upon his certification that the case is of general public importance.

Under existing law, 28 U.S.C. 1443, the defendant in a state civil or criminal case arising out of a civil rights controversy may seek to remove the case to a federal district court on the ground of inability to enforce his rights in the state court. Until now the

return or remand of the case to the state court by the federal court was not considered appealable. 28 U.S.C. 1447(d). Title IX permits such an appeal.

TITLE X. COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

This title creates in the Commerce Department a Community Relations Service to assist communities and individuals in resolving disputes relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color or national origin. The Community Relations Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies. It may offer its services, either upon its own motion or upon request from state or local officials or other interested persons, in cases of "disputes, disagreements or difficulties" whenever it believes that peaceful relations among the citizens of a community are threatened. Also, Federal courts may in certain instances refer public accommodation complaints brought under Title II to the Community Relations Service to attempt to obtain voluntary compliance.

Employees of the Service are required to conduct their activities in providing conciliation assistance in confidence and without publicity, and the Service is required to "hold confidential any information acquired in the regular performance of its duties upon the understanding that it would be so held."

TITLE XI. MISCELLANEOUS

Except in respect to Title I relating to voting rights, any person accused of criminal contempt for violating any section of the act is entitled to a jury trial. Upon conviction for contempt, the maximum punishment is a fine of $1,000 or imprisonment for six months. The limited jury trial provision adopted in the 1957 Civil Rights Act would still apply to Title I. This allows a judge to act without a jury if he does not impose a penalty of more than $300 or 45 days in jail.

The courts retain their power to secure compliance with their decrees by civil contempt proceedings without a jury.

Nothing in the act is to be construed to impair existing powers of the Attorney General or other federal officers to institute or intervene in any proceedings, nor to preempt the field with respect to state anti-discrimination laws not inconsistent with the act.

This title also authorizes the appropriations necessary to carry out the act, and contains the customary severability clause to provide that if any part of the act is held invalid, it shall not affect the remainder.

Quotes on the Mission of Community Relations Service

"The task of the Community Relations Service is to help communities solve problems of human relations through reason and common sense."

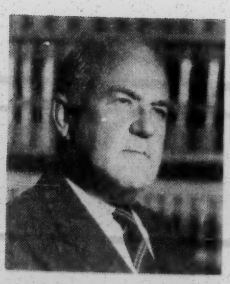
—President Lyndon B. Johnson

"No more important business faces the nation than the solution of problems in the area of human relations. The Service is designed to encourage and assist local community relations committees in resolving discrimination disputes."

—Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce

"This work of justice for all can succeed if the great mass of Americans will try. But it will take good neighbors acting with responsibility. It will take good manners and self-discipline, along with respect for law. The Community Relations Service will provide a means for achieving compliance without lawsuits . . ."

—LeRoy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service



"Our primary purpose will be to educate the people as to the basic purposes of the civil rights law and to persuade them to comply with its requirements."

—Arthur Dean, Chairman of the President's National Citizens Committee for Community Relations

DIVISION OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

~~150 FIFTH AVENUE~~ ~~NEW YORK 11, N.Y.~~

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, 15TH FLOOR
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

October 21, 1960

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am writing again to call to your attention the fact that Dr. W. Vernon Middleton was elected a Bishop of The Methodist Church last June. His place as General Secretary of the Division of National Missions has been taken by Mr. H.Conwell Snoke.

10-24-60

Kindly correct your records, and oblige

Very truly yours,

Eleanor L. Welch

Eleanor L. Welch
Recording Secretary

ELW/vc

Jerlene 11-21-60

October 28, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am spending this year at Harvard, and would appreciate your sending reports, etc. to my address in Boston: 131 Newbury St.
Boston 16, Mass.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
Howard Zinn
Howard Zinn

L. C. Downing, M. D.
31 Centre Avenue, N. W.
Roanoke, Virginia

JC

November 4, 1960

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gemtlemen:

Please add to your Virginia mailing list the name of Bishop William H. Marmion.

Bishop Marmion is a recently appointed member of the Virginia Advisory Committee Commission on Civil Rights. His address, 2730 Avenham Avenue, S. W., Roanoke, Virginia.

Bishop Marmion is a most welcome member.

Yours very truly,

L C Downing MD

L. C. Downing, M. D.

LCD:jao

11/21/60

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SAMUEL A. ROSEN
E. B. SHULTZ
JAMES STOKELY
HARRY STRAUSS
ROBERT WEST

GALEN A. MARTIN
STAFF SECRETARY
312 EMPIRE BUILDING
PHONE 4-0357

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

POST OFFICE BOX 1011
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

November 4, 1960

SM ✓
MF ✓
MA ✓
JC ✓
BC ✓
LEC ✓

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

We have been receiving our mail at our old room number, 606. Our room number is now 701, Empire Building. I trust that it will be convenient for you to change the plate to the present number.

Sincerely yours,

Anita Moiger

Anita Moiger

Pulled 11/25/60

INDIANA UNIVERSITY
College of Arts and Sciences
BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

November 11, 1960

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me a copy of: SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: the first six years. I would also like to be placed on your mailing list to receive subsequent publications.

WJ Chambliss

William J. Chambliss

sent 11/14/60
(pass on to L.E.C. for mailing list)
BCC

11/17/60

MA - please send copies of the report

MC - MA

THE OBSERVER
·1791·
The Observer Limited
22 TUDOR STREET
LONDON, E.C.4

TELEPHONE:
~~NORTH 7001~~

WASHINGTON BUREAU,
1416, 35th Street N.W., ~~[illegible]~~,
WASHINGTON, D.C. U.S.A.

Federal 8-0356

22 November 1960.

JC

Dear Sir,

We note that in the Washington Post of November 21 there was a story based on a report by Mr George McMillan, relating to police methods in Southern cities, which was issued by your council. Mr Cyril Dunn has recently taken over as Chief of The Observer's Washington Bureau at the above address and would be glad to receive copies of any future report you may put out or any other material which is normally communicated to the papers.

LEC
Put on press, 12/5/60
MASSmiles

Yours faithfully,

Terry Forbes.

Secretary to
Mr Cyril Dunn - Bureau Chief.

Southern Regional Council,
63, Auburn Avenue N.E.,
Atlanta 3,
Georgia.

LEC
please see that he gets on list and send him our latest couple of pamphlets.
mailed 12/5/60

The Virginian-Pilot
MORNING AND SUNDAY
ESTABLISHED 1865 ... NORFOLK AND PORTSMOUTH, VIRGINIA

TELEPHONE MADISON 5-1431
NORFOLK 1, VIRGINIA

November 28, 1960

Information Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

On August 5 I wrote you asking to be placed on the council's mailing list for releases and surveys concerning interracial and other social problems in the South. Shortly afterward, I was advised that I had been put on the list.

So far, nothing has been forthcoming. There was no particular urgency about the matter when I wrote, as I was usually able to see materials you sent to Mr. Luther J. Carter, also of our staff. Now, however, Mr. Carter is in Washington, and I fear I'm missing some of your highly significant work.

Would you be so kind as to see what has gone amiss? I shall be grateful for your trouble.

Yours sincerely,

John I. Brooks

John I. Brooks
Sunday Editor

The Charleston Gazette

The State Newspaper

Charleston, W. Va.

November 28, 1960

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I recently returned to the staff of The Charleston Gazette after a year in Washington on a Congressional Fellowship.

Would you please restore my name to your mailing list?

Thanks very much.

Sincerely,

Harry W. Ernst

Harry W. Ernst

put on New South, 11/30/60

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
FIELD SECRETARIES' OFFICE
4403 VIRGINIA AVENUE, LOUISVILLE 11, KENTUCKY • SPRING 4-3331

Dec. 23, 1960

Dear Harold:

Attached is a note from Irving Dilliard that was intended for you but which was sent to me.

Warmest regards from Anne and me.

Carl

Carl Braden

Dec 11

Dear Carl, This should be charged to someone at the Post-Dispatch — either ROBERT LASCH my successor as edit page editor, or JAMES LAWRENCE who writes on these subjects. I think I am already on at 505 East Church St., Collinsville, Ill. Might have them check & see, but forwarding is uncertain & hence costly. Thanks a lot

Ing

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 201, 5 FORSYTH ST., N.W., ATLANTA 3, GA.

ATLANTA GA DEC 6'60

U.S. POSTAGE 08 :

P.B. METER 369616

Please Forward

MR. IRVING DILLARD
~~ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH~~
~~ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI~~

505 E. Church St.
Collinsville
Ill.

****

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Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] ATLANTA, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date January 4, 1961

To: Mr. John Constable From: Benjamin Muse

Subject: Card file for L-Report recipients, mailing lists.

Please send me a sample card of the developing card file for L-Report recipients. I want to look around for a card file box.

Have you been able to get a list of federal judges in the South? I am adding federal judiciary to our grouping as Category 14.

I believe you are sending me copies of the addresses which I left with you on my last visit, together with possibly other recent additions.

Indiana University Press has asked me to put them on the trail of any suitable mailing lists for its direct mail sales campaign for my coming book. I would like to send them some of these spare lists. (I have a 1959 L list.) Are there any expendable New South lists? I would like for you to clear this with Harold.

I enclose some newspapers which might be added to our media list.

Judges first time should receive 8, 15 and 22. Newspapers first time: 8, 18, 20 and 22.

Best regards.

Ben

City of Pittsburgh

Pennsylvania

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
JOSEPH M. BARR
MAYOR

518 CITY-COUNTY BUILDING
TEL.—ATLANTIC 1-3900 EXT. 480

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
GEORGE W. CULBERSON

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

January 23, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you very much for your prompt response to my request. The materials which you sent has arrived.

I would very much appreciate receiving copies of your leadership reports and other materials as they are published by you.

Thank you very much.

8

2/6/61 (mw)

Sincerely,

Herbert A. Aurbach

Herbert A. Aurbach
Research Specialist

HAA/dg

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GALEN A. MARTIN
STAFF SECRETARY
701 EMPIRE BUILDING
PHONE 4-0357

Knoxville Area Human Relations Council

POST OFFICE BOX 1011
Knoxville 1, Tennessee

J.2.
SM

ANNOUNCEMENT

February 10, 1961

Mrs. John Hitch has succeeded Galen Martin as Staff Secretary of the Knoxville Area Human Relations Council and Field Representative of the Unitarian Service Committee. Mrs. Hitch, a resident of Knoxville for the past three years, attended Bryn Mawr college and Columbia University and has been a participant in the Experiment in International Living. Her name should be subsituted on mailing lists for that of Galen with the address remaining as before.

Galen Martin requests that mail for him be addressed to:

Galen Martin, Executive Director
Kentucky Commission on Human Relations
311 Capitol Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

add to mailing list

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST IN NEW HAVEN
Center Church House
311 Temple St.
NEW HAVEN 11, CONN.

NEW HAVEN
FEB 3
12 M
1961
CONN.

D. mail
pulse

NEW HOPE FOR
--- SUPPO
THE HEART

UNITED STATES POSTAGE
FOUR CENTS
4

✓LEC
-BC
✓MK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Room 201 5 Forsyth St. N.W.

Atlanta 3 Georgia

2/12/61

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

February 25,1961

Mr.John Constable
Dear John:

Kindly send one of each /L-Reports available to date to the addresses given below and put them on the list to receive them regularly:

Dr.A.D.Beittel
President
Tougaloo Southern Christian College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Mr.William L. Higgs
707 N.Congress St.
Jackson, Miss.

3-7-61

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Ben

Phil;
Please send us return note to me. Thanks
Lee

Sent 3-2-61
WJ

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

February 28, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The Department of Sociology would like to be placed on your mailing list to receive copies of your reports. If at all possible, we would like to receive back issues, beginning with L-1, April 27, 1959, through L-24, February 16, 1961.

Please bill Department of Sociology, Fisk University, if there is any charge for this.

Sincerely yours,

Jitsuichi Masuoka

Jitsuichi Masuoka
Chairman

/d

3/21/61

Rent 3-9-61
WS

WILSON CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

WILSON, NORTH CAROLINA

March 3, 1961

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LEMUEL H. GIBBONS
A. WINNIETT PETERS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Please change your name plate from

Mr. N. J. Frizelle, Ex. Sec'y.
Chamber of Commerce
Wilson, N. C.

to

Mr. H. Moseley Hussey, Ex. Sec'y.
Chamber of Commerce
Wilson, N. C.

Thanks.

Very truly yours,

H. Moseley Hussey

H. Moseley Hussey,
Executive Secretary

HMH/mc

PHONE 237-0165 P. O. BOX 979 220 BROAD STREET

BENJAMIN MUSE
POST OFFICE BOX 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

March 22, 1961

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

The addresses below should be added to the L-Report list, and I would like for these to receive in the first mailing L-Reports 6, 16, 22, 23 and 24. mailed 3-23-61 jrs on SL 3/28/61

Easton King
Editor
Chronicle Star
Pascagoula, Miss. 9

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith 9
Editor, Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Miss.

Dr. Ernest Borinski, Dean
Tougaloo Southern Christian 8
College
Tougaloo, Miss.

Dr. George E. Powers 8
Anderson Bldg.
Gulfport, Miss.

Rev. Murray Cox
Chairman, Advisory Committee,
Civil Rights Commission
2316 27th. Ave. 10
Gulfport, Miss.

Rev. Richard P. Ellerbrake
Evangelical Reformed Church 8
424 Chartres St.
Biloxi, Miss.

Rev. Maxie D. Dunham
5007 Lawson Ave. 8
Gulfport, Miss.

Mr. Louis Henderson
Gulf Surplus Co.
24th. Ave. & 17th. St. 8
Gulfport, Miss.

Mrs. D. E. Wheatley
Greenwood, Miss. 8

Sincerely,

Ben

Benjamin Muse

P.S. Please send us duplicates as cards are made

****

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern R[redacted] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[redacted]ORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date March 23, 1961

To: Mr. John Constable

From: BM

Subject: L-Reports mailed 3/24/61

Please send unnumbered introductory L-Report, L-Reports 8 and 24, and recent pamphlet, "This I Believe," to:

Mr. A. F. Chisholm
401 Central Avenue
Laurel, Mississippi

SL 3/28/61

8

Keep on L-Report list. (banker)

Kindly send me 4 copies of Miss Goodman's, "Sanctuary of Tradition." mailed 3/24/61

NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE · RALEIGH

School of General Studies
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

March 29, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate it if you would change your mailing list to correct my address for your interesting reports, to read:

Dr. Elmer H. Johnson
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Peele Hall
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

7

Since I have returned to State College, your reports have to be forwarded from my previous address at the North Carolina Prison Department, Raleigh.

Sincerely,

Elmer H Johnson

Elmer H. Johnson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Sociology

S. [illegible] 3-30-61
[illegible]

PRV
JCV

Cat. 8

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Michigan Area

163 Madison Avenue, Detroit 26, Michigan • Woodward 5-8361 • Lawrence Lucks, Area Director

April 10, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate being placed on your mailing list so as to be able to receive the material you distribute.

Very truly yours,

Lawrence Lucks

Lawrence Lucks
Michigan Area Director

LL/bs

H. 20. 60

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4/20/60

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
407 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. C. K. Steele
P. O. Box 1003
Tallahassee, Florida

Rev. J. E. Lowery
306 N. Warren Street
Mobile, Alabama

Rev. Samuel W. Williams
437 Mitchell St., S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. C. O. Simpkins
1514 Gary Street
Shreveport, Louisiana

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347 North Ripley Street
Montgomery 4, Alabama

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319 Eighth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

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3907 Cedardale Road
Baltimore, Maryland

Rev. James M. Lawson
3708 Clare Ave., Apt. D
Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Dorothy F. Cotton
1321 Sharon Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

208 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
JAckson 5-1763

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Martin Luther King Jr., *President*
Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

James R. Wood, *Public Relations Director*
Ralph D. Abernathy, *Treasurer*

APRIL 13, 1961

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5 FORSYTH STREET
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DEAR SIRS:

PLEASE ADD NAMES ON THE ATTACHED LIST TO YOUR MAILING LIST.

THANK YOU VERY KINDLY.

SINCERELY,

Dorothy F. Cotton

(MRS.) DOROTHY F. COTTON
EDUCATION CONSULTANT

ENCLOSURES: 2

J. Michael Barrier
Delta Tau Delta
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

May 3, 1961

Notice of Change of Address effective June 10, 1961

Old Address: J. Michael Barrier
Delta Tau Delta
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

New Address: J. Michael Barrier
5813 Hawthorne Rd.
Little Rock, Ark.

(8) L → W
5-5-61

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union

WILLARD S. RITTENBERRY, DIRECTOR
DISTRICT NO. 9

ROOM 321 A - 900 PEACHTREE, N. E.
ATLANTA 9, GEORGIA

June 12, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you please remove the following name from your mailing list:

Mr. Dial Murphy, Director
District Number 9
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Int'l Union
220 Flatiron Building
705 Broadway, N. E.
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

Mr. Murphy now resides in Dallas, Texas.

Very truly yours,

W. S. Rittenberry

W. S. Rittenberry, ~~Director~~
District 9

/ks

pulled stencil and

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OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS

P. O. BOX 4366 NEW ORLEANS 18, LA. PHONE 866-4455

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June 19, 1961

L.C.

Mr. Paul Reiling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Please add Mr. C. Ellis Henican, our President, to your mailing list. His address is 1831 Octavia Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Henry

Henry Cabirac, Jr.
Executive Director

HCjr/lb

Lc 6-26-61

Do not put on permanent file.

L-22 Only, except as Marked

Mrs. Frank Anderson
622 W. Patton Avenue
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. George W. Dean (also L-18, L-21)
Dean & Kaufman
Washington Bldg.
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. John Ward (also L-18, L-21)
468 S. Perry St.
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Howell L. Heflin
Tuscumbia, Ala.

Mr. William Lucas
Russellville, Ala.

Mr. Charles C. Adams
Alexander City, Ala.

Mr. Joel Robinson
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Mr. Broughton Lambert
Alexander City, Ala.

Mr. Richmond Flowers
Dothan, Ala.

Dr. C. H. Crowley
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758 St. Michael St.
Mobile, Ala.

Mr. Victor Stewart (also L-18, L-21)
Colonial Pine Co., Inc.
Petersburg, Va.

Mr. Charles Morgan (also L-18, L-21)
Morgan and Shores
Birmingham, Ala.

Mailed 1-11-61

LEC: Please make 2 copies

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IN SOUTHERN STATES

ALABAMA

Chief Judge Seybourn H. Lynn
~~Northern~~ Federal District Court
Northern District of Alabama
Birmingham, Alabama

Judge Harlan H. Grooms
Federal District Court
Northern District of Alabama
Birmingham, Alabama

Judge ~~[illegible]~~ Frank M. Johnson
~~Middle~~ Federal District Court
Middle District of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

Judge Daniel H. Thomas
Federal District Court
Southern District of Alabama
Mobile, Alabama

ARKANSAS

Judge J. Smith Henly
Federal District Court
Eastern District ~~Court~~ of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

Chief Judge John E. Miller,
~~Western District of~~
Federal District Court
Western District of Arkansas
Fort Smith, Arkansas

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~~George H. Carswell~~
Chief Judge George H. Carswell
Federal District Court
Northern District of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Chief Judge George W. Whitehurst
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Southern District of Florida
Tampa, Florida

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Federal District Court
Southern District of Florida
Jacksonville, Florida

Judge Emett C. Choate
Federal District Court
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Miami, Florida

~~Judge~~ Judge Joseph P. Lieb
Federal District Court
Southern District of Florida
Miami, Florida

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~~Northern District~~ Federal District Court
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Atlanta, Georgia

Judge William Boyd Sloan
Federal District Court
Northern District of Georgia
Gainesville, Florida

Chief Judge T. Hoyt Davis
Federal District Court
Middle District of Georgia
American, Georgia

Judge William A. Bootle
Federal District Court
Middle District of Georgia
Macon, Georgia

Judge Frank M. Scarlett
Federal District Court
~~Brunswick~~ Southern District of Georiga
Brunswick, Georgia

KENTUCKY
Chief Judge Hiram Church Ford
Federal District Court
Eastern District of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

KENTUCKY

Judge Mac Swinford
Federal District Court
Eastern District of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Chief Judge Roy M. Shelbourne
Federal District Court
Western District of Kentucky
Louisville, Kentucky

Judge Henry L. Brooks
Federal District Court
Western District of Kentucky
Louisville, Kentucky

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New Orleans, Louisiana

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Western District of Louisiana
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Aberdeen, Mississippi

Judge Sudbet C. Mize
Federal District Court
Southern District of Mississippi
Biloxi, Mississippi

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Statesville, N. C.

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Greensboro, N. C.

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Florence, S. C.

Chief Judge Charles C. Wyche
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Western District of S. C.
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Chattanooga, Tennessee

Judge Robert L. Taylor
Federal District Court
Eastern District of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Judge William E. Miller
Federal District Court
Middle District of Tennessee
Nashville, Tennessee

Judge Marion S. Boyd
Federal District Court
Western District of Tennessee
Memphis, Tennessee

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Federal District Court
Northern District of Texas
Dallas, Texas

Judge Joe B. Dooley
Federal District Court
Northern District of Texas
Amarillo, Texas

Judge Joe Ewin Estes
Federal District Court
Northern District of Texas
Dallas, Texas

Chief Judge Allen B. Hannay
Federal District Court
Southern District of Texas
Houston, Texas

Judge James V. Allred
Federal District Court
Southern District of Texas
Corpus Christi, Texas

Judge Ben C. Connally
Federal District Court
Southern District of Texas
Houston, Texas

Judge Joe M. Ingraham
Federal District Court
Southern District of Texas
Houston, Texas

Chief JudgeJoe W. Sheehy
Federal District Court
Eastern District of Texas
Tyler, Texas

Chief Judge Ben H. Rice, Jr.
Fede al District Court
Western District of Texas
Waco, Texas

Judge Robert E. Thomason
Federal District Court
Western District of Texas
El Paso, Texas

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Chief Judge Sterlin Hutcheson
Federal District Court
Eastern District of Virginia
Richmond, Virginia

Judge Albert V. Bryan
Federal District Court
Eastern District of Virginia
Alexandria, Virginia

Judge Walter E. Hoffman
Federal District Court
Eastern District of Virginia
Norfolk, Virginia

Chief Judge Roby C. Thompson
Federal District Court
Western District of Virginia
Abingdon, Virginia

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

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BM

8/18/20/22

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Birmingham, Alabama

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Post-Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times
Florence, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Tri-Cities Daily
Florence, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times
Gadsden, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times
Huntsville, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Press
Mobile 9, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Register
Mobile 9, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Advertiser
Montgomery 2, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
Journal
Montgomery 2, Alabama

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

ARKANSAS

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times Record
Fort Smith, Arkansas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Southwest American
Fort Smith, Arkansas

~~Literary~~ Editor
New Era
Hot Springs, Arkansas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Sentinel-Record
Hot Springs, Arkansas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Arkansas Democrat
Little Rock, Arkansas

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Arkansas Gazette~~
~~Little Rock, Arkansas~~

~~Literary~~ Editor
Gazette
Texarkana, Arkansas

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Texarkana, Arkansas

FLORIDA

~~Literary~~ Editor
~~News~~
~~Daytona Beach, Florida~~

~~Literary~~ Editor
~~Journal~~
~~Daytona Beach, Florida~~

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Florida Times-Union~~
~~Jacksonville 1, Florida~~

~~Literary~~ Editor
Journal
Jacksonville 1, Florida

FLORIDA (continued)

Literary Editor
Herald
Miami 30, Florida

Literary Editor
News
Miami 30, Florida

Literary Editor
Sun
1753 Alton R.,
Miami Beach, Fla.

Literary Editor
Sentinel
Orlando, Florida

Literary Editor
Star
Orlando, Florida

Literary Editor
News
Pensacola, Florida

Literary Editor
Journal
Pensacola, Florida

Literary Editor
Independent
St. Petersburg 1, Florida

Literary Editor
Times
St. Petersburg 1, Florida

Literary Editor
Democrat
Tallahassee, Florida

Literary Editor
Times
Tampa 1, Florida

Literary Editor
Tribune
Tampa 1, Florida

Literary Editor
Palm Beach Post
West Palm Beach, Florida

Literary Editor
Palm Beach Times
West Palm Beach, Florida

GEORGIA

Literary Editor
Constitution
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Literary Editor
Journal
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Literary Editor
Chronicle
Augusta, Georgia

Literary Editor
Herald
Augusta, Georgia

Literary Editor
World
Atlanta, Georgia

Literary Editor
Ledger
Columbus, Georgia

Literary Editor
Enquirer
Columbus, Georgia

Literary Editor
News
Macon, Georgia

Literary Editor
Telegraph
Macon, Georgia

Literary Editor
News
Savannah, Georgia

Literary Editor
Press
Savannah, Georgia

LOUISIANA

Literary Editor
State-Times
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Literary Editor
Advocate
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

LOUISIANA (continued)

~~Literary~~ Editor
American Press
Lake Charles, Louisiana

~~Literary~~ Editor
News-Star
Monroe, Louisiana

~~Literary~~ Editor
World
Monroe, Louisiana

~~Literary~~ Editor
Item
New Orleans, Louisiana

~~Literary Editor~~
Times-Picayune
New Orleans 4, Louisiana

~~Literary~~ Editor
States
New Orleans, Louisiana

~~Literary~~ Editor
Journal
Shreveport, Louisiana

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times
Shreveport, Louisiana

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~~Literary~~ Editor
Herald
Gulfport, Mississippi

~~Literary~~ Editor
Clarion Ledger
Jackson, Mississippi

~~Literary~~ Editor
Daily News
Jackson, Mississippi

~~Literary~~ Editor
State-Times
Jackson, Mississippi

~~Literary~~ Editor
Star
Meridian, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Citizen~~
~~Asheville, North Carolina~~

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Times~~
~~Asheville, North Carolina~~

~~Literary Editor~~
~~News~~
~~Charlotte 1, North Carolina~~

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Observer~~
~~Charlotte 1, North Carolina~~

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Herald~~
~~Durham, North Carolina~~

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Sun~~
~~Durham, North Carolina~~

~~Literary~~ Editor
Observer
Fayetteville, North Carolina

~~Literary Editor~~
~~News~~
~~Greensboro, North Carolina~~

~~Literary~~ Editor
Record
Greensboro, North Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
Enterprise
High Point, North Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
News and Observer
Raleigh, North Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times
Raleigh, North Carolina

~~Literary Editor~~
~~Star~~
~~Wilmington, North Carolina~~

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Wilmington, North Carolina

NORTH CAROLINA (continued)

~~Literary~~ Editor
Journal
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
Twin City Sentinel
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

SOUTH CAROLINA

~~Literary~~ Editor
Post
Charleston F, South Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
News and Courier
Charleston F, South Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
Record
Columbia, South Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
State
Columbia, South Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Greenville, South Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
Piedmont
Greenville, South Carolina

Literary Editor
Herald
Spartanburg, South Carolina

~~Literary~~ Editor
Journal
Spartanburg, South Carolina

TENNESSEE

~~Literary~~ Editor
News-Free Press
Chattanooga 1, Tennessee

Literary Editor
Times
Chattanooga 1, Tennessee

Literary Editor
Journal
Knoxville 6, Tennessee

Literary Editor
News-Sentinel
Knoxville 10, Tennessee

Literary Editor
Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tennessee

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Press-Scimitar
Memphis 1, Tennessee

Literary Editor
Banner
Nashville 1, Tennessee

Literary Editor
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Nashville 1, Tennessee

TEXAS

Literary Editor
Brownsville Herald
Brownsville, Texas

Literary Editor
Reporter-News
Abilene, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Globe-Times
Amarillo, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Amarillo, Texas

Literary Editor
American
Austin 1, Texas

Literary Editor
Statesman
Austin 1, Texas

Literary Editor
Enterprise
Beaumont, Texas

Literary Editor
Journal
Beaumont, Texas

TEXAS (continued)

Literary Editor
Caller
Corpus Christi, Texas

Literary Editor
Times
Corpus Christi, Texas

Literary Editor
News
Dallas, Texas

Literary Editor
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Dallas 2, Texas

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Times
El Paso, Texas

Literary Editor
Press
Fort Worth 1, Texas

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Star Telegram
Fort Worth 1, Texas

Literary Editor
News
Galveston, Texas

Literary Editor
Tribune
Galveston, Texas

Literary Editor
Chronicle
Houston 2, Texas

Literary Editor
Post
Houston 1, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Press
Houston, Texas

Literary Editor
Times
Laredo, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Journal
Longview, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Longview, Texas

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Lubbock, Texas

Literary Editor
Journal
Lubbock, Texas

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Reporter-Telegram
Midland, Texas

Literary Editor
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Odessa, Texas

Literary Editor
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Port Arthur, Texas

Literary Editor
Standard
San Angelo, Texas

Literary Editor
Standard-Times
San Angelo, Texas

Literary Editor
Express
San Antonio 6, Texas

Literary Editor
News
San Antonio 6, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Light
San Antonio 6, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Courier Times
Tyler, Texas

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Telegraph
Tyler, Texas

TEXAS (continued)

~~Literary~~ Editor
News-Tribune
Waco, Texas

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times-Herald
Waco, Texas

Literary Editor
Record-News
Wichita Falls, Texas

Literary Editor
Times
Wichita Falls, Texas

VIRGINIA

~~Literary~~ Editor
Alexandria Gazette
Alexandria, Virginia

Literary Editor
Northern Virginia Sun
Arlington, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Bee
Danville, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Register
Danville, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Advance
Lynchburg, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Lynchburg, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Press
Newport News, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times-Herald
Newport News, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Ledger-Dispatch and Star
Norfolk 1, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Virginian-Pilot
Norfolk 1, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Progress-Index
Petersburg, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
News
Hopewell, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
News-Leader
Richmond, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
Times
Roanoke, 10, Virginia

~~Literary~~ Editor
World-News
Roanoke 10, Virginia

~~WASHINGTON, D.C.~~

Managing ~~Literary~~ Editor
Washington Daily News
1013 13th Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

Managing ~~Literary~~ Editor
Washington Post and Times Herald
Washington 5, D.C.

Managing ~~Literary~~ Editor
Washington Star
Washington 4, D.C.

~~BALTIMORE, MARYLAND~~

Literary Editor
News-Post
Baltimore 3, Maryland

Managing ~~Literary~~ Editor
Baltimore Sun
Baltimore 3, Maryland

stet

stet

8

For permanent L-Report List (all to receive L-22 and such other back reports as may be indicated)

Mr. Neil Davis (L-20)
Editor
Lee County Bulletin
Auburn, Ala.

Rev. Don Marietta, Jr. (L-20)
St. John's Church
113 Madison Avenue
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Clifford J. Durr,(L-8, L-18, L-20)
17 Molton St. Bldg.
Montgomery 4, Ala.

Mr. Alfred F. Delchamps (L-7,8, 21)
305 N. Water St.
Mobile, Ala.

Mr. Glenn Brock (L-18, 21)
President
Gulf, Mobile & Ohio Railway Co.
104 St.Francis St.
Mobile, Ala.

Mr. Charles F. Zukoski (L-18, 21)
P. O. Box 2534
Birmingham 2, Ala.

Dr. Henry King Stanford (L-1, 8, 16, 17, 18)
President
Birmingham Southern College
Birmingham 4, Ala.

Dr. Donald Strong (L-8, 18, 20)
University of Alabama
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Sen. J. D. DeBlieux (L-8, 16, 17, 18, 20)
233 St. Ferdinand St.
Baton Rouge, La.

Mr. Lester E. Kabacoff (L-18, 21)
c/o Mr. J. Edgar Stern
521 Royal St.
New Orleans, La.

Msgr. Henry C. ~~Bezons~~ BEZOU (L-8, 16, 17)
Archdiocesan Superintendent of Schools
724 Camp St.
New Orleans, La.

Mr. Charles French (L-18, 21)
President
Great Lakes Division
St. Regis Paper Co.
Cleveland, Ohio

Rev. Ed G. Mullen (L-20)
Trinity Episcopal Church
Florence, Ala.

Rev. John Rutland (L-20)
118 N. 55 St.
Birmingham, Ala.

mailed 1-11-61

127 South West Street
Alexandria, Virginia
August 10, 1959

Southern Reginnal Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

A few months ago I believe you released a report of anti-civil rights occurrences in this country for the year 1958. One of those incidents was an attack on the home of a colored citizen in this city who had purchased a home in a white neighborhood.

I am interested in the contents of the report and I wonder if I could receive a copy of it from you?

Thanking you very kindly, I am

Your very truly,

Leonard S. Brown

sent 8-14-59
SRGa

August 11, 1959

The Southern Regional Council
The American Jewish Committee
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen,

Kindly send me a copy of Intimidation Reprisal and Violence. I understand that this pamphlet was published recently and may contain much material useful in my course on "The American Community.

Sincerely,

Gerhard J. Falk
Assistant Professor
of Social Studies
State College
Buffalo, N.Y.

sent 8-14-59 mga

September 1, 1959

Miss Marybeth Wrenne, Librarian
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Wrenne:

We mailed you yesterday the two reports you requested for your files: Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence and A Background Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60. There is no charge to you for these reports.

Have you received a copy of our pamphlet, If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, by Professors Green and Gauerke?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

September 25, 1959

Miss Beulah Lockerby, Librarian
Research Library
State Commission Against Discrimination
270 Broadway
New York 7, New York

Dear Miss Lockerby:

We are mailing you today, separately, the two copies of our report, Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence, which you requested and sent payment for last June 25.

We are very sorry that you did not receive the copies at the time they were ordered. Records indicate they were mailed to the State Commission Against Discrimination, and probably, therefore, did not reach the Research Library.

You may now be interested in our latest study on voting: The Negro and the Ballot in the South. A press release is enclosed for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Mailed separately:
2 - Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence

October 6, 1959

Mr. Walter P. Zand
Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
343 S. Dearborn Street
Chicago 4, Illinois

Dear Dr. Zand:

I have your letter of October 2 requesting twelve copies of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence. Inasmuch as the American Jewish Committee purchased several hundred of this for distribution, I though I had better check with Charles Wittenstein of your Atlanta office before filling your request. Charles tells me that there is still an adequate supply of the pamphlet available and asked me to suggest to you that you write to your national office for copies.

In the event there is any shortage, we shall be glad to take care of your need.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 8, 1959

Professor William N. Slavick
Department of English
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Professor Slavick:

We are pleased to mail you today a copy of our publication Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence. There is no charge; additional copies will be .40 each.

Other recent publications of ours are: If the Schools Are Closed...A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, by Professors Green and Gauerke of Emory University; The Negro and The Ballot in the South, by Margaret Price; and a Special Report on School Desegregation for 1959-60.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Mailed separately:
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence

October 9, 1959

Mr. W. Eddie Crapps
Box 91
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
Louisville 6, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Crapps:

We are mailing you today, separately, some requested materials for your use in preparing a paper on "Resistant Movements and Desegregation."

Enclosed is a thermafax copy of an article, "The White Citizens Councils," Commentary, October 1956.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Mailed separately:
Special Report: Prosegregation Groups
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
Bigotry in Action
Reprint: "Hate Mongers with Literary Trimmings"
Commentary, December 1956

October 30, 1959

Miss Verna E. Bayles
The Library
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Miss Bayles:

I am very sorry that you have not received the pamphlet you ordered on August 5. We are mailing it today, and certainly do regret the long delay. We are also sending you our latest publication, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, without charge, in the hope that you will find it of interest also.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Adm. Sec., Research

Mailed separately:
Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
The Negro and the Ballot

November 10, 1959

Mr. Bill Moore
Box 415
Island Heights, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Moore:

In reply to your letter of October 29, we are forwarding under separate cover two publications which give some information on the more recent activities of the Ku Klux Klan. As for historical background, I am afraid we can only suggest sources your local library will offer. We are forwarding two bibliographies of books and periodicals - see particularly the "Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan" bibliography - which will aid you in your research.

We are sorry to be of so little help, but the other materials in our reference library are unsuitable for duplicating and mailing.

Sincerely yours,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

Separate cover:
The KKK Revival - "Facts," Nov., Dec., 1956
Pro-Segregation Groups
Bibliography - KKK
" Reconstruction KKK

December 18, 1959

Fondren Library
Southern Methodist University
Dallas 5, Texas

Dear Sirs:

We are mailing you today the requested copy of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence. Our supply is almost exhausted, and we have no more copies for sale; however, we can send you one with our compliments for library use.

I am taking the liberty of including with this a copy of our publication, The Negro and the Ballot in the South, since many professors and students in departments of political science find it useful and helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Mailed separately:

Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence
The Negro and the Ballot in the South

December 21, 1959

Mr. George T. Guernsey
Asst. Director of Education
AFL and CIO
815 - 16th Street N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Guernsey

We are mailing you today, under separate cover, a copy of our publication, Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis. Unfortunately, we have only a few copies left. We could, however, send to anyone interested the shorter write-up in the July-August issue of New South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 21, 1959

Mrs. Gloria Elder
Box 3665 University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Elder:

We are mailing today, under separate cover, the requested copy of Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence for Dr. Francis Pickens Miller. We no longer have copies for sale, having some time ago exhausted our supply; we are sending a copy with our compliments from the few remaining in the research files.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

May 4, 1960

Miss Elsie Anderson
Box 481
College Station
Washington State University
Pullman, Washington

Dear Miss Anderson:

In reply to your letter of April 29, 1960, in 1959 the Southern Regional Council published, in conjunction with two other agencies, a study titled, "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." Our supply of these booklets is depleted; however, the study appears in its entirety in a government publication which will be available in your local library:

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Congress. Part 3 - Appendix. pp. 1573-1603. (Published by U. S. Grovernment Printing Office, Washington, 1959.)

We hope you will find this study useful.

Sincerely yours,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

May 25, 1960

Rev. H. R. Ware, Jr.
Box 515
Emory, Virginia

Dear Mr. Ware:

Our supply of the pamphlet, Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis has been exhausted. However, the study does appear in its entirety in a government publication which should be available in your local library:

> Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Congress. Part 3--Appendix. pp. 1573-1603. (Published by U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1959.)

I am enclosing a copy of our New South, July-August 1959, which contains a short resume of the above report.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosure:
New South, July-August '59

On Jewish Congress Statement on Anti-Bombing submitted by Subcommittee #3 of House Rules Committee of the Judiciary May 13, 1959 (1955-1958)

December 5, 1960

Professor Allen D. Grimshaw
Department of Sociology
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Professor Grimshaw:

Many thanks for the reprint of your article on r racial violence. I read it with considerable interest and found it instructive. I hopw you will continue publishing in this area.

You may be interested to know that some while back we planned with Professor Elmer Johnson a short study on Negro crime. The intention was to summarize the known facts about the incidence of crime by Negroes and to put these facts in good sociological perspective, drawing on (inadequate) research which has been done. Johnson did a rough draft in the summer, and his final manuscript has now been on my desk for a couple of weeks. I think it is going to be a useful piece and hope we may get it out in pamphlet form along about February. Johnson, who was assistant director of prisons for North Carolina, is now teaching at North Carolina State.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Violence

December 13, 1960

Mr. Leon M. McCorkle, Jr.
Kirkland F-12
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. McCorkle:

We are enclosing some file copies of materials for your use in writing your paper. Please do keep in mind that it is our only material on this subject and return it as soon as you have read it and made your notes. We do not make a practice of sending our file copies on loan but are making an exception in your case.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosed:
Lynchings and What They Mean by Southern Commission on Study of Lynching
The Mob Still Rides, (1931-35) Commission on Interracial Coop.
Facts on Lynchings in Georgia (1933) Georgia Council Asso. of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Mob Murder in America, Commission on Interracial Coop.
A New Public Opinion on Lynching, Asso. of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching
Southern White Women on Lynching and Mob Violence , CIC
Southern Women and Lynching, ASWPL
Some Facts About Lynching, SRC
Southern Leaders Impeach Judge Lynch, CIC
The Cost of the Mob, Dr. Henry M. Edmonds
The Crime of Mob Murder, CIC
Southern Women Look at Lynching, ASWPL
With Quietness They Work, ASWPL
Ladies and Lynchings, by Lewis T. Nordyke
TheChanging Character of Lynching, ASWPL
Lynching Record, NAACP (Supplement to "Thirty Years of Lynching"

Report from Tuskegee Institute, letters December 27, 1944 through 53.
Some Facts About Lynching, SRC (1946)
Lynching maps of the US for two decades (1922-26; 1927-31)
reprinted from The Southern Frontier, January, 1942
Lynchings, 1942-51 (Supplement to "Changing Character of Lynching")
Partial List of Convictions for Lynching SRC
Number of Lynchings 1938-45 SRC
Lynchings 1931-41

January 17, 1961

Professor Allen D. Grimshaw
Department of Sociology
Indiana University
Box 70
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Professor Grimshaw:

I would indeed like to read a copy of your dissertation on urban racial violence. Many thanks for offering to sent it to me.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
Federal Executive and Civil Rights

NEWS RELEASE

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja. 5-0595 or Ja. 2-8764

FOR RELEASE: All Papers
Sunday
March 31, 1963

The Voter Education Project released today a chronological listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. Almost all of the incidents are directly related to efforts by Negroes to register to vote.

The last item on the list is the March 27 dispersal by Greenwood policemen and their dogs of Negro registration applicants, and the jailing of registration workers.

"We are sure this is not a complete list," said Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. "It does demonstrate conclusively, however, the pattern of discrimination and violence which exists in Mississippi, and makes Constitutional rights virtually inoperative in that state."

The listing, he pointed out, does not include the riot at the University of Mississippi last fall, nor subsequent harassment of James Meredith. "All the world knows that story, as it does the earlier stories of Emmett Till and Mack Parker. This listing, nearly all of which has been compiled from the daily press, shows that what happened at the University should have been expected by anyone familiar with the Mississippi record."

Because of the near-fatal gun attack of February 28, 1963 against three voter registration workers, a concerted, saturation registration campaign was announced on March 1, 1963 in LeFlore County, Mississippi, of which Greenwood is the county seat.

The LeFlore campaign represents the combined efforts of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the local NAACP Youth Council.

The announced objective of the campaign is to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

This unprecedented concentration of resources in LeFlore County has led, said Branton, to unprecedented results. "For the first time in a Mississippi county, there has been a breakthrough of the fear which has held Negroes back. Since March 1, over 500 have waited determinedly at the Greenwood court house, trying to register. Because of the long drawn-out process in Mississippi, how many will be passed by the registrars is not yet known. Weekly mass meetings are thronged, and LeFlore Negroes are saying emphatically and courageously that they will not wait any longer to be treated as American citizens. And police suppression will not stop them."

Branton also noted that the U. S. Department of Agriculture had made a welcome contribution to Negro morale by successfully pressuring the county to resume, on April 1, distribution of federal surplus food, which had been cut off by the county last fall.

"This was interpreted by the local people," he said, "as an act of support and encouragement by the federal government."

"However," he continued, "the federal government has done little to protect the peace in LeFlore, or elsewhere in Mississippi. Sixty-eight years ago, in the case of In re Debs, the Supreme Court said that the 'entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care.' The peace of the United States is broken and shattered by the lawlessness in Mississippi. The federal government has an obligation, which it is not fulfilling, to restore it."

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

-END-

CHRONOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN MISSISSIPPI SINCE 1961

1961

January 1, Greenville, Washington County: Two young white men rode a motorbike through a residential area and, according to the local police chief, fired a volley of shots into a group of Negroes. George Mayfield, 18, was seriously wounded in both legs; Percy Lee Simmons, 19, was shot in the right leg.

March 30, Jackson, Hinds County: Club-swinging police and two police dogs chased more than 100 Negroes from a courthouse where nine Negro students were convicted for staging a sit-in demonstration. Several were struck by the clubs and at least one person was bitten by the dogs.

May 7, Jackson, Hinds County: Several white youths, riding in an open convertible, lassoed nine-year-old Negro Gloria Laverne Floyd with a wire and dragged her along the street. The girl suffered a deep gash in her head that required three stitches, cheek bruises, a laceration of her right shoulder, and burn marks on her neck. Police made arrests.

August 15, Amite County: Robert Moses, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) registration worker, and three Negroes who had tried unsuccessfully to register in Liberty, were driving toward McComb when a county officer stopped them. He asked if Moses was the man "...who's been tring to register our niggers." All were taken to court and Moses was arrested for "impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties," fined $50 and spent two days in jail.

August 22, Amite County: Robert Moses went to Liberty with three Negroes, who made an unsuccessful attempt to register. A block from the courthouse, Moses was attacked and beaten by Billy Jack Caston, the sheriff's first cousin. Eight stitches were required to close a wound in Moses' head. Caston was acquitted of assault charges by an all-white jury before a justice of the peace.

August 26, McComb, Pike County: Hollis Watkins, 20, and Elmer Hayes, 20, SNCC workers, were arrested while staging a sit-in at the F. W. Woolworth store and charged with breach of the peace. They spent 36 days in jail.

August 27 and 29, McComb, Pike County: Five Negro students from a local high school were convicted of breach of the peace following a sit-in at a variety store and bus terminal. They were sentenced to a $400 fine each and eight months in jail. One of these students, a girl of 15, was turned over to juvenile authorities, released, subsequently rearrested, and sentenced to 12 months in a state school for delinquents.

August 29, McComb, Pike County: Two Negro leaders were arrested in McComb as an aftermath of the sit-in protest march on city hall, charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. They were Curtis C. Bryant of McComb, an official of the NAACP, and Cordelle Reagan, of SNCC. Each arrest was made on an affidavit signed by Police Chief George Guy, who said he had information that the two "...were behind some of this racial trouble."

August 30, McComb, Pike County: SNCC workers Brenda Travis, 16, Robert Talbert, 19, and Isaac Lewis, 20, staged a sit-in in the McComb terminal of the Greyhound bus lines. They were arrested on charges of breach of the peace and failure to obey a policeman's order to move on. They spent 30 days in jail.

September 5, Liberty, Amite County: Travis Britt, SNCC registration worker, was attacked and beaten by whites on the courthouse lawn. Britt was accompanied at the time by Robert Moses. Britt said one man hit him more than 20 times. The attackers drove away in a truck.

September 7, Tylertown, Walthall County: John Hardy, SNCC registration worker, took two Negroes to the county courthouse to register. The registrar told them he "...wasn't registering voters" that day. When the three turned to leave, Registrar John Q. Wood took a pistol from his desk and struck Hardy over the head from behind. Hardy was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

September 13, Jackson, Hinds County: Fifteen Episcopal ministers (among them three Negroes) were arrested for asking to be served

at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal. They were charged with inviting a breach of the peace. They were found not guilty of the charge on May 21, 1962, by County Judge Russell Moore.

September 25, Liberty, Amite County: Herbert Lee, a Negro who had been active in voter registration, was shot and killed by white state representative E. H. Hurst in downtown Liberty. No prosecution was undertaken, the authorities explaining that the representative had shot in self-defense.

October 4, McComb, Pike County: The five students who were arrested as a result of the August 29 sit-in in McComb returned to school, but were refused admittance. At that, 116 students walked out and paraded downtown to the city hall in protest. Police arrested the entire crowd, but later released all but 19, all of whom were 18 years old or older. They were charged with breach of the peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors and allowed to go free on bail totalling $3,700. At the trial on October 31, Judge Brumfield, finding the students guilty, and sentencing each to a $500 fine and six months in jail, said: "Some of you are local residents, some of you are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators, you will be like sheep and be slaughtered."

October 5, McComb, Pike County: Charles Sherrod was arrested on the street, thrown into a police car, and charged with resisting arrest. Cordelle Reagan was also arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Both were field workers for SNCC.

October 11, McComb, Pike County: Paul Potter of Philadelphia, a vice president of the National Student Association and Tom Hayden of Atlanta, both white, were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an anti-segregation march. When the two slowed their car for a traffic light, a heavy-set white man opened the door and dragged the driver out and hit him several times. He then walked around to the other side of the car, opened the door and knocked the second man to the street. The incident occurred in the business

section of the city.

October 13, McComb, Pike County: Police Officer B. F. Elmore shot and killed a Negro motorist. Police Chief George Guy said that Elmore said he had stopped Eli Brumfield at 4 a.m. for speeding. Brumfield allegedly jumped from his car with a pocket knife in his hand and attacked Elmore. A coroner's jury ruled Elmore fired in self-defense.

October 22, Jackson, Hinds County: Dion Diamond, a SNCC worker, was arrested for "running a stop sign" after being followed all day. In court the next day, the arresting officer told the judge, "He is a Freedom Rider. Throw the book at him." Diamond was refused legal counsel and fined $168.

November 9, McComb, Pike County: Jerome Smith, 22, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) field man, and four companions, Dorothy Smith, 18, Alice Thompson, 22, Thomas Valentine, 23, and George Raymond, 18, were attacked by a mob of 30 to 40 whites when they sought service at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal in McComb. Smith, who suffered head injuries when he was slugged with brass knuckles during the attack, said FBI agents were present at the time of the attack, but did "nothing but take notes" while the mob kicked and beat his companions. The victims were rescued from the mob by a Negro truck driver and Negro cab drivers.

November 10, Jackson, Hinds County: Jessie Divens, twelve-year-old, was arrested for refusing to move to the rear of a city bus. Judge Carl Guernsey released the girl to the custody of the Rev. G. R. Horton, chaplain at Campbell College where she attended classes. Judge Guernsey continued the case until November 17, "with the understanding that the Rev. Mr. Horton and the child come back with a workable plan which would cause the child's mind to be concerned with education rather than social reformation."

November 18, McComb, Pike County: Persons unknown fired a shotgun blast into the bedroom of Dion Diamond and John Hardy at 702 Wall Street. Investigating officer Frank Williams found shotgun pellets embedded in the window frame.

December 1, McComb, Pike County: Four white men attacked three

newsmen on the street, sending one crashing into a plate glass window of a store. The newsmen were Tom Uhrborck and Don Underwood, Life Magazine, and Simmons Fentress, Time Magazine.

December 2, McComb, Pike County: Police broke up an attempt by white attackers to drag three Freedom Riders from an automobile at the Greyhound bus terminal. Four men kicked at the locked car and beat upon the windows in an attempt to reach the young Negroes and their driver, Thomas Gaither, field secretary of CORE. The police, who were standing by when the riders arrived aboard a bus from Jackson, pulled the men away from the car, but made no arrests.

December 26, Jackson, Hinds County: Rafford Johnson, Negro, was severely beaten by two law officers after being involved in a minor collision with a car driven by a white woman. Johnson underwent surgery for skull injuries.

1962

February 6, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Miss Bessie Turner, 19, a Negro, was walking with a young man down a Clarksdale street when Clarksdale police officers stopped them and accused Miss Turner of having been involved in a theft. Miss Turner said the officers took her to the jail, forced her to unclothe and to lie on her back. She said one of the policemen then beat her between the legs with his belt. A few minutes later, Miss Turner said, the other officer beat her across her naked breasts. Miss Turner filed federal charges against the officers.

March 15, 1962, Shelby, Bolivar County: Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker. Henry stated that the charges were a complete fabrication, and presented an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. The conviction has been appealed. When he later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, Henry was sued by the two for defamation. A Mississippi white jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief, $15,000.

April 12, 1962, Taylorsville, Smith County: Corporal Roman Ducksworth, Jr., U. S. Army, a Negro, was shot and killed by policeman Bill Kelly when, according to an NAACP news release, Duckworth "insisted on his right to sit where he chose on an interstate bus." Policeman Kelly claimed that Ducksworth was drunk and started

fighting. No charges were brought against Kelly. Ducksworth was enroute from Camp Ritchie, Maryland, to see his wife who was ill in a Laurel, Mississippi, hospital.

April, 1962, Lucedale, George County: Mrs. Ernestine Denham Talbert, who lives in George County but teaches in Green County, was notified by the Green County School Board that her teaching contract would not be renewed. Mrs. Talbert had tried in January to register to vote but had been refused.

May 17, 1962, Rankin County: The Negro editor of the Mississippi Free Press said he and a companion were beaten by Rankin County officers and a highway patrolman. Lawrence Hudson, Jr., of Jackson, said the beating occurred after he was stopped enroute from Jackson to Forest to check on a rumor that a Negro man had been killed by a white man. He was jailed, refused permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges and fined $151.

June 21, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: A white lawyer from Jackson and four college students were jailed in Clarksdale for 20 hours without outside communication. One of the students was a Negro. William Higgs, the lawyer, and the students were jailed on a Sunday night by county officers and were released the following day, without charges being filed against them.

July 5, 1962, Jackson, Hinds County: Jesse Harris, 20, and Luvaghn Brown, 17, SNCC workers, charged that they were beaten and threatened with death while serving a 30-day sentence in the county jail for contempt of court. The young Negroes had refused to move from

a court bench customarily occupied by whites while they were attending the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel. The young men said that, in the courthouse elevator, a deputy sheriff called Harris "a damned nigger" and beat him about the head with his fist. At the county farm, they were singled out as Freedom Riders and wore striped uniforms. Both were beaten by guards. Harris was beaten by a guard named "Keith" while other prisoners held him. "Keith" beat him across the back with a length of hose threatening, "Nigger, I'll kill you!"

August 16, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block, 23, SNCC field secretary, said three white men accosted him in a parking lot and "started beating me with their fists." He said they threatened him and then beat him for about five minutes. "There is no use reporting it to local authorities," he said.

August 17, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: SNCC workers Samuel Block, Luvaghn Brown, and Lawrence Guyot were forced to flee from the second story window of their voter registration office. They said armed white men invaded the premises intent upon doing them harm.

August 17, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Mayor Charles Durrough asked Mr. Lenard Davis, a Negro employed by the city, what he knew about the registration school being conducted at a Negro church. Mr. Davis replied that he didn't know anything at all about the school, and did not attend any of the classes. The mayor then told him that he, the mayor, knew what kind of school they were having.

The mayor said he knew it [presumably civil rights for the Negro] was coming, but he wasn't going to allow it to be forced on them. The mayor said that anyone attending the school would be given a one-way ticket out of town, and if that wouldn't do it, they would use whatever they had available. (See entry below for September 3, 1962.)

August, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Welton McSwine, Jr., 14-year-old Negro, was arrested by police after a white woman's house had been broken into. When police got the youth to the station, an officer said: "All right, nigger, you know why you are here, and we want to know who broke into that white woman's house." McSwine told them he knew nothing of the incident, saying that he spent all his time in the cotton field, and suggesting that his mother could corroborate this. McSwine said officers then took him to a cell and beat him, first hitting him in the head with a blackjack; then one of the policemen beat him in the face with his fist while another hit him in the stomach with his club; then the officers made him lie naked on the floor on his side while they beat him with a whip. McSwine was released after intercession of his father's white employer.

August 21, 1962, Liberty, Amite County: Sam Wells and Tommy Weathersby went to the courthouse to register. While they were waiting to get into the registrar's office, they stood on the front porch of the courthouse. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones told them, "Get your - - - - off the front porch, and don't come back on." Weathersby and Wells got off the porch. A few moments later, rain began,

and the two wanted to take shelter in the courthouse, but Deputy Sheriff Jones would not permit it.

August 21, Liberty, Amite County: Dewey Greene, Jr., Mississippi Free Press reporter, was taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. An unidentified young man working in the office down the hall from the registrar's office snatched Greene's camera away, and refused to return it. Greene was told to leave town by three white men, one of whom was flourishing a length of lead pipe. He left.

August 29, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Seven Negroes were arrested after attending a voter registration meeting. David Dennis, CORE field secretary, was charged with "failure to yield right-of-way" after a police officer had forced him to submit to a long harangue of threats and abuse. Samuel Block, John Hodges, J. L. Harris, Richard T. Gray, and Albert Garrer, SNCC field workers, and Dewey Greene, Jr., reporter for the Mississippi Free Press, were forced by Clarksdale police to alight from their car, and were charged with loitering in violation of the city curfew.

August 30, 1962, Indianola, Sunflower County: SNCC workers C. R. McLauren, Albert Garner, J. O. Hodges, Samuel Block, and Robert Moses were arrested by Indianola police on a charge of distributing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community. Lafayette Surney, 17, another SNCC worker, was arrested and then released to Rev. James Bevel, of the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

August 31, Indianola, Sunflower County: During the trial of Samuel Block on charges of distributing literature without a permit, the Municipal Judge informed Block that he could cross-examine the arresting officer. Block asked the officer, "Did you actually see me hand out a leaflet?" The judge turned to the officer and said, "He can ask you anything he wants to, but you don't have to answer." The judge told Lafayette Surney if he was caught in Indianola "agitating" again, he would be sent to the penal farm.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Because of registration activity, two Negro-owned dry cleaning establishments were closed (allegedly for violating city ordinances).

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Lenard Davis, 49, sanitation department worker, was told by Mayor Charles M. Durrough, "We're going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school." (He referred to a registration school conducted by SNCC workers in Ruleville.)

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Fred Hicks, 40, who drove field workers to the plantations, was told he could no longer use a bus without a commercial license. Hicks said the bus owner told him that, because Hicks' mother had registered to vote: "We gonna see how tight we can make it - gonna make it just as tight as we can. Gonna be rougher and rougher than you think it is."

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Moses and Amzie Moore, a local Negro leader, were walking down the street. A white man in a pickup truck drew up alongside and asked if they were the

to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

October 29, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Charles McLaurin, SNCC registration worker, was stopped by police as he was taking a group home from the courthouse. The group had tried to register to vote. The officer asked to see McLaurin's driver's license. McLaurin showed it. The officer asked McLaurin what he was doing there. McLaurin told him he worked in voter registration. Then, accompanied by obscene remarks, the officer said, "Nigger, do you know the way out of town? McLaurin replied, "Yes." The officer said, with more obscenity, "Nigger! Can't you say 'yes, sir?'" The officer's partner asked the officer what charge should be put on the tickets. The officer said, "Charge the - - - - $26 on both charges." "Nigger, you got $52?" McLaurin replied, "No." The officer said, "Then you're going to jail." At the jail, McLaurin learned that the officer was Clarksdale Police Chief Ben Collins. McLaurin was in jail a few minutes when his companions posted bond for him in the amount of $103. They decided to forfeit bond rather than run the risk of a higher fine or incur the legal expense of an appeal.

October 31, Jackson, Hinds County: Thomas E. Johnson, a white minister, and a member of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, saw a group of neighbors dumping garbage on his lawn. Johnson had just returned from taking his car to a safe place because of threats by neighbors to damage it. Johnson sought a peace bond against the man whom he had observed leading the garbage-dumping

operations of his neighbors. The man presented eleven witnesses who swore that he had been in their presence at all times on the evening in question. The Justice of the Peace accepted their testimony and refused the bond. Then the Hinds County Grand Jury indicted Johnson and his wife on perjury charges, because of their testimony at the peace bond hearing.

November 6, 1962, Greenville, Washington County: Two WAF's and two airmen (all white) from the Greenville Air Force Base were fined $55 and given 30-day suspended sentences on charges of creating a disturbance by entering a restaurant and seeking service with two Negro voter registration workers.

December 26, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, students from Detroit, brought a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for distribution to the Delta's needy families who had been cut off from federal surplus commodities. (The medicines had been donated by a physician in Louisville, and were consigned to Aaron Henry, a licensed pharmacist.) They were arrested by Clarksdale police and held for "investigation." After police searched the truck on December 27, and found what they described as "a drug used to ease the pain of middle-aged women," Donaldson and Taylor were charged with possession of narcotics and bond was set at $15,000. Bond was later reduced to $1,500.

1963

January 17, Canton, Madison County: The castrated and mutilated body of Sylvester Maxwell, 24-year-old Negro, was found by his brother-in-law less than 500 yards from the home of a white family. Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medger Evers termed the slaying a "probable lynching."

February 2, Greenwood, Leflore County: Willie Peacock, SNCC registration worker, complained to the Justice Department that officials had refused to register him on two occasions, and had rejected his poll tax payment for this year.

February 20, Greenwood, Leflore County: Four Negro businesses on the same street as the SNCC voter registration office were burned to the ground. Mrs. Nancy Brand, a worker in the SNCC office, reported an anonymous telephone call in which a man's voice asked her if she ever came to the office. When she said yes, the voice said, "You won't be going down there anymore, that's been taken care of." The burned businesses were Jackson's Garage, George's Cafe, Porter's Pressing Shop, and the Esquire Club. The pressing shop is next door to the SNCC office, and SNCC workers believed the businesses were burned by mistake. Sam Block, SNCC Field Secretary, was arrested two days later for suggesting there was some connection between the burnings and the registration efforts of SNCC. He was charged with circulating statements calculated to create a breach of the peace.

February 28, Greenwood, Leflore County: Three registration workers were attacked with gunfire on U.S. Highway 82 just outside Greenwood. The shots were fired from a 1962 white Buick. The car in which the workers were riding was punctured by eleven bullets. One worker, James Travis of SNCC, was wounded in the neck and shoulder.

March 4, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: The show windows in the Fourth Street Drug Store were smashed, as they have been several times in the past. The proprietor of the store, Aaron Henry, found the damage when he returned from speaking at a mass meeting in Leflore County in connection with the voter registration drive there.

March 6, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block and three others were fired on from a station wagon which pulled up beside their car as they were parked in front of the SNCC voter registration office. Both front windows were shattered. Police later found the wadding from a shotgun shell buried in the head-liner of Block's car, and several pellets in the wall of the building in front of which the car had been parked.

March 12, Greenwood, Leflore County: A twelve-year-old Negro girl was attacked by an egg-throwing truckload of white teenaged boys. The girl suffered facial bruises.

March 20, 1963, Jackson, Hinds County: Three shots were fired through the windshield of a car belonging to Mrs. Mattie Dennis

while it was parked in front of the home of Mrs. Dennis' cousin, whom she was visiting. Mrs. Dennis is the wife of David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary for Mississippi. Both have been active in voter registration.

March 24, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: Fire destroyed partially the interior of the voter registration office at 115 E. McLaurin St., making the office unusable and necessitating a search for new headquarters. Witnesses said they saw two white men fleeing the scene shortly before the fire was discovered.

March 26, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: A shotgun blast ripped into the home of Dewey Greene, Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to the University of Mississippi. Another of Mr. Greene's sons and a daughter have been active in the Leflore County registration project. Greenwood police said they were investigating.

March 27, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: James Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, Bob Moses, and about ten other registration workers were arrested and taken from a group en route to the courthouse to register after the police dispersed a group of more than 100 Negroes with the use of police dogs.

(30)

February 13, 1964

Mr. George McMillian
Box 299
Aiken, South Carolina

Dear George:

It appears that you've got your fingers in a number of literary pies at the moment -- Danville, FBI, etc.

At any rate, I am enclosing some clips and a New South with an article giving a rundown on southern bombings between January11, 1956 and June 1, 1963. Also enclosed are our synopses of events from June 24 through December 23, 1963, giving any additional bombings. Thirty-five known bombings occurred in 1963.

I think you will find a piece by Jim Wechsler on the FBI's "Failure in the South" of particular interest. I am also enclosing a long piece which appeared in the National Guardian about the FBI. Ordinarily I regard the Guardian as a news sheet as far out to the left as the Jackson Daily News to the right, and just about as reliable. However, the account of ex-FBI agent, Jack Levine is taken from his interview with a New York Radio Station, WBAB, and the piece he wrote for the Nation. As you may recall his exposé created quite a stir, and so far as I know, it has never been effectively refutted by J. Edgar and his boys.

Another enclosure is taken from a recent issue of I. F. Stone's Weekly. While Mr. Stone has some highly controversial opinions, I think he is generally regarded as a reliable, responsible reporter. I believe he has had some other pieces criticizing the FBI in past years, but we don't seem to have them in our files. I would suggest therefore, that you write him directly, and tell him what you are planning to do. I would also suggest that you get a copy of the FBI's Annual Report.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Ltr., G. McMillian
Aiken, S. C.
February 13, 1964

Finally, re the Grimshaw matter, so far as I know, his thesis has never appeared as a book. I don't know his present address but the thesis, one in sociology, was presented to the graduate School of Arts and Sciences' faculty of the University of Pennsylvania in 1959.

I would suggest that you write them to see, a) if they have an extra copy available, and b) if they can give you Grimshaw's present address.

I look forward to reading the latest piece from the prolific pen of Aiken's Lincoln Stephens.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

LWD - Hgi
(pls ret. 23A)

Good

Justice + Violence

April 14, 1964

Mr. Gene Roddenberry
#7198
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Inc.
Culver City, California

Dear Mr. Roddenberry:

For background material on your projected novel and stage play, which is to be an inquiry into the drama of social conflict in the current Negro social revolution, we are mailing you under separate cover some of our publications which may be useful to you.

On a separate sheet, I have, as you requested, made suggestions as to reference material elsewhere.

When you have made a decision as to the locale of your novel-play and have worked out a plot, if you will write us again we can perhaps supply you with more specific and detailed information. We will attempt to answer any questions you may have and for which you cannot find adequate answers in printed materials.

May I add that, although we have our own point of view, we thoroughly approve of the kind of research you are doing and look forward with great interest to the novel and play you plan to write. Our files are always open to persons like yourself, should you wish to come to Atlanta and spend some time going through them. We have newsclips, magazine articles, books, Journals, and we also have files of releases from all the civil rights action groups.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Racial Violence & Law Enforcement
Albany (2)
McMillan reprint from Washington Post
The Freedom Ride
Student Protest: A Recapitulation
Settling A Sit-in (Nashville)

Mailed separately, continued:

Dime Store Demonstrations: Events and Legal Proglems of First Sixty Days, by Daniel H. Pollitt, reprinted from Duke Law Review
Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina
Southern Student Newspaper Reaction to OleMiss Violence
The Oxford Disaster...Price of Defiance
Direct Action in the South: SRC Report
...With Justice for All (ADL Report)
Mississippi: the closed society
64 Acts of Violence (Mississippi)
L-46, At This Very Late Hour (Birmingham)
News Release and L-47, The Question from Jacksonville
SRC releases: July 14, May 26, December 30, 1963
VEP release: 2-12-64

References:

Lewis Killian & Charles Grigg, Racial Crisis in America, Prentice-Hall, Inc. (paperback)
The Nation, 10-5-63, "'Snick'--The Battle-Scarred Youngsters," by Howard Zinn
Look, 5-21-63, "The South's War Against Negro Votes," by John Poppy
N.Y.Times Magazine, 12-15-63, "When a Negro Is on Trial in the South," by Bruce M. Galphin
Harpers, March 1964, "Justice With a Southern Accent," by Louis Lusky
Yale Law Review, Vol. 73, No. 1, November 1963, "Judicial Performance in the Fifth Circuit," by Stephen R. Field

In 1959 we published Violence, Reprisal and Intimidation, but have no more copies except file copies; this report was reproduced in its entirety by the Library of Congress in

Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee on the Judiciary, U. S. Senate, 86th Congress. Part III, Appendix, pp. 1573-1603.

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc.
CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA

April 13, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

At the suggestion of Professor Louis A. Radelet of Michigan State University, I am writing to ask for help in securing background and research material for a projected novel and stage play. As you may know, I have written fairly extensively in the fields of human relations and law enforcement in the past. The particular subject of this project is that of southern law enforcement confronted by the crisis of the current negro social revolution. There is so little reference material in this field, not even fiction, that I am hoping your closeness to the source and your broad professional experience might lead me to published material of value.

Let me make it clear this is a totally serious, professional writer's endeavor, no axes to grind. I intend it to be a detailed inquiry into the highly-personal drama represented by all sides in a social conflict as major and important as this one.

Your kindness in suggesting any references will be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Gene Roddenberry

Gene Roddenberry

GR:va

Social Violence & Law Enforcement
McMillan reprint
Direct Action
Albany (2)
Zinn - articles
L-48

64 Acts of Violence
Student newspaper opinion
Silver: miss
Oxford -

The Nation 10-5-63
"'SNICK' - The Battle-Scarred Youngsters"
by Howard Zinn

Lewis Killian & Charles Grigg
Racial Crisis in America

7198

Look, May 21, 1963
"The South's Negro Voters"
by John Popper

Low Against (SNCC)

NO AGREEMENT OR ORDER WILL BE BINDING ON THIS CORPORATION UNLESS IN WRITING AND SIGNED BY AN OFFICER

Related – The Courts

NY Times Mag. 12-15-63

Bruce M. Galphin, "When a Negro Go on Trial in the South."

Southern Jed. Justice:

Green Shaw, Allen D. – 1960-61 reprint? Dec 1960 Dissertation #61

April 30, 1964

Mr. Gene Roddenberry
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Inc.
Culver City, California

Dear Mr. Roddenberry:

We are pleased that you have found our information helpful and will look forward to having you visit SRC and use our files. If you will let us know a week or so ahead, we will try to have the particular information you wish organized and assembled (at least somewhat) to save you time.

Under separate cover is the additional information on law enforcement and police practices and procedures. I have also included some attitudes and experiences; they are factual and emotional--we do not deal with the factual or emotional kind because we stress accuracy and our reputation is built upon reliability for facts and figures.

I would like to suggest that you write to Mr. C. Herbert Oliver, executive secretary, Inter-Citizens Committee, Box 1443, Birmingham, Ala., and request a set of the committee's reports on police activity and brutality in Alabama. Tell him you write at our suggestion (we have only file copies of the reports). Another source would be Mr. Bruce Galphin, Atlanta Journal, Atlanta, Ga. Mr. Galphin has been interested and has collected a great deal of information. He was formerly a reporter; is now an editorial writer.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
New South: Feb. 1963, Marion King
May 1963, Seven Years of Bomb Terror
Sept. 1961, E. C. Hale article on Lexington, Ky.
March 1964, Strictly Subjective
Oct 1962, Miss.
L-33
The Unequal Badge

1. Bruce galphin
2. C. Herbert Oliver, Exec Sec
Inter Religious Com.
Box 1443 Birmingham
Dead judges
NS - Jacksonville police
NS - Strictly subjective

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc.
CULVER CITY, CALIFORNIA

April 27, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albriht
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albriht:

Thank you for your prompt and detailed reply to my request for information and research material regarding aspects of the current social conflict in the South. I hope to take advantage of your kind offer to visit your organization in Atlanta and make use of the information in your files.

Most helpful at present would be any further information you have or could suggest which specifically deals with law enforcement, particularly practices, procedures, successes and failures of individual police departments, police officers or officials in their highly difficult task of maintaining order in a time of social unrest and conflict. Very little has been written upon this and it occurs to me a possible source may be local or regional publications which are not available to me here. Also of interest would be attitudes and experiences of both black and white groups for and against police technique and practices. Information or writings which may seem more emotional than factual are equally useful since the purpose of my inquiry is for drama, an exploration of how people on all sides think and feel whether their conclusions are logical or not. In my opinion, it is this "human" element which gives meaning and importance to dramatic examinations of questions of universal importance.

Any information or references you can provide on the law enforcement aspect of this, particularly personalized accounts, will be most appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Gene Roddenberry

Gene Roddenberry

Rudwick

dcf

NO AGREEMENT OR ORDER WILL BE BINDING ON THIS CORPORATION UNLESS IN WRITING AND SIGNED BY AN OFFICER

May 20, 1964

Mr. Paul Hathaway
Baltimore News-Post
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear Mr. Hathaway:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to send you some of our publications that concern instances of violence in the South. These have been mailed to you today, special handling, and should arrive within a day after you receive this letter.

Enclosed are photo-copies of several pages from SNCC publication, Mississippi, which updates the "64 Acts of Violence" news release by an additional year. I only copied the pages that begin where our report leaves off.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
L-47 - Jacksonville
64 Acts of Violence
Synopses: I, III, IV
Albany (2)
McMillan report

Enclosed: photo-copies, SNCC Mississippi
pages 14, 15, 17, 18, 19 (p. 16 photo only)

Mailed separately:
Racial Violence & Law Enforcement
New South: Sept. 1961, Hale, Police, Minorities & Mobs"
Oct. 1962, Mississippi
May 1963, "Seven Years of Bomb Terror"
Direct Action in the South
Albany
Duke Law Journal reprint, "Dime Store Demonstrations"
The Unequal Badge
The City Government and Minority Groups, Feb. 1963
L-47, The Question From Jacksonville
The Freedom Ride
The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, Sept. 1961

Additional:
Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study
Children Under Desegregation
Mississippi: the closed society
The Changing Mind of the South: the Exposed Nerve

July 7, 1964

Dr. Robert Shellow, Chief
Adolescent Process Section
National Institute of Mental Health
2340 University Blvd. East
Adelphi, Maryland

Dear Dr. Shellow:

In response to your telephone request, we are mailing you today the publications you requested along with several other things. Although some of them are not primarily concerned with justice and violence, they do contain information which you may wish to note and perhaps abstract.

In addition, I have taken the liberty of adding several other things which I believe may interest you: the reports by Dr. Robert Coles and Dr. James Silver's Mississippi: the Closed Society.

We have two recent reports, the first two of a planned series of five, which concern the process of peaceful settlement of racial protests and the factors which contribute to this. If you would be interested, we will be pleased to mail them to you.

You may wish to look up the following:

Harpers, March 1964, "Justice With A Southern Accent," by Louis Lusky
Yale Law Review, Vol. 73, No. 1, November 1963, "Judicial Performance in the Fifth Circuit," by Stephen R. Field
New York Times Magazine, 12-15-63, "When a Negro Is on Trial in the South," by Bruce M. Galphin.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Memo from **MONTEZ G. ALBRIGHT**

7-7-64

telephone call

Dr. Robt. Shellow, chief
Adolescent Process Section
Natl Inst. of Mental Health
2340 University Blvd. East
Adelphi, Md.

McMillan, RV & LE
Unequal Bridge

anything else, law enforcement
Southern police

Albany

Cales - NS - Miss. Oct 1962
Oct-Nov 1963
Direct Action - Use Sandy

147 Jacksonville
Miss: the Closed Society
Cets, Gov. & Minority Groups

The Freedom Ride
Student Protest: a Recap.
Settling a Sit-in: Nashville

MEMO
FROM MONTEZ C. ALBRIGHT

April 13, 1965

Professor Samuel Southard
Psychology of Religion
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary
2825 Lexington Road
Louisville, Ky. 40206

Dear SProfessor Southard:

I think the most probable source for ListonPope's reference to the role of southern women in the fight against lynching is Southern Women Look At Lynching, published in 1937 and written by Jessie Daniel Ames, the founder of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. This organization came into being in 1930, however, instead of the 20's.

Other possible sources are: Lynchings and What They Mean published by the Southern Commission on the Study of Lynching in 1931 (the Commission also became active in 1930).

For information on lynching before 1930, there are two publications: Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918, published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1919; and The Tragedy of Lynching by Arthur F. Raper, published by University of North Carolina Press in 1931. The Southern Commission pamphlet in the above paragraph was a summary of the findings by Mr. Raper.

We are enclosing copies of two things and hope these will prove to be the source.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
Xerox copies: Southern Women Look at Lynching
Mob Murder in America

The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

2825 LEXINGTON ROAD • LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40206

SAMUEL SOUTHARD
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR
PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

April 8, 1965

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Gentlemen:

Several years ago Professor Liston Pope referred to the role of Southern women in the fight against lynching in the 1920's. He does not have a copy of the source for his information, but believes that it was a pamphlet of the old Interracial Commission. I wonder if you have a copy of this and if you could supply it to me?

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Southard
(md)
Samuel Southard

SS:md

September 20, 1960

Mr. Virgil C. Lott
2305 East 7th Street
Austin, Texas

Dear Mr. Lott:

The latest information which we have on Texas voting is contained in the enclosed report. I believe these are the latest data which anyone has on a racial basis. From the Houston Post I read that total poll tax paid in Texas is expected to equal about three million. If there is anything else we can help you with, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure:
The Negro and the Ballot in the South

Oct. 3, 1960

Mrs. Tilly Leslie Dunbar

Civil rights

The Department of Justice has brought voting suits under the Acts of 1956 and 1960 against the following counties:

Terrell County, Ga.
Macon County, Ala. (both the Macon & Terrell have been once to the Supreme Court)

Fayette County, Tenn. (settled out of court)
Heywood County, Tenn.
Biennville Parish, La.

The Department of Justice has required the production of voting records, under the Act of 1960, in the following counties:

Alabama: Wilcox County, Montgomery County, Sumter,County

Florida: Union County

Georgia: Webster County, Early County, Fayette County, Gwinnett County

Louisiana: East Carroll Parish, Ouachita Parish, East Feliciana Parish

Mississippi: Bolivar County, LeFlore County, Forest County

South Carolina: McCormick County, Clarenden County, Hampton County

The Commission on Civil Rights has held voting hearings in Montgomery, Ala.; New Orleans, La.; and tried to do so in Shreveport, La.

October 28, 1960

Mr. Jay J. Levit
HRT,Jr: JJL:krt
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levit:

As requested by your letter of October 25, we are enclosing such materials as we find in our files relating to the passage of the 1955 amendment to Sec. 244 of the Mississippi Constitution; included are a few items more recent than 1955 which seem to reflect the intention of the legislators and people. You will notice that all of the items are newspaper reports; we seem to have nothing else.

There are two background analyses which you might not find among the standard sources. One is an M. A. thesis at the University of Mississippi, titled Negro Voting in Mississippi, and written in 1955 by James Franklin Barnes; the registration statistics used by Commission on Civil Rights in its Report were drawn primarily from this source. The other is William Buchanan, The Mississippi Electorate, Interdisciplinary Series #1 of the Social Science Research Center of Mississippi State College, January, 1953; it is at least conceivable that Buchanan's conclusions, at page 39, could be part of the legislative history of the 1955 amendment:

> Considering either rates or percentages, a total of 40,000 to 50,000 registered Negroes in the next gubernatorial primary and 50,000 to 60,000 for the next presidential election is a conservative estimate for Mississippi.

I do not, of course, need to tell you that evidence apparently similar to that enclosed here was spurned by the three-judge court in Darby v. Daniel, 3 RRLR 1177, in 1958. The plaintiff's

attorneys seemingly had no evidence to prove intent other than newspaper accounts, but it might still be worthwhile checking on this with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: thermafax copies, newsclips

October 31, 1960

Mr. William Dorfman
C.E.I.R., Inc.
1200 Jefferson Davis Highway
Arlington 2, Va.

Dear Mr. Dorfman:

We are pleased to send you the requested information on the number of registered Negro and white voters in the Southern states:

State	white	Negro	Source
Alabama	828,946	73,272	U.S. News & World Report 3-28-60
Arkansas	517,897	72,604	Poll tax report of State Auditor, Feb., 1960
Florida	1,584,319	163,128	Sec. of State's Report, April, 1960
(plus 15,979 unidentified by race) Total registered 1,765,462			N.Y.Times, 10-16-60
Georgia	1,127,939	158,082	U.S.N.&W.R., 3-25-60
Louisiana	973,443	156,938	ditto
Mississippi	---	22,000	ditto
North Carolina	1,647,703	172,166	N.C. Advisory Committee to C.C.R., April, 1960
South Carolina	480,973	58,122	U.S.N.& W.R., 3-28-60
Tennessee	1,300,000	185,000	ditto & SRC
Texas	2,078,500	226,818	ditto & SRC
Virginia	866,974	100,100	State Board of Elections May, 1960
(plus 11,014 unidentified by race)			

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

Same letter to: Arkansas (State Auditor), Little Rock
Florida (already have)
Georgia, Atlanta
~~Kentucky, Frankfort~~
N. Carolina, Raleigh
S. Carolian, Columbia
Tennessee, Nashville
Mississippi, (why waste stamp?)
Louisiana, Baton Rouge
Virginia, (Sec. State Bd. of Elections) Richmond
Texas, Austin
~~Okla.~~ ?

11 states

November 1, 1960

The Secretary of State
State of Alabama
Montgomery, Alabama

Honorable Sir:

We would like to request a copy for our files of your latest tabulation of white and Negro registered voters.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Voting

file

STATE OF TEXAS
OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF STATE
AUSTIN

ZOLLIE STEAKLEY
SECRETARY OF STATE

November 7, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We regret that we do not have a compilation of figures to send you on the number of white and negro registered voters. Texas has a poll tax requirement, and there are no figures available from this office that would separate the number of white and negro voters who have poll tax receipts and exemption certificates.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

ZOLLIE STEAKLEY
Secretary of State

By: Sybil Dickinson
Sybil Dickinson
Director, Admin. Division

SD/ja

November 28, 1960

Mr. Cornelius P. Cotter
Assistant Staff Director
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cotter:

Thank you for the transcript of the Gatlinburg Conference.

As you requested, we are enclosing a roster of the members of the Southern Regional Council. It is correct as of this date; however, five new members have been nominated and invited to become members. They will not officially become members until after January 1st.

May I make a further request of you. A short while ago we wrote to Mr. Murray Cox, chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee, with a request that we be furnished a copy of the recently prepared report on Negro voting in Mississippi. Mr. Cox replied that he did not have one in his possession. He went on to say: "it is my understanding that the Committee does not wish to release the report to the public at the present time. But I see no reason why the Southern Regional Council should not have a copy. The original report has gone to the Commission on Civil Rights in Washington. You might be able to obtain a copy from that office. Write to Dr. C. P. Cotter, Division of State Advisory Committees, Commission on Civil Rights, Washington 25, D.C." If it is possible, could you send to us a copy of this report.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Voting

January 5, 1961

Mr. James T. McCain
317 West Bartlett Street
Sumter, South Carolina

Dear Mr. McCain:

In reply to your letter of December 19, 1960, directed to Mr. Fleming, we have pulled together the latest information in our files on Negro voter registration, and are enclosing it herewith. As you will see, the state figures are from a variety of sources; some are recent, a few date back to the 1958 Margaret Price study, The Negro and the Ballot in the South.

Unfortunately, at the present we have no factual data on Negro voting behavior in the last election. If anything of importance comes our way in the future, we'll be sure to send you a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

VOTING REGISTRATION FIGURES - 1-1-61

	Registered White Voters	Registered Negro Voters
ALABAMA - 1958:	828,946	73,272

Source: U.S.News & World Report, March 28, 1960, p. 41
Figures are from "U.S. Civil Rights Commission and other sources," USN & WR states.

	Poll Tax sold, white	Poll Tax sold, Negro
ARKANSAS - 1959:	517,897	72,604

Source: Auditor of state

	Registered White Voters	Registered Negro Voters
FLORIDA - April, 1960:	1,584,319	163,128

Note: No racial breakdown available for 15,979 registered voters who are other than registered Democrats or registered Republicans.

Source: Secretary of State

	Registered White Voters	Registered Negro Voters
GEORGIA - 1958:	1,130,385	161,958

Source: All but 4 counties reported by Secretary of State. Reliable estimates or earlier figures for these 4 counties are included in these totals. See The Negro and the Ballot in the South, p. 69.

	Registered White Voters	Registered Negro Voters
LOUISIANA - Oct.1960:	992,586	159,812

Source: Secretary of State

MISSISSIPPI - Oct. 1960: "An unofficial estimate of Negro voter registration in Mississippi, prepared for the civil rights commission, shows 23,801 Negroes on voter lists in 67 of the state's 82 counties.

"No reports were received from the other 15 counties in the state, but the unreporting counties would have no more than 2,000 Negro voters."

--New Orleans Times-Picayune, 10-16-60

	Registered White Voters	Registered Non-white Voters
NORTH CAROLINA, 1958:	1,647,703	172,166

Source: Figures for each county supplied by County Board of Elections at request of N.C. Advisory Committee to U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

SOUTH CAROLINA, May 1958: Registered White Voters 480,793 — Registered Negro Voters 58,122

Source: State Directory

TENNESSEE, 1958: Registered White Voters 1,300,000 — Registered Negro Voters 185,000

Source: U.S. News & World Report, March 28, 1960, p. 41
Figures are from "U.S. Civil Rights Commission and other sources."

TEXAS, 1958: Registered White Voters 2,078,500 — Registered Negro Voters 226,818

Source: U.S. News & World Report, March 28, 1960, p. 41.
Figures from "U.S. Civil Rights Commission and other Sources." Negro voter figure is from SRC's The Negro and the Ballot in the South, 1958

VIRGINIA, April 1960: Registered White Voters 877,883 — Registered Negro Voters 100,100

Source: Estimate from State Board of Elections

February 1, 1961

Mr. Jay J. Levit
Attorney
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levit:

I find that we have nothing very illuminating about the November amendment to the Constitution of Mississippi which requires voters to be of good moral character. For your possible interest I am sending you, enclosed, a few news clips.

Incidentally, I know that the Commission on Civil Rights has been gathering data on voting in Mississippi. Perhaps it would have information of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: thermafax new clips

February 3, 1961

Mr. James R. Wood
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wood:

Mrs. Cotton, of your staff, requested Negro registration and population figures yesterday by telephone. The enclosed data is the latest we have in our files. We hope it will be of use to you.

Sincerely yours,

Marge Manderson
Research assistant

MM:A
Enclosure: statistics on voting and registration

ALABAMA: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 73,272

Source: U.S. News & World Report March 28, 1960

Negro Population, 1957: 1,035,843

ARKANSAS: Poll Tax Sold, Colored, 1959: 72,604

Source: State Auditor

Negro Population, 1950 census: 428,004

FLORIDA: Registered Negro Voters, 1960: Democrats - 150,135
Republicans 12,993
163,128

(and those included in total of 15,979 "others". No racial breakdown given.)

Negro Population, 1958: 844,900

GEORGIA: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 161,958

Source: Secretary of State

Negro Population, 1958: 1,143,000

LOUISIANA: Registered Negro Voters, 1960: 159,812

Source: Secretary of State

Negro Population, 1958: 1,062,433

MISSISSIPPI: Registered Negro Voters, 1960: Est. nearly 25,000

Source: New Orleans Times-Pacayune, 10/16/60

Negro Population, 1956: 962,600

NORTH CAROLINA: Registered Non-white* Voters, 1958: 172,166

Non-white population, 1958: 1,140,535

Source: N.C. Advisory Committee to U.S. Civil Rights Committee

SOUTH CAROLINA: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 58,122

Source: State Directory

Negro population, 1957: 954,117

TENNESSEE: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 185,000

Source: U.S. News & World Report, 3/28/60

Negro population, 1958: 555,802

TEXAS: Registered Negro Voters, 1958: 226,818

Source: U.S. News & World Report, 3/28/60

Negro population, 1956: 1,133,544

VIRGINIA: Registered Negro Voters (estimated), 1960: 100,100

Source: State Board of Elections

Negro population, 1956: 817,281

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* Includes some Indians.

February 9, 1961

Professor James W. Prothro
Department of Political Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Jim:

I am sorry not to have replied sooner, but I hope this may still help. I expect to have some other information next week and shall write again.

May I say first off that I think you are going to have trouble getting people--most of whom will perforce be connected with schools--who will have the time you need from March to June.

In Alabama, you might seek help from Professor James E. Pierce, Political Science, Alabama State College. I am to be in Montgomery February 16 and will make further inquiries.

In Arkansas, Dr. William Phillips, Jr., Sociology, Agricultural, Mechanical, & Normal College, Pine Bluff, has been recommended to me, either as a possible researcher or as an adviser on recruitment; all of your counties are in the Pine Bluff-Little Rock vicinity. I believe Mr. Nat Griswold, Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 1220 West Capitol, Little Rook could also be helpful with names.

Georgia. Dr. Tillman Cothran, Sociology, Atlanta University, suggests that either he or Dr. John Reid, Sociology, AU. or another man in their department might be available, under the right conditions, to do the two counties, or at least Gwinnett.

Louisiana. Dr. Daniel Thompson, Sociology, Dillard University, New Orleans is an able and expesienced researcher.

Mississippi. Professor Ernst Borinski (white), Sociology, Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo is something of an institution. All hands advise that you ought to consult him.

North Carolina. Dr. ? Himes, Sociology, North Carolina College, Durham has been recommended to me. Never overlook the range of information and acquaintances of John Wheeler, Farmers and Mechanics Bank, Durham.

Tennessee. Hickman being just outside Nashville, suggest you write to Dr. John Hope, Race Relations Department, Congregational Christian Churches, Fisk University, Nashville.

Texas. Dr. W. Astor Kirk, Political Science, Houston-Tillotson College, Austin is an impressive guy and widely acquainted in the state; doesn't answer letters promptly.

Virginia. Professor Kenneth Moreland, Sociology, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg probably has a good acquaintance among Negro academic people in western Virginia, and would be a thoroughly reliable adviser.

Will write again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 5, 1961

MEMO: VOTING MATERIALS AVAILABLE

TO: JAM AND RESEARCH STAFF

FROM: JAM

1. Pull together from our own sources a bibliography of voting materials on Negro voting behavior:

   Books

   Periodicals (for what period of time should we have someone draw up list of articles?)

   Journals--go through those we have, lising articles on Negro voting behavior; also check in library such Journals as: American Review of Social Forces, Sociological Journal, etc. Public Opinion Quarterly

2. Draft a kind of outline against which we would pull out crucial materials.

3. When JAM in Chapel Hill, check with Professor Donald Matthews, Department of Political Science, re his study of Negro voting behavior and get suggestions for sources.

   Also, re Chapel Hill:

   Employment

   Voting

   Public Accommodation and Public Facilities

   Legal aspects of desegregation (anyone following Pollitt's line of interest or research?)

   Overview of economic consequences of discrimination, and trend of socio-economic factors:

   South

   North (?)

International Association of Machinists

1300 CONNECTICUT AVE. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

ADAMS 2-6309

Office of the
GENERAL VICE PRESIDENT

January 25, 1962

Miss Jean Levine
Secretary, Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Levine:

Your letter of January 22 was referred to me by the Machinists Non-Partisan Political League.

Glad you like the election calendar. This was developed through correspondence with Secretaries of State and consultation with the experts of the National League of Women Voters and the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

The only discrepancy that has been called to our attention is the Alabama primary, which should read May 1. The April 20 registration deadline is correct.

You, of course, will be able to add the Georgia dates.

Sincerely yours,

Dean Ruth

Dean Ruth
Associate Editor
THE MACHINIST

DR/ep

1-29-62

January 22, 1962

Machinists Non-Partisan Political League
510 Machinists Bldg.
Washington 6, D.C.

Gentlemen:

We have a copy of the 1962 U.S. Election Calendar which was printed in the January 4 issue of The Machinist. This calendar is one which is most useful to us and we are happy to have it.

One question concerning the dates on this calendar: Do you feel we can act upon these dates as they are printed or do you feel that perhaps we should validate them state by state?

We would appreciate hearing from you about this as quickly as possible. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Jean Levine
Secretary
Research Department

March 23, 1962

LD JM

The attached is a tentative prospectus for a research conference on voting. We have tentatively scheduled the conference for a day-and-a-half meeting to be held on April 5 and 6. Financial details and mechanics of lodging, etc., will be worked out.

Shall we proceed with these plans?

A Tentative Prospectus for a Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South

Date: April 5 and 6, 1962

Participants

Invited:	Will Attend	Unable to Attend
Dr. Vivian Henderson Fisk	X	
Dr. Dan Thompson Dillard	X	
Dr. Robert Steamer Louisiana State	X	
~~Prof.~~ Dr. Tinsley Spraggins Virginia Union	X	
Dr. Donald Matthews U. of N.C.	X	
Dr. James Prothro U. of N.C.	X	
Dean Gow llion Tuskegee Institute	X	
Mr. Harry Halloway Univ. of Texas	X	
Mr. Scamman Bureau of Census Washington, D.C.		X
Dr. William Havard Louisiana State		X

Leslie Dunbar
Wiley Branton
George Barrett
James Moss

Alternative participants suggested to us are:

? Prof. I.C. Newton
N. C College, Durham
(Now with the Peace Corps)

ok J. E. Pierce
Alabama State
Did voting research in the 40's and 50's

? John deGrove
U. of Fla. at Gainesville
Has Rockefeller Grant for study of Negro political organizations in selected communities.

LD
cc WB
GB

Manning Dauer
Univ. of Fla.
no Did work on Presidential Preference Primary law.

Sam Cooke
Atlanta University

Doug Price (?)
~~Univ. of Fla.~~ (?) Hugh D. Price Columbia

Donald Strong
yes Univ. of ~~Alabama~~ Tennessee, Knoxville

Kenneth Vines
yes Tulane

Frederic Ogden
no Univ. of Alabama
"Poll Tax in the South"

Lewis M. Killiam
no Florida State

Objectives:

1. Draft a census of recent research in the areas of Negro voter characteristics, registration and participation in the southern region.

2. Locate and identify reliable, documented sources of background data on the Negro voter in the Souhh.

3. Isolate and evaluate available materials on formal and informal restrictive and restraining influences upon the Negro registrant and voter.

4. Assessment of relationships between Negro voting behavior and other socio-economic aspects of Negro life.

5. Review available data on state action with regard to Negro suffrage:

   a. Statistical breakdown of past and present Negro registration and voting within the state.

   b. Influence of population shifts upon the size of both potential and active Negro voters - rural vs. urban, age, education, etc.

   c. Methods used, and social and cultural factors serving to limit and restrict Negro registration and voting.

d. Individual and organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage.

e. A state-by-state evaluation of Negro voting activities covering the two-year period of the project.

6. Discuss the feasibility of projecting future Negro voting behavior from the findings of the two-year project.

7. Discuss the areas in which the project can yield new information on voter characteristics, organization or participation.

Some questions bearing directly on the Voter Education Project:

- Demographically and politically is there any evidence to support an assumption that effective voter registration and/or participation is a function of a particular type of organizational approach or strategy?

- What are the minimum research controls necessary to assure uniformity in reporting and a sound evaluation of the project at its completion?

- What constitutes a sound and feasible publication program for the project?

March 20, 1962

Dr. Vivian Henderson
Department of Economics
and Business Administration
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Viv:

I find only minor recommendations that Iwould make in the proposal that you prepared on voting. It's an excellent statment; but let me continue with the suggested minor changes.

If you would add just one sentence on page one indicating the implications of increased Negro registration and voting for critical areas of racial change in the South this would be helpful. Something like "The increasing trend toward an ever-larger urbanized Negro vote is being viewed both regionally and nationally as a potent force in accelerating racial gains for Negroes."

On page two I think items 3 and 4 can be condensed into one item; substantially saying the same thing in the second sentence of item 3 as you are saying in the whole of item 4.

Page 2 item one under section 2: I would add to this list of characteristics previous voting history. Item 2, under section 2 -- forgive me if I say it this way, but you and I already know at least some of the factors that positively and negatively influence Negro voting (the presence or absence of formal pressures, informal intimidation, presence or absence of Negro political leadership, ignorance of procedures connected with registering - to name only a few). I think it might be better to phrase this question as follows:

"What is the relative influence of such positive and negative factors identified with Negro voting behavior?"

You might add as a sub-question, "What additional factors emerge as deterrents to effective Negro voting?" I would make the same suggestion about question 3 -- and why not cite a few of the techniques known to be involved in motivating Negroes to vote and have the project seek to weigh the relative effectiveness of these and perhaps other techniques?

On Page 3, item 2 - since the focus of the research is voting behavior as measured by potential registration and voting participation, you might add phrase "and voting participation" after "increased voter registration."

Section 3, page 3. If you could cite some of the specific research objectives of previous studies in voting conducted by Fisk, the reader of the proposal would be better able to see how the present project dove-tails with previous research undertaken. Is this possible?

On page 4, second line, I would just stop the sentence after the word "Negroes" and leave out the rest of that sentence. Page 6, line 3, in the phrase "of a supervisory Board of some sort" I would leave out the words "of some sort."

Please do not feel bound to make any of the suggested changes. I think the statement reads well as it is. These changes represent a few personal reactions which may or may not follow in line with your own thinking.

I welcome the opportunity anyway to have an exchange with you and would urge that you send on the projected proposal as quickly as you can. I believe it is now official that the clearance has come from the Internal Revenue Service and that we are now in business.

This brings up, Viv, the proposed research conference. I would love to have from you some proposed dates within the next three weeks for the day-and-a-half conference. We were only waiting for IRS clearance to proceed with scheduling this conference. Thank you, too, for the

names suggested of which I have made note.

What are your reactions to my letter stating the tentative conditions for your carrying out a research project on the economic status of Negroes in the South?

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl

FISK UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
AND BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

3/14/62

Dear Jim:

Enclosed you will find a first draft of a proposal on voter research. I should like for you to react to this draft and give your criticisms and suggestions prior to putting it into shape to be formally submitted to the Council.....I hope this requst does not violate any integrity involved in your position. I feel that the format involved in this first draft might have use in determining what is expected in the project proposals.....particularly that aspect of it pertaining to structure of the project. Thus please note:

1. We have tried to keep an emphasis on research.....we feel strongly that the research possibilities are great.

2. We have included a structure which assures the involvement of community groups in managing the affairs of the project while at the same time assuring professional direction and responsibility at the University level for the project. You will note this on page 5 where the project is vested in a NASHILLE VOTER RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

3. I have no idea as to the amount of funds available or what conception the Council has with regard to size of grants. This proposal request funds for 2 years. The request, of course, can be adjusted.

Please let me have your criticisms as soon as possible.....if the proposal has anyting in it that can be useful to the total project,please feel free to use it.

Here are three names for theconference: Professor I. G. Newton, N. C. College
Durham
Professor Daniel Thompson, Dillard,
Professor ? Spraggins, Virginia Union
Richmond

Sincerely,

Viv

General Proposal

for

RESEARCH ON VOTING AND VOTER REGISTRATION BY NEGROES IN TWENTY ONE ~~SELECTED~~ MIDDLE TENNESSEE COUNTIES

I

The project being proposed is cast against a background of significant change in the general character of the South over the past twenty years, particularly since World War II. Developments accompanying social and economic change have affected the character of southern politics while exerting important influence upon present and future political participation by Negroes in the South and provoking significant change in the role of Negroes in southern politics.

It is unnecessary to present a prolonged definition of change referred to. On the other hand, it is important that four broad developments be identified for the purpose of placing in perspective the research program under proposal.

1. The economy of the South has experienced significant reorientation marked by increased industrial-urban development accompanied by a decline in agriculture as the dominant source of economic activity and way of life.

2. The South has experienced a significant re-distribution of the population marked by increased urbanization of the population. Migrations, including the movement of Negroes from rural to urban areas of the South, appear to have caused a shift in outlook ~~and concern among~~ Negroes from rural agriculture to urban ~~characteristics~~ interests and concerns; meanwhile, this development has reduced significantly the gap between rural and city outlook.

3. There have been significant developments in the social reorganization of the South with improvements in citizenship status and opportunity relative to Negroes. Accompanying this social reorganization is change in the role of Negroes in the politics of the South, both in metropolitian areas and in non-metropolitian areas; thus increased voting potential tends to manifest itself as part of total change.

4. Specifically in the area of political participation the extension of the franchise and enlargement of the southern electorate, the involvement of Negroes as candidates in political elections, and the actual achievement of political offices has had significant impact upon the attitude of Negroes toward political participation both in metropolitan and non-metropolitian areas.

II

THE STUDY AND CENTRAL OBJECTIVES

Against this background of continuous social, economic and political change, several important questions in the area of political participation arise for social scientists interested in the reorganization of the South and the general progress of the Negro, one of the focal points in southern reorganization. (1) What are the characteristics of registered and non-registered Negroes as to age, marital status, education, and residence in relation to attitude toward voting? (2) What factors influence voter registration, both negatively and positively, in metropolitian and non-metropolitian counties? (3) What techniques are involved in successfully motivating Negroes to register and vote? (4) What is the role of "party politics" among Negroes in 1962? (5) What is the role of "ward politics"? (6) What is the potential for "bloc voting" in local and state politics and the role of bloc voting in motivation for voting? (7) What in the impact ~~do~~ issues (e.g. metropolitian government) ~~have~~ upon voting participation? (8) To what extent is citizenship education a factor in political participation?

Emerging from the broad developments ~~in the South~~ cited and questions arising from such developments is the project envisioned by the proposal. In essence it is two-fold:

1. A research inquiry into the status of voter registration and voting by Negroes in Davidson County Tennessee and twenty-one (21) other selected Middle Tennessee Counties; and a research inquiry into trends in voter registration and voting by Negroes in these areas.

2. A program of community organization in cooperation with independent community groups for the purpose of effecting increased voter registration on the part of Negroes in Davidson County and twenty-one other selected Middle Tennessee Counties.

The organizations thus far which have agreed to actively cooperate with the project include the Nashbille Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Community Conference on Employment Opportunity and the Davidson County Independent Political Council. The latter organization is a non-aligned community organization without ties to a political party, organization or individual. (See attached material on the Davidson County Independent Political Council.)

III

FISK UNIVERSITY AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

For many years Fisk University, through its Social Science Department and Social Science Institute, has engaged in studies and projects involving voter registration and political participation by Negroes in Davidson County, Middle Tennessee and in the South. Likewise, for many years, the University, through its Social Science program, has engaged in projects involving community organization, in cooperation with community groups, for the purpose

of effecting increased voter registration, voting and political participation on the part of Negroes as well as problem solving in other areas such as employment, housing, and human relations in general. For example, during the past five years the Department of Social Sciences has sponsored a political education program among Negroes and has given leadership to three successful voter registration drives in the community. The appended material relates to such projects.

These programs have been continuous, resulting not only in an increased political awareness but also they have contributed to increased voter registration and improved community organization relative to voter registration campaigns.

IV

STATEMENT OF GENERAL PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

Pursuit of the program under proposal will require a variety of techniques and approaches in order to obtain reliable data from which conclusions, inferences and generalizations can be drawn in establishing status and trends in voter registration and voting among Negroes. Likewise, a variety of techniques and approaches will be necessary in order to accomplish a program in community organization that will lead to increased voter registration in various localities.

A two year period is envisioned for the project to include the following:

-A-

1. The development of background information from which data can be compiled and certain developments pinpointed which will be of significance to the total project. Current data provided by the 1960 census will be used.

2. Field study involving actual inquiry into voter registration status and voting attitudes will be made. The interview technique will be used.

3. Case studies will be developed on given situations where such may appear to have potential for community action programs in the area of voter registration and voting.

-B-

Two types of demands face the project with regard to working with community groups. (1) The necessity for political education, particularly in the non-metropolitan counties; and (2) the coordination of various projects by community groups in order to effectively implement voter registration research.

1. Political Education Programming.

   a) The conduct of citizenship programs to encourage voter registration and voting including the sponsorship of: neighborhood meeting, including pilot neighborhoods, in various sections of the country, the development of a speaker bureau for ~~[illegible]~~ churches, clubs, and civic groups.

   b) Development of a speaker kit on viting requirements and other matters.

   c) Set aside concentrated periods for political education projects.

   d) Development of citizens ~~[illegible]~~ committee to work in the area of voting.

2. The coordination of community groups is expected to grow out of the structure for the research project as suggested in part V below.

V

STRUCTURE FOR PROJECT

It is clear that the project as envisioned will require effective cooperation between the Social Science Department at Fisk University and the community groups participating in the project. Thus in order to effectively achieve the objectives of research and community coordination it will be necessary to develop a structure which will involve ~~[illegible]~~ representation by University personnel and community groups working with the project. An arrangement will

will be necessary whereby policy making responsibility, authority, and general control over the affairs of the project will be in the hands of a supervisory board (of some sort). A structure along the following lines is envisioned with regard to the suprvision and administration of the project.

1. The creation of a "NASHVILLE INSTITUTE ON VOTER RESEARCH". The Institute will be composed of community organizations participating in the project and the Social Science Department of Fisk.

2. The Institute will have a Board of Managers composed of representatives from each community organization involved and the Social Science Department at Fisk. The Board will have a chairman, vice-~~president~~ chairman, secretary and treasurer and such other offices deemed necessary by the Board of managers.

3. The Social Science Department at Fisk will serve as the research agency and give professional direction to research and community coord nation on ~~these~~ various projects.

4. The Board of Managers will be responsible for managing the program and fiscal affairs of the Institute. The fiscal affairs may be handled through the Comptroller's Office at Fisk or through a local bank.

VI

ESTIMATE OF FINANCIAL NEEDS FOR TWO YEAR STUDY

Though volunteers will be substantially used the following expenses are estimated for the project:

		Total for 2 years
1. Staff: Stenopgraphic, clerialassistance	($3,100 per year)	$ 6,200.00
Research personnel	($ 900 per year)	1,800.00
2. Field Work (Enumeration, etc.....	$5,000 per year)	10,000.00
3. Travel, local and in Middle Tennessee	($2,500 per year)	5,000.00
4. Office and research supplies	($2,500 per year)	5,000.00
5. Office space and upkeep	($1,200 per year)	2,400.00
6. Equipment (file cabinets, etc.)		400.00
7. Communications and mailing	($1,000 per year)	2,000.00
8. Printing	($ 500 per year)	1,000.00
9. TOTAL ESTIMATED NEEDS:	($16,900 per year)	$33,800.00

3/30/62

A Tentative Prospectus for a Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South.

Date: May 1 and May 2
Place: SRC Offices

Invited	Participants: Yes	Participants: No	Waiting for Reply
Dr. Vivian Henderson - Fisk			X
Dr. Dan Thompson - Dillard	X		
Dr. Robert Steamer - Louisiana State	X		
Dr. Hansley Spraggins - Virginia Union			X
Dr. Donald Matthews - Univ. of N.C.	X		
Dr. James Prothro - Univ. of N.C.	X		
Dr. Charles Gomillion - Tuskegee	X		
Mr. Harry Halloway - Univ. of Texas	X		
Mr. Hamman - Census Bureau, Washington		X	
Dr. William Havard - Louisiana State		X	
Dr. J. E. Pierce - Alabama State	X		
Dr. Donald Strong - Univ. of Tenn. (pro tem)	X		
Dr. Kenneth Vines - Tulane	X		
DR. Herman Long		X	
Dr. Tilman Cothran			
DR. B.R. Brazeal			

Leslie Dunbar
Wiley Branton
George Barrett
James Moss

Henderson
Thompson
Steamer
Spraggins
Matthews
Prothro
Pierce

Objectives of Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South.

1. Draft a census of recent research in the areas of Negro voter characteristics, registration and participation in the southern region.

2. Locate and identify reliable, documented sources of background data on the Negro voter in the South.

3/ Isolate and evaluate available materials on formal and informal restrictive and restraining influences upon the Negro registrant and voter.

* 4. Assessment of relationships between Negro voting behavior and other socio-economic aspects of Negro life.

* 5. Review available data on state action with regard to Negro suffrage:

   a. Statistical breakdown of past and present Negro registration and voting within the state.

   b. Influence of population shifts upon the size of both potential and active Negro voters - rural vs. urban, age, education etc.

* c. Methods used, and social and cultural factors serving to limit and restrict Negro registration and voting.

* d. Individual and organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage.

* e. A state-by-state evaluation of Negro voting activities covering the two-year period of the project.

6. Discuss the feasibility of projecting future Negro voting behavior from the findings of the two-year project.

7. Discuss the areas in which the project can yield new information on voter characteristics, organization or participation.

Some questions bearing directly on the Voter Education Project:

* - Demographically and politically is there any evidence to support an assumption that effective voter registration and/or participation is a function of a particular type of organizational approach or strategy?

* - What are the minimum research controls necessary to assure uniformity in reporting and a sound evaluation of the project at its completion?

* - What constitutes a sound and feasible publication program for the project?

*Les suggests unstructured discussions perhaps around these points.

April 2, 1962

Dr. Vivian Henderson
Fisk University
Department of Economics and
Business Administration
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Viv:

I was happy to learn that you feel confident about being back in action about April 10. This reassured me that there is nothing seriously amiss.

About the Voting Research Conference - we have been busy this past week (before your latest letter arrived) phoning and conferring and dovetailing schedules and had pretty much lined up a date for the conference. As it stands at present we have the conference scheduled for about a day and a half on May 1 and May 2, here in Atlanta, probably in the Council offices.

We have been advised of acceptances of the following conferees:

Dr. Dan Thompson - Dillard
Dr. Robert Steamer - Louisiana State
Dr. Tinsley Spraggins - Virginia Union
Dr. Donald Matthews - Univ. of N.C.
Dr. James Prothro - Univ. of N.C.
Dean Charles Gomillion - Tuskegee
Mr. Harry Halloway - Univ. of Texas
Dr. B. Brazeal - Morehouse College
Dr. J. E. Pierce - Alabama State
Dr. Kenneth Vines - Tulane
Dr. Donald Strong - Univ. of Tenn.

We have been unable as yet to get in touch with Dr. Herman Long, but are still trying and have a call in for him now.

Thank you for the names you suggested for the conference.

I do hope these dates will be convenient for you now, and we will be looking forward to hearing from you as soon as it is convenient for you. Good luck on your hospital sojourn.

Sincerely yours,

JAMoss:jl

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
AND BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

March 27, 1962

Mr. James Moss
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jim,

(1) I should like to suggest two additional names for the Conference:

Dr. Herman H. Long -- Fisk University

Dr. George Ragland -- Prairie View College

(2) The first name of Spraggins at Virginia Union is Tinsley.

(3) I should be back in action about April 10th. I understand that Wiley Branton will be in Nashville April 15th to announce the program at our Jackie Robinson rally here. Thus I would suggest an all day meeting at Fisk on April 14th. We could make whatever arrangements you need for the meeting.

Sincerely,

Vivian

mh

B. R. Brazeal - Morehouse
Donald Matthews - U. of N. C.
James Prothro - " "
Robert J. Steamer - La. State
C. G. Gomillion - Tuskegee
J. E. Pierce - Alabama State
Donald Strong - Univ. of Alabama
Kenneth Vines - Univ. of Tenn. (pro tem)
Harry Halloway - Univ. of Texas
Tinsley Spraggins - Virginia Union
Tilman Cothran - Atlanta Univ.
Vivian Henderson - Fisk

April 4, 1962

Dr. Dan Thompson
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Dan:

We are very pleased to know that you will be able to join us in conference on May 1 and May 2. Present plans call for the conference to be held here at the offices of the Southern Regional Council beginning at 10:00 a.m., Tuesday morning, May 1, and terminating at noon on Wednesday, May 2.

The broad objective of the conference is to lay the factual foundation for our Voter Education Project now getting under way. We have made every effort to establish contact with men who have been engaged in recent research on voting activities among Negroes in the South. The success of our efforts is reflected in the acceptance of the following men, who have agreed to share these sessions with us:

Dr. B. R. Brazeal - Morehouse College - Atlanta
Dr. C. G. Gomillion - Tuskegee Institute - Tuskegee
Mr. Harry Halloway - Univ. of Texas - Austin
Dr. Donald Matthews - Univ. of N. C. - Chapel Hill
Dr. J. E. Pierce - Alabama State - Montgomery
Dr. James Prothro - Univ. of N. C. - Chapel Hill
Dr. Tinsley Spraggins - Virginia Union - Richmond
Dr. Robert J. Steamer - Louisiana State - Baton Rouge
Dr. Donald Strong - University of Alabama
Dr. Kenneth Vines - University of Tenn. - Knoxville (pro tem)

You may expect to receive from us some suggested questions that might form the agenda for this meeting.

In order that the funds made available to us be used most directly for the purpose of increasing voter registration in the South we would like to make as little incursion as possible into these funds for the research conference. Therefore, if it is possible for you to have your expenses covered by your academic institution or other resource we would appreciate your utilizing these sources. We are prepared, however, to underwrite the expenses of those who otherwise might not be able to attend because of the financial cost involved.

We would appreciate your confirming your acceptance of our invitation to the conference by so indicating on the enclosed card.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
Enc. 1

Date 4/6/62

I will ✓
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on
May 1 and May 2.

I am ✓
I am not _____
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature B R Brazeal
Morehouse College

April 6, 1962

Dr. Vivian Henderson
Fisk University
Department of Economics and
Business Administration
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Viv:

It was good to hear, through George Barrett, that you are out of the hospital and that you will be able to attend the conference on May 1 and May 2. Present plans call for the conference to be held here at the offices of the Southern Regional Council beginning at 10:00 a.m., Tuesday, May 1, and terminating at noon on Wednesday, May 2.

As you know, the broad objective of the confesence is to lay the factual foundation for the Voter Education Project now getting under way. We have made every effort to establish contact with men who have been engaged in recent research on voting activities among Negroes in the South, including those men whose names you suggested to us. The success of our efforts is reflected in the acceptance of the following men, who have agreed to share these sessions with us:

Dr. B. R. Brazeal - Morehouse College - Atlanta
Dr. C. G. Gomillion - Tuskegee Institute - Tuskegee
Mr. Harry Halloway - Univ. of Texas - Austin
Dr. Donald Matthews - Univ. of N.C. - Chapel Hill
Dr. J. E. Pierce - Alabama State - Montgomery
Dr. James Prothro - Univ. of N.C. - Chapel Hill
Dr. Tinsley Spraggins - Virginia Union - Richmond
Dr. Robert J. Steamer - Louisiana State - Baton Rouge
Dr. Donald Strong - University of Alabama
Dr. Dan Thompson - Dillard University - New Orleans
Dr. Kenneth Vines - Univ. of Tenn. - Knoxville (pro tem)

You may expect to receive from us some suggested questions that might form the agenda for this meeting.

Viv, if your expenses can be covered by your university or other research source, fine. If not, we wouldn't want this to be a problem to you and are prepared to underwrite these expenses.

Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Sincerely yours,

JAMoss:jl

Date April 7, 1962

I will ✓
~~I will not~~ _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 and May 2.

~~I am~~ _____
I am not ✓
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature Lindley L. Spraggins

Date April 9, 1962

I will ✓
I will ~~not~~ _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 and May 2.

I am _____
I am not ✓
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature Daniel C. Thompson
Dillard University

Date April 9/62

~~I will~~ X
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 and May 2.

I am X
I am not _____
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature [illegible]

I look forward to seeing you & Leslie there.

Date April 9, 1962

I will ✓
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 and May 2.

I am ✓
I am not _____
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature Donald J. Strong

Date 4/10/62

I will ✓
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 and May 2.

I am ✓
I am not _____
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature Kenneth N Vines

Date April 11

I will ✓
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 ~~and May 2.~~ Will have to leave on evening of May 1

I am ✓
I am not _____
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature Jim
JAMES W PROTHRO

MEMORANDUM April 11, 1962

To: WBranton
JMoss

From: LWDunbar

I had meant to get you two together this week to discuss the advisory meeting on voting research. Even after I get back to the office on Monday (I hope) I'lll probably not have time to talk: from the 19th on, I'll be in the office only a few hours.

My thoughts will, therefore, have to be in this form. Will you two please get together and settle the plans? As I understand it, Jim needs soon to send to the conferees an agenda.

Here are my suggestions; please don't regard them as more than that.

I might preside at the start, and we might begin by having Wiley describe VEP and say also as much as he feels proper at the time about decisions reached so far and programs under way or definitely planned.

Jim could next explain to them the twin research aims:

(1) to study in more detail the factors inhibiting southern voting

(2) to evaluate effectiveness of organization and field methods employed to increase registration

(If firm by that time, Jim could also describe Ira Kaye's South Carolina project.)

The discussion might then resolve around such points as the following:

(1) Do they have any hypotheses they think should be examined on either of the two aims?

(2) What research now going on should we get next to? (A good place for Matthews or Prothro to describe what they are doing. Also, anyone else who is at work on something now.)

(3) Do they see ways we can be mutually helpful? (e.g., would they like to assign a student or students to working with or watching a program, who would do something for us in exchange?)

(4) Are there likely to be data produced by our program in which they would be interested and would like to have reported to them?

(5) What advice do they have for us regarding VEP's data collecting methods?

I think the conference should be run loosely enough so that we can talk up and down any by-ways which open.

As to the amenities, I think we would find it easiest to leave everyone on their own for lodging, breakfast, and dinner. Lunch we can provide in the office. Peggy says we can all come to the house after dinner for drinks, if that would be a good idea.

Date 2/8/62

I will ✓
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 and May 2.

I am _____
I am not Sure as this writing
able to have my expenses covered by my organization. Likely later

Signature J. B. Turner

Date 4/10/62

I will ✓
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on May 1 and May 2.

I am This doubtful I am looking into it
I am not _____ will write further word
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature Harry Halloway
U. of Texas

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
BATON ROUGE

April 18, 1962

Dr. James A. Moss
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Moss:

I have tried diligently to get L.S.U. to pay all or at least part of the expenses to Atlanta for the Voting Registration Conference; however, at this time of year travel funds seem to have been committed until the beginning of the fiscal year in July--unfortunately.

Since I am leaving the South in the fall, as I indicated to your secretary, I wonder really if I should attend the conference at the expense of the Southern Regional Council. I shall leave the final decision in your hands, but I assure you that I will understand and think that you would be perfectly justified in not paying my expenses under these circumstances. I'll await final word from you.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Steamer

Robert J. Steamer
Associate Professor of Government

RJS/js

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
BATON ROUGE

March 23, 1962

Research Conference Folder

Mr. James A. Moss, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

Thank you for the invitation to attend the voting registration conference in Atlanta on April 5.

I indicated that I would be leaving the South next summer, but since Professor Havard is unable to make the conference, he would like to have a representative of Louisiana State University there. In the event that this meets with your approval, I shall plan to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Steamer

Robert J. Steamer
Associate Professor of Government

RJS/js

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
AUSTIN 12

April 19, 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

Your invitation to attend the conference on voter education in Atlanta on May 1 and 2 is a pleasure to accept. Since notifying you via postcard that University expense money was doubtful, a final answer in the negative has come through. Regular funds are exhausted and National Science Foundation funds don't apply to political science.

My own resources are limited. Although I do have a summer grant to do research on Negro voting in East Texas, it was designed to be a summer long project only and therefore to support my family and do fairly extensive travel in East Texas during that period. Further, the distance from Austin to Atlanta is considerable. This problem of distance is a perennial one for all of us here in traveling out of state to conventions and the like. From your letter and card I got the impression this suggestion is a perfectly legitimate one and certainly would appreciate some help towards defraying the travel expense involved.

The conference itself seems to me a fine idea. The opportunity to meet together with others working in this field is wholly to the good. Registration figures for Texas voters, even in the Civil Rights Reports, are not complete or accurate, so much can be done on this and related matters.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Harry Holloway

Harry Holloway

HH:jp

This letter also sent to the following:

* Mr. Harry Holloway - Univ. of Texas
Dr. Tinsley L. Spraggins = Virginia Union
Dr. James W. Prothro - Univ. of North Carolina
Dr. J. E. Pierce - Alabama State University
Dr. Vivian Henderson - Fisk University
* Dr. Robert Steamer - Louisiana State University
Dr. Kenneth Vines - Tulane
Dr. Daniel C. Thompson - Dillard
Dr. Donald Strong - Univ. of Tenn.
Dr. lDonald Matthews - Univ. of North Carolina
Dr. Charles Gomillion - Tuskegee

* See attached notes

April 25, 1962

Dr. Donald Strong
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Strong:

We are pleased to know that you will be with us for the advisory meeting on voting research on May 1 and 2. We look forward to seeing you then.

Enclosed is a copy of an agenda which is by no means binding, but will serve to give some direction to our discussion and thinking.

We have canvassed some of the hotels and received assurances that integrated facilities are available at the Waluhaje Apartments, 239 W. Lake Ave., N.W. Their rates are $5.15 per night (single) and $10.30 (double and twin). Other rooms are available at the Atlantan Hotel, 111 Luckie St., N.W., at $5.50 (single) and $8.50 (double). The rates at the Dinkler Plaza, 18 Forsyth St., N.W., are $7.00 (single) and $15.00 (double).

Eating facilities on a nonsegregated basis are available at Stouffers Restaurant (Merchandise Mart) and at Paschal Brothers, 830 Hunter St., S.W.

If we can be of any help to you in making lodging arrangements, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc.

Additional notes on other letters

Mr. Harry Holloway:

We are most anxious to have you join us and will be pleased to pay the expenses involved in your coming. JAMoss

Dr. Steamer:

We are most anxious to have you join us. Your experience and knowledge will be a great asset to the conference.

We will be most pleased to pay the expenses involved in your coming. JAMoss

This letter also sent to Dr. Brazeal - Morehouse

April 25, 1962

Dr. Tilman C. Cothran
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Cothran:

We are pleased to know that you will be with us for the advisory meeting on voting research on May 1 and 2. We look forward to seeing you then.

Enclosed is a copy of an agenda which is by no means binding, but will serve to give some direction to our discussion and thinking.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:jl
enc.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Division of the Social Sciences

April 27, 1962

Dr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Moss:

Thank you for your letter of April 25, and for the copy of the agenda of the conference on voting research scheduled for May 1 and 2. It happens that Tuesday, May 1 is Election Day in Alabama, and I shall have to remain here until about 8:30 am (9:30 EST) in order to vote. I shall leave immediately thereafter, but will hardly reach Atlanta before noon on Tuesday, this I regret, but I shall be able to stay over night and participate in the Wednesday session.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman

CGG:mc

Date 4/6/62

I will X
I will not _____
attend the conference at the SRC office on
May 1 and May 2.

I am _____
I am not _____
able to have my expenses covered by my organization.

Signature Tilman C. Cothran

_____

AGENDA

CONFERENCE ON VOTING RESEARCH

May 1 and 2, 1962
Conference Room
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

May 1, 1962

10:00 a.m. The Background of the Voter Education Project
Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

11:00 a.m. Progress Report on the Voter Education Project
Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project

12:00 p.m. Buffet luncheon in SRC offices

1:00 p.m. Informal discussion of the following items:

I. Research in progress bearing upon the objectives of the Voter Education Project which are:

1. To study in detail the factors inhibiting southern voting.

2. To evaluate the effectiveness of organized and field methods employed to increase registration.

II. Hypotheses which might be examined in the light of these Project objectives.

III. Sources for obtaining more accurately and promptly the voting statistics on Negroes and whites in the South.

IV. Ways in which a mutually helpful program of exchange, involving both personnel and data, can be effected between SRC and persons or institutions involved in voting research.

(Subordinate question): Are there some aspects of the Project that lend themselves to the use of your graduate students?

V. Advice to VEP on methods of collecting data.

(more)

May 1 (cont'd)

4:00 p.m. Adjournment
(Les Dunbar invites all who can and want to come to his home after dinner.)

May 2, 1962

9:00 a.m. Continuation of discussions of the previous afternoon.

12:00 p.m. Adjournment

Conferees attending:

George Barrett - Voter Education Project
Wiley Branton - Voter Education Project
Leslie Dunbar - Southern Regional Council
James Moss - Southern Regional Council

B. R. Brazeal - Morehouse College, Atlanta
Tilman Cothran - Atlanta University
Charles Gomillion - Tuskegee Institute
Vivian Henderson - Fisk Univ., Nashville
Harry Holloway - Univ. of Texas, Austin
Donald Matthews - Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
J. E. Pierce - Alabama State, Montgomery
James W. Prothro - Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Tinsley L. Spraggins - Virginia Union, Richmond
Robert Steamer - Louisiana State, Baton Rouge
Donald Strong - Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville (pro tem)
Daniel C. Thompson - Dillard Univ., New Orleans
Kenneth Vines - Tulane Univ., New Orleans

AGENDA

VOTING RESEARCH CONFERENCE
May 1 and 2, 1962

Conference Room
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

May 1, 1962
10:00 a.m.

The Background of the Voter Education Project
Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

11:00 a.m.
Progress Report on the Voter Education Project
Wiley Branton, Director
Voter Education Project

12:00 p.m.
Buffet lunch in SRC offices

1:00 p.m.
Informal discussion of the following ~~proposed~~ items:

I. ~~A description of past and present research.~~ Research in progress bearing upon the ~~major~~ objectives of the Voter Education Project which are:

1. To study in detail the factors inhibiting southern voting.

2. To evaluate the effectivenss of organized and field methods employed to increase registration.

II. ~~An exploration of the~~ Hypotheses which might be examined in the light of these Project objectives.

III. ~~A discussion of the~~ Sources for obtaining more accurately and promptly the voting statistics on Negroes and whites in the South.

IV. ~~An exploration of the~~ Ways in which a mutually helpful program of exchange, involving both ~~the~~ personnel and data, can be effected between SRC and ~~institutions~~ persons or institutions involved in voting research.

(Subordinate question): Are there some aspects of the Project ~~of the program~~ that lend themselves to the use of your graduate students? ~~in research~~

V. Advice to VEP on methods of collecting data. ~~Consideration of efficient procedures for issuing uniform reporting of data from organizations receiving advice and finandial assistance from the Voter Education Project, thereby assuring a reliable evaluation of the project upon its completion.~~

(over)

4:00 p.m.
Adjournment (Rev. Abernathy invited all ~~to his home for~~ who can & want to come to his home after dinner.)

May 2, 1962
10 ~~9:00~~ a.m.
Continu~~ing~~ation of disucssions of the previous afternoon.

12:00 p.m.
Adjournment ~~of the Conference~~

Conferees attending:
George Barrett - Voter Education Project
Wiley Branton - Voter Education Project
Leslie Dunbar - Southern Regional Council
James A. Moss - Southern Regional Council

B. R. Brazeal - Morehouse College, Atlanta
Tilman C. Cothran - Atlanta University
Vivian Henderson - Fisk University, Nashville
Harry Holloway - Univ. of Texas, Austin
Donald Matthews - Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
J. E. Pierce - Alabama State Univ., Montgomery
James W. Prothro - Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Tinsley L. Spraggins - Virginia Union, Richmond
Donald Strong Univ. of Tenn., Knoxville (pro tem)
Daniel C. Thompson - Dillard Univ., New Orleans
Kenneth N. Vines - Tulane Univ., New Orleans

Charles Gomillion - Tuskegee Inst.
Robert Steamer - Louisiana State, Baton Rouge

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
AUSTIN 12

May 31, 1962

James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear James:

Thanks for your letter of the 9th of May. I enjoyed the conference and also found it valuable for my research.

If you happen to get over this way this summer let me know. I shall be in and out of town on my research but we might make connections. In any case I would like to hear from your sometime.

I thought you did a good job of presiding over the conference sessions. But I don't envy you the task of sifting the comment to draw up a manageable and coherent report!

Sincerely,

Harry Holloway

Harry Holloway

HH:jp

File

June 6, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta - 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I discussed with some of my colleagues in the Institute of Social Science Research here at FSU the question that I raised at the Executive Committee meeting concerning a little more careful structuring of the research aspects of the voting project. They tentatively agree with me--getting a biased view, I am sure. Nonetheless, I still feel you might wish to think a little further about the discussion which we had. In our discussion here it was suggested that my point of view is reflected in Merton's The Continuities in Social Research. I confess I have not read Merton's book.

I thought we had a good meeting.

Sincerely,

John A. Griffin
Director

JAG/gp

cc: Mr. Moss

1. No comment.

2. Criteria useful in measuring program effectiveness in voter registration:

   1. The employment of procedures in extending the awareness of Negroes to the responsibilities of citizenship implicit in both the acts of registering and voting.

   2. Disseminating knowledge of the requirements for registering, voting; crucial dates in the election process (when does one register? what are the dates for important scheduled local, state and national elections?, etc.)

   3. A knowledge of how one proceeds to participate in the election process.

   4. (possibly relating the potential Negro vote to the extension of civil rights to minority groups in the South

3. 1. The project staff can assist participating organizations by programatically eliminating duplication of effort in the same geographical area and in the same activities by the organizations through frequent consultations between organizations where such overlapping may occur.

   2. Provide essential background data on the communities where each organization is engaged in stimulating voter activity.

   3. Through an evaluation of techniques proving successful in stimulating voter activity, make available to these organizations these guides to effective action.

4. A. <u>The research undertaken will constitute a study of an evaluation of organizational programs directed toward stimulating Negro voting participation in the South.</u>

   Foci of the research will include the following:

   1. Negro voting behavior in the South spanning the historical period between the Civil War and the present.

   2. Important legal landmarks in the suffrage area with respect to Negroes in the South.

3. An evaluation of restrictive devices used to limit Negro voting behaviour.

4. Some correlation between Negro voting behaviour and other socio-economic aspects of Negro-white relations in the South.

5. An intensive look at state-by-state action with regard to Negro suffrage.

A. Statistical analysis of previous voting by Negroes in the state.

Changes in the population size of Negroes with particular ref4rence to a segment of the population eligible to vote.

A projection of this segment of the population over the next 5 years, 10 years.

B. The number and percentages of Negroes of eligible voting age registered, actively voting.

~~6.~~ C Methods and procedures used to to restrict Negroes from voting.

~~7.~~ D Opposing methods used by Negroes to circumvent voting restrictions.

~~8.~~ E Types and number or organizations active in the voting field, in particular organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage.

6 ~~9.~~ An evaluation of Negro voting activities for the two-year period of the survey.

7 ~~10.~~ A projection from this activity to some estimate of voting behaviour of Negroes in the South.

4. B. Background data will be secured from published material on voting behaviour in the South, newspaper clips, informants in the area under survey, and from the files of organizations participating in the survey.

4. C. There are current plans to publish the findings of the research either in the form of interim reports or in a printed form available for large distribution.

4. D. Southern Regional Council will undertake the actual research and will jointly share the evaluation of the project with the cooperating organizations.

5. No comment

BU every day until it moves

Voting Study Research and Conference

Project a conference to be held at SRC offices after clearance for the project has been received. Conferenc to include:

Academic men engaged in voting research, such men as:

Dan Thompson - Dillard (Professor)
Mathews and Prothro - U. of N.C.
Henderson - Fisk
Steamer and Havard - Louisiana State
Dean Bomilion - Tuskegee
Scamman - Washington Census Bureau
Prof. (?) Spraggins, Virginia Union, Richmond
Prof. I.G. Newton, N.C. College, Durham

The purpose of the conference would be to elicit from them some suggestions as to what our own research dimensions in the voting project should be. What kind so data we might collect that may be of interest to them. What facilities do they have available that would help facilitate researchobjectives of SRC?

Than Jim should draw up a research memo incorporating these thoughts in greater detail and pass on to Les.

1. Explain the nature of the "stringent conditions" you will impose on organizations seeking the support of Project.

2. Describe the policies which you expect to be used to guide the Project in determining what voter registration programs to support.

3. We should be informed as to how the members of Project staff will assist and advise the cooperating organizations.

4. Inasmuch as the Project staff will also plan research and publications, we should be informed as to the nature of the research planned, how it will be conducted, whether the results of the research will be published and, if so, the manner of their publication should be explained. In this connection, it should be made clear as to whether you plan to do the actual research, or whether you will confine your activities to an evaluation of the research performed by others.

5. We should be furnished a list of the organizations, which you contemplate will seek your support in the registration voter programs.

Voting Data as of May 1, 1962

STATE	WHITE VOTING AGE POP.	N-W VOTING AGE POP.	WHITES REG.	N-W REG.
ALA.	1960: 1,353,058 [1]	1960: 481,320	1960: 860,073 1962: 883,732 [2]	1960: 66,009 1962: 68,317 [2]
ARK.	850,643	192,626	517,897 (60.9%)	72,604 (37.7%)
FLA.	2,617,438	183,197	1,819,342 (69.5%)	183,197 (39%)
GA.	1,797,064 [3]	612,910 [3]	1,127,696 [4] 1962: 1,152,707 [5]	165,535 [4] 1962: 175,573 [5]
LA.	1,289,216	514,598	920,289 [6]	152,027 [6]
MISS.	748,266	422,256	—	25,921 [7]
N.C.	2,005,955	550,929	1,861,430 (92.8%)	210,450 (38.2%)
S. C.			W+N total: 550,000 [10]	90,000 [8]
TENN.	1,779,018 [9]	313,873 [11]	930,198 [11]	150,869 [11]
TEXAS	4,884,765 [12]	649,142 [13]	1,973,217 [13]	174,387 [13]
VA.	1,876,167	436,720	866,794 (46.2%)	100,499 (23%)

1 unless otherwise noted, figures obtained from Civil Rights Commission Report on Voting, 1961.
2 B'ham News, 4-22-62. Represents changes of only 40 counties.
3 Atlanta Constitution, 4-9-62.
4 Journal-Constitution, 3-25-62.
5 Atlanta Journal, 4-13-62.
6 Times Picayune, 3-1-62. Represents change in Orleans Parish only.
7 Civil Rights Commission data based on 1955 findings.
8 Geo. McMillan in Wash. Post, 7-23-61.
9 Secretary of State, S.C.
10 Grand total for state.
11 Figures for 63 counties only.
12 Grand total for state
13 Figures for 213 Counties only.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Tyson
Bowman
Hamilton

A Tentative prospectus for a Research Conference on Voting Behavior in the South

Date: April 5th and 6th, 1962

Participants: Henderson, Thompson, ~~Stone~~, Hamilton, Gaudin, Sam Cohen (?), Kellon, Prothro, Matthews, Seamon, ~~Moss~~, Brunter, Barrett, Dunder

1. Objectives:

a. Draft a census of recent research in the area of Negro voter characteristics, registration and participation in the Southern Region.

~~b. To discuss the relevance of recent research for the proposed voter registration project on at least three levels:~~

~~- a state by state description of the~~

~~- need for and availability of demographic data, state by state, on both the potential and registered Negro voter~~

~~- the isolation of factors related to climate favorable to maximum Negro registration~~

(a.) Locate and identify reliable, documented sources of background data on the Negro voter in the South

(b) Draft a census of recent research ~~into the area of Negro voter characteristics, registration and participation in the Southern region~~

(c) Isolate and evaluate, with reference to, found and reported restrictive and restraining influences upon the the Negro registrant and voter

(d) Assessment of relationships between Negro voting behavior and other socio-economic aspects of Negro-

(e) Review available data on state action with regard to Negro suffrage

1) statistical breakdown of past and present Negro registration and voting within the state

2) Influence of population shifts upon the size of both potential and actual negro voters - rural vs urban, age, education, etc.

~~3) The media~~

3.) Methods, ~~procedures~~, social and cultural ~~factors~~ factors serving to limit + restrict Negro registration and voting

4.) Individual and organizational strategies most successful in extending Negro suffrage

5) ~~Gov~~ A state-by-state evaluation of Negro voting activities covering the 2 yr period of the project.

f) Discuss the feasibility of projecting future negro voting behavior from the findings of the 2 yr. project

g) Discuss the areas in which the project can yield new information on voter characteristics, organization or participation

Some Questions Bearing directly on the VEP.

- Demographically and politically is there any evidence to support ~~the hypothesis~~ an assumption that ~~certain~~ effective voter registration and/or participation is a function of a particular type ~~of~~ organizational approach or strategy
- What are the minimum research controls necessary to assure ~~some~~ uniformity in reporting and a sound evaluation of the project at its completion
- What constitutes a sound and feasible publication program for the project?

November 21, 1963

Dr. Alfred A. Weinstein
849 Peachtree Street, NE
Atlanta 8, Georgia

Dear Dr. Weinstein:

A note just to say thanks for the letter to the editor. The thing you say in it, ironically enough, applies to you more than to me or just about anybody I know. But thanks anyhow.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

October 28, 1963.

Letters to the Editors,
Atlanta Journal,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

I read Pat Watters last column and wept a little. Not wet splashy tears. Just a sharp twisty pain the inthe heart followed by a continuous hard ache. I wept for myself because my cup of courage evaporates so easily and I could renew it nightly when I read Pat's column. In the company of the fearful, I become devoured by fear. In the company of the brave I can be brave-occasionally.

We touch the lives of those about us for better or for worse. Pat touched mine for the better and I am grateful. I shall miss him sorely.

Yours sincerely,

Alfred A. Weinstein, M.D.

ALFRED A. WEINSTEIN, M. D.
849 PEACHTREE ST., N. E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

November 21, 1963

Dr. James P. Wesberry
Morningside Baptist Church
1700 Piedmont Avenue, NE
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wesberry:

Thanks you very much for your kind message on my new job.

If I can be of service to you in it, I hope you will call on me.

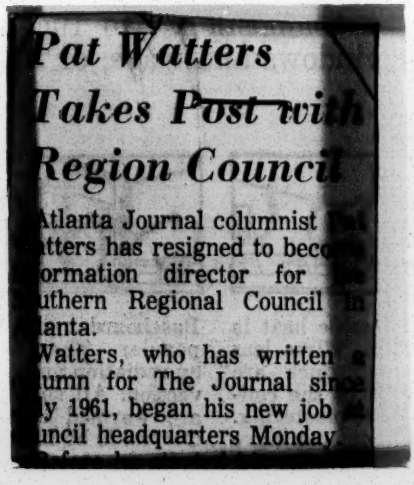
Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

congratulations

... to you



Pat Watters Takes Post with Region Council

Atlanta Journal columnist Pat Watters has resigned to become information director for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Watters, who has written a column for The Journal since July 1961, began his new job at Council headquarters Monday.

from

James P. Wesberry, pastor
Morningside Baptist Church
1700 Piedmont Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

[redacted]

Pat Watters Takes ~~Post~~ with Region Council

Atlanta Journal columnist Pat Watters has resigned to become information director for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Watters, who has written a column for The Journal since July 1961, began his new job at council headquarters Monday.

Before he started his column, Watters was city editor of The Journal for two years, and a staff reporter before that. A native of Spartanburg, S.C., he attended public schools in Albany, Brunswick and Atlanta and received degrees from Emory University and the State University of Iowa.

My prayers and very best wishes — also my deepest appreciation.

Sincerely,

James P. Anthony

October 30, 1963

July 10, 1968

Mr. E. Frank Walls, Jr.
Personnel Director
City of Savannah
10 East Bay Street
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Frank:

It was good to hear from you, and I'm pleased to send you the attached copy of Charlotte, and also our reports on Memphis and Louisville. There will be others in this series, and I'll see to it that you get them.

As to other materials, I'm enclosing a list of past publications. If any of them interest you, let me know. If you want to be put on our mailing list, let me know that, too, and I'll be happy to put you there.

I hope you are enjoying your (relatively) new position as much as I am mine. Savannah is one of my favorite places in Georgia, and the next time I get down there, I'll get in touch with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mp

Enclosures - 4

File corresp

City of Savannah, Georgia

PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT
10 EAST BAY STREET
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

JOSEPH A. BATTLE
PERSONNEL TECHNICIAN

CALVIN E. CROSS
PERSONNEL TECHNICIAN

E. FRANK WALLS, JR.
PERSONNEL DIRECTOR

June 19, 1964

Mr. Pat Waters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

I read about your Charlotte report and would like very much to obtain a copy; also, other reports released by the Council if they are available.

I missed seeing you and hope that you will be down this way sometime soon. If you are, do not fail to come by and see your old reviewer.

Cordially,

E. Frank Walls, Jr.

E. Frank Walls, Jr.
Personnel Director

EFW/mp

MEMBER
Public Personnel Association

File

GSHR
Box 326
Agnes Scott College
Decatur, Georgia 30030

November 14, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

I want to express our deep appreciation for your participation in the GSHR conference on October 31. We are more than grateful for your consenting to lead a workshop at the last minute, and I think the enterprise was quite successful. Although our political discussions were not structured that afternoon, the subject was brought up over and over again throughout the rest of the conference, not only in reference to the election, but also in regard to a number of the points which you brought out in your talk.

If at any time you find a task which a student group can help you with, please do not hesitate to let us know. We are looking forward to a time when we can work with you again.

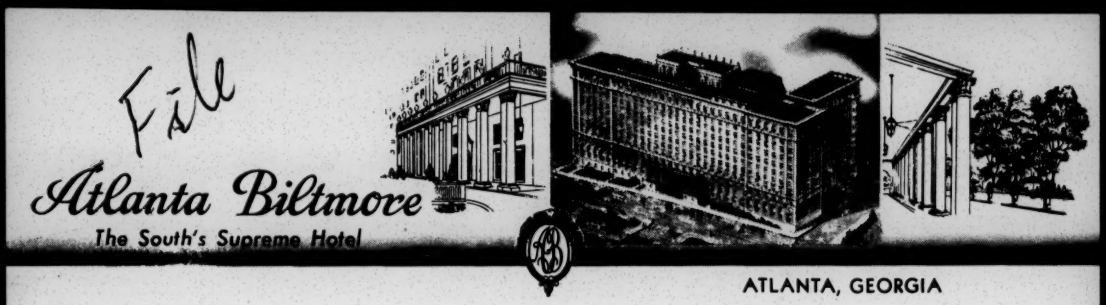
Thank you again. You were a great asset to us.

Sincerely,

Deirdre La Pin

Deirdre La Pin,
Secretary, GSHR

File



ATLANTA, GEORGIA

11-23-64

Pat -

Here is the wire from Dr. Frank Graham that I read you over the phone this morning.

Josephine Wilkins

Telefax WESTERN UNION Telefax

B UDA131 DL PD UD NEW YORK NY 22 744P EST

MISS JOSEPHINE WILKINS

BILTMORE HOTEL ATLA

THANKS FOR MEDIEVAL CHARIOT AND ALL FOR MEMORABLE MEETINGS.
IN LAST LINE OF FIRST RESOLUTION CORRECT SPELLING OF WORD JUDAAIC
AND IN FOURTH LINE OF THIRD RESOLUTION CHANGE RELIGION TO REGION.
SEND COPIES WITHOUT AUTHORSHIP TO RALPH M CHAPEL HILL WEEKLY
AND HARRY GOLDEN. BEST WISHES

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PAV ✓
VJ ✓
MLV ✓

5,000 WATTS AT FABULOUS 540

WDAK

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

December 5, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Since we have never met - I'm not complaining! - first I had better introduce myself. I am the 'affluent Allen Woodall' you referred to in your Special Report on Brunswick - who operates Johnny Reb Radio/WMOG.

Speaking of your Special Report, and speaking for a lot of people in Brunswick, I want to express my appreciation for your invaluable assistance in electing Mr. Reggie Holtzendorf to the City Commission last Tuesday. As you know, Mr. Holtzendorf administered a sound spanking to the hero of your Melodrama - the Reverend Julius Caesar Hope.

Your timing in getting the Special Report off the presses was marvelous. It reached us at exactly the precise moment it was needed. We had no idea -until you told us - that Reverend Hope served his Apprenticeship in Agitation under the man labelled by Edgar Hoover as the most notorious liar in America! We didn't know many other things that you told us about Julius Ceasar - and neither did the people of Brunswick.

You told us, and we told the people. Everyone is deeply grateful. The last chapter in your Special Report was titled "Later". Why don't you come back, write another chapter and call it "Later - Later"?

Sincerely,

RADIO COLUMBUS - BIG JOHNNY REB

Allen M. Woodall

Allen M. Woodall
President

AMW/em

FIRST IN LISTENERS, COVERAGE AND SERVICE

Big Johnny Reb

Rec'd
5/4/65

File

Rec'd

GUY H. WELLS
STATESBORO, GEORGIA

May 3 1965

Dear Dr Dienbar:

I am inclosing some copies of editorials which shows how the Climate is Changing.

I am also inclosing some thoughts of mine on the action you may work over, and use if you think helpful.

Sincerely
Guy H Wells

misc. W

not enclosed

GUY H. WELLS
STATESBORO, GEORGIA

I know some of the sentences and paragraphs should be put together.

File
misc. W

2 June 1965

reply to:
218 E. 18 St.
New York 3, N.Y.

Al Ulmer
Assistant Field Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Al Ulmer,

I am sorry you were not in your office some days ago when I stopped by and visited with Pat Waters. He suggested, however, that I send you material on the Upland Institute.

We are holding places in the first class (beginning in September) for Negro applicants who have had some experience in the civil rights movement. We are prepared to give financial assistance as needed to applicants who are acceptable to the Institute. If you can suggest one or two prospective applicants, you will be of invaluable help to the Institute.

As you travel through the South in your work with young people, I hope you will want to tell them of the Upland Institute and encourage those to apply whom you think would profit from participation in this intensive program to train for non-violent leadership. We shall be glad to furnish you additional copies of the enclosed Bulletin. Please feel free to raise any questions you may have.

Sincerely yours,

George Willoughby

cc: Pat Waters
John Thomas
GW/dbm

P.S. to Pat Waters - Enjoyed meeting you and appreciate your continued interest and assistance. Am enclosing a copy of the Upland Institute Bulletin. Am looking forward to receiving from you the list of human relations councils with which the SRC is in touch.

George Willoughby

G.W.

CROSS REFERENCE

For correspondence from Horace Ward 2/18/66 on capital punishment, see:

GENERAL: Capital Punishment

DR. ALFRED A. WEINSTEIN
849 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

Dear Pat.

Thanks very much for your gracious and perceptive comments on Scalpel's Edge. You are so right. I struggled with it for 15 years and 5 completely different versions in an attempt to beat the material into some coherence and lucidity: — with some success and some apparent failure:

I did want to see it born before I died and I called a halt.

I wish you good fortune on your novel. If I can be of any help — ? book agent ? publisher I would be happy to respond

I've been at hospital & home for 2 months with jaundice (non-infectious). Come visit if you can. I always enjoy you

The best

Alfred Weinstein

Please send the galley to my office

June 26, 1964

Mr. Gerald Walker
The New York Times Magazine
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Gerry:

I just read with interest the letters reaction to the Rev. Robert Collie's piece on staying with the segregationist flock in Mississippi. (I read the piece with equal interest.)

I'd like to propose doing something not in reply to him but on his dilemma as I've observed it in a number of places in the South, and the disastrous effects of the proposition he takes. It can be said in many ways; the most striking perhaps that not by speaking out, such a preacher gives moral sanction (aid and comfort) to the very worst racist manifestation (whatever particular horror it might be) in the town, and he cuts the ground from under anyone who might be inclined to take a moral stand on race. (If the preacher doesn't say it's wrong, by what authority does a newspaperman or insurance salesman?)

This wouldn't be knee-jerk jumping on the guy like the letters, but an attempt at a sympathetic exploration of his problem and position, based on having seen it before and often. I would end, I think, with an interview I've still got the notes on with a preacher down in Albany who was saying during the crisis down there about the same thing Rev. Collie was saying. About six months later, during another crisis, he did speak up, and got kicked out of his church. I would suggest that he served his people better, and feels better.

This wouldn't be as much as an essay as it sounds like; the bulk of it would be citing of particular cases.

The issue of course cuts through to the main paradox of the South -- the ability of good people to indulge in so much evil. I'm most interested in this aspect of The Problem -- I am, in fact, trying to write a novel about it.

Let me know what you think. I would still like to do the piece on King as spokesman for non-violence, if there's any chance, The more I thought about it, the better I liked the idea.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
p

October 29, 1964

Mr. Gerald Walker
Sunday Department
The New York Times
Times Square
New York, New York

Dear Gerry:

I am pleased enough with the attached to want you to read it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
p

Enclosure

May 21, 1965

Dear Gerry:

Since you did express some interest in seeing what came out of the outline you rejected, I am sending along the attached. We are going to print it here, but I thought you might consider possibilities of my adapting some of it, or fixing up a part of it for your magazine. With a little fixing, pp and pp. would hold up by themselves.

We have shown this around to some knowledgeable people, and got favorable response enough to make me feel, as we say, bold enough to offer it like this as something that says more than the considerable amount that is being said about the subject. One of these we showed it to was of SNCC, and he said it was, to him, frighteningly true.

Anyhow, let me know. And of course, the sooner, the better.

Also, I want to ask a favor. We were interested to read in Thomas R. Brooks's "To the East of the Communist Party" that there are some Progressive Labor folks here in Atlanta. Could you put us in touch with Mr. Brooks to find out who these people are, or find out for us and let me know. It would be for our information only.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mpa

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

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TLX PD NEW YORK TIMES JULY 19 1965

PAT WATTERS

TLX246

~~76 PARK LANE NE~~

5 FORSYTH ST 5th FLOOR

ATLANTA GEORGIA

TEL(T)EX

475-1993

GLAD YOU INTERESTED THREETHOUSAND WORD MAGAZINER JOHN DOAR TWOULD BE BASICALLY PICTURE OF HIM ON JOB IN BOGALUSA WHAT HIS JOB ENTAILS WHAT DOES HE DO HOW DOES HE DO IT WHAT ARE TOUTINE PROBLEMS HE FACES WHAT KIND OF MAN IS HE PIECE SHOULD ALSO CONTIAN SOME WASHINGTON BACKGROUND AND DOARS ROUTINE AT HOME OFFICE AND WHATS LIFE LIKE OFF JOB IF YOU NEED HELP GATHERING THIS MATERIAL WELL BE GLAD TO GET MEMOS FOR YOU DELIVERY TEN DAYS

HARVEY SDAPIRO

NYKTIMES MAGAZINE

PLS READ LAST WORDD THIRD LINE ROUTINE RPT ROUTINE

TKSFDF/5:25P

LB-623p

DA

BY PJ 518P EST- 1 REFER TO 2. OFC 522-8764 PJ 530P-

2. LEFT OFC PJ 533P-

1. PJ 533P EST (WC)

WU TELTEX ATL

NYKTIMES NYK

T

September 8, 1965

Dear Gerry:

I sent the contract on "Encounter" to Mrs. Schartle. Assuming it doesn't conflict with any of her plans, you should get it from her within the next day or so. Your interest in this piece of writing has been very encouraging to me. Thanks again.

I queried the Justice Department yesterday about the Doar southern plans. They are supposed to call me back. Every encounter I have with their p.r. operations makes it more difficult to approach the assignment with any kind of enthusiasm or even friendly feelings; however, with Doar, I have had good relations and if something can be arranged this time I will let you know.

I sent 2,000 words out of "Encounter" to Counterpoint. It sure was cutting it thin, but I think it reads all right.

Do you think the Sunday magazine would be interested in a piece on southern justice? Efforts to correct the all-white court systems (including the federal courts), and to do something about the appalling record of no convictions during five years of racist murders and terrorism seems most likely to be the significant new direction of civil rights during the coming year.

I am still not sure exactly when I will be in New York in October, but will be in touch with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

File

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

LDV
PAW
MC Hooray!
(I said ok - credit New South & SRC)

September 6, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

As I told you, I am editing an anthology to be entitled THE BEST AMERICAN MAGAZINE ARTICLES OF THE YEAR for Crown Publishers. It will consist of approximately 20 articles originally published in magazines in the United States during 1965. It will be published in spring, 1966.

I would like to include your article, "Encounter With The Future," in this anthology. My budget allows me to offer you a fee of $50.00 for non-exclusive rights in the United States, Canada, the Republic of the Philippines and the Open Market territory. In the event of securing a paperback reprint sale, I agree to pay you a proportionate share of 25% of the proceeds from such edition up to a maximum additional fee of $50.00.

I agree to print copyright notice and credit line as supplied by you, as follows:

Copyright, c _____

Reprinted by permission of _____

If the above is agreeable to you, please sign the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to me. Payments shall be made on publication.

Sincerely,

Gerald Walker

Gerald Walker

AGREED _____

DATE _____

Sent 10/8/65

GERALD WALKER

Oct. 5, 1965

145 West 86th Street, New York 24, N. Y. ~~SU 7-7074~~ TR-3-2776

Dear Pat:

I believe you said you would send along 2 more copies of Encounter With The Future, with minor corrections, fo r the anthology. I'd appreciate receiving them as soon as possible. Thanks. (Printers' deadlines and all.)

Regards,

Jerry

Rec'd 10/7/65

875-1993

GERALD WALKER

Oct. 7, 1965

145 West 86th Street, New York 24, N. Y. ~~SU 7-7074~~ TR-3-2776

Dear Pat:

I'd appreciate your sending me some bio material about yourself, both for my anthology and for Counterpart. As to the latter, your revisions helped considerably; thanks. There may be some additional (minor) queries, about which I'll be in touch; but I think we're in good shape now. When will you be in NY?

Regards,

Jerry

October 11, 1965

Dear Gerry:

As to biography: Born Spartanburg, South Carolina, raised Georgia; M.A., journalism; former newspaperman, Atlanta, Georgia. Past two years, Director of Information, Southern Regional Council, writing and reporting southern race relations. Previously did so as reporter and daily columnist.

Glad to hear about Counterpart. Do hope I'll get to see proff.

I gather your vacation is over. I don't know now when I'll be in New York. Will let you know.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York, New York

10/18/65

Dear Gerry:

The enclosed is for your information. I still think the situation has changed enough since last year to warrant your looking at it again.

Yours truly,

Enclosure: 1

VIA AIR MAIL

February 15, 1966

Dear Gerry:

The attached, with a few minor corrections, looks fine. My wife, who is the only proofreader in the house, changed all the seasons of the year to lower case. I am something of a reactionary on the issue; I leave it to your good balanced judgment. I also made two minor changes on the biographical material.

Again, thanks for the interest you are taking in this. I am very pleased that it will appear in your book. I think it will have possibly even more relevancy this year than last year. I am holed up writing; needless to say, a book about the implications of Negro participation in democracy in the South involves many of the same questions.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Enclosures - 2.

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

February 9, 1966

Rec'd 2/10/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Here are the galleys of your piece which will be one of twenty selections in my anthology, BEST MAGAZINE ARTICLES: 1966, to be published by Crown in May, 1966. I also enclose a brief biographical note about you which I plan to use.

Would you please look them over? Would you let me know if you see any errors in the bio or have any suggested changes? With regard to the piece itself, I would appreciate your not doing any rewriting, since the aim is to reprint it as it originally appeared; but by all means, let me know about typos and factual errors that may have come to light since the original publication.

Please return the galleys and biographical note with your okay and any suggested changes within a week. Thanks.

I will send you a copy of the book as soon as it is available.

Sincerely,

Gerry

Gerald Walker

Pa
Ret. to JS

March 10, 1966

AIR MAIL

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Gerry:

This is to give permission for the New South issue entitled, "Encounter With The Future" to be reprinted by Crown Publishers in Best Magazine Articles: 1966.

It should be noted that this issue, dated May, 1955, Vol. 20, No. 5, was not then subject to copyright.

I am still holed up writing, but hope to be able to see the light of day very soon now.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

PA
TS

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

March 8, 1966

Rec'd 3/10/66
Air mail Spec. Del.

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I have passed along word to my publishers that, as you told me, New South was not copyrighted at the time your piece appeared. We will, therefore, leave out any copyright reference, of course. We'll just say something like: "Reprinted by permission of New South, magazine of the Southern Regional Council, and SRC,"

If that is agreeable to you, would you please send me a letter to that effect?

And would you also confirm in writing the fact that New South was not then subject to copyright?

May I hear from you on this, please, as quickly as possible?

Sorry to bother you while you're trying to finish a book, but this shouldn't take you long and we absolutely need to hear from you before going further.

Oh, the little details.

Regards,

Gerry

Gerald Walker

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

CPA
~~BA~~
JS

May 25, 1966

Rec'd 5/30/66

Mr. Pat Watters
New South
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

The anthology I edited, BEST MAGAZINE ARTICLES: 1966, will be published by Crown in June. It contains what I consider the 20 most distinguished pieces of 1965 (Table of Contents on enclosed page). This is the first of an annual series and I hope you agree it reflects the broad scope and high level of magazines today.

Now I'm working on next year's anthology (covering the best of 1966), and I'd appreciate your help.

Would you take the time to send me tear-sheets of the most outstanding articles -- light or serious, up to 15,000 words -- your magazine has published during the first half of this year? I'm trying to space my reading and the obtaining of permissions, so would it be possible for you to send me your recommendations by June 15?

I'll write you again in late fall, if I may, to remind you about material published during the second half of 1966.

If there is anything you want to discuss, please call me (556-1746) at The New York Times Magazine.

Sincerely,

Gerry

Gerald Walker

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

BEST MAGAZINE ARTICLES: 1966

Table of Contents

A Critique of the Warren Report, Dwight Macdonald, Esquire

The Strange Fish and Stranger Times of Dr. Herbert R. Axelrod, Robert H. Boyle, Sports Illustrated

This Quiet Dust, William Styron, Harper's

Encounter With the Future, Pat Watters, New South

The World of Needle Park, James Mills, Life

How Doctors Use Patients as Guinea Pigs, William Barry Furlong, Good Housekeeping

Water Shortage is a Frame of Mind, William Bowen, Fortune

The Plot to Drown Alaska, Paul Brooks, Atlantic

Ramito! Jibaro Hero, Tom Wolfe, New York

A Sense of Where You Are, John McPhee, New Yorker

The Night the Mountain Fell, Gordon Gaskill, Reader's Digest

The Taste of Life in Hiroshima Now, A. M. Rosenthal, New York Times Magazine

The Last Return, Elie Wiesel, Commentary

Has Anybody Here Seen Kelly?, Lewis H. Lapham, Saturday Evening Post

Attitude and Pupil Size, Eckhard H. Hess, Scientific American

The Feminine Mistaque, Art Buchwald, Ladies' Home Journal

The Final Troubled Hours of Adlai Stevenson, Eric Sevareid, Look

The Future as a Way of Life, Alvin Toffler, Horizon

Vietnam Blitz, Bernard B. Fall, New Republic

How Keynes Came to America, John Kenneth Galbraith, New York Times Book Review

[Narrowing the choice down to 20 was not easy, so there is a supplementary Honor Roll listing 50 other outstanding pieces published during 1965]

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK N Y 10036

File

October 15, 1965

Dear Pat:

In view of the difficulties you have been running into with John Doar, we have decided to lay that project aside for now. We hope to come back to you soon with something more workable.

Regards,

Jerry

Gerald Walker

GW:js

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

October 31, 1966

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York, New York

Dear Gerry:

Enclosed is our summer issue with your attention invited to pieces by Paul Good, Jerrilyn McGhee, and K. U. Smith. Will send you the winter issue, hopefully, before December 1.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl.

Janet

What did we send him?

Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

October 28, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
New South
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Pat:

I'm going into the final stage of editing BEST MAGAZINE ARTICLES: 1967, which (as the reviewers keep reminding me) consists of the best pieces originally published in U. S. magazines during calendar year 1966.

As I did for the first half of 1966, I'd like now to invite you to send me tear-sheets of the most outstanding articles your magazine has published during the second half of this year. These can be light or serious, of whatever length (from, say, 1000 words to 20,000 words, or more), and they must be by-lined, of course. I am, however, excluding book excerpts published as articles; and straight literary or art criticism is ruled out as well, although I do plan to use examples of this form which broaden out into an essay of interest to the general reader.

Since I'm trying to space my reading and the obtaining of permissions, would it be possible for you to send me your recommendations by December 1? Earlier, if possible; or as soon thereafter as your publication schedule permits.

If, on second thought, you think of any good pieces from the first half of 1966 which you did not send, I would appreciate seeing those as well.

If you wish to discuss anything, you can call me (556-1746) at The New York Times Magazine.

Sincerely,

Gerry

Gerald Walker

August 9, 1966

Mr. Gerald Walker
145 West 86th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Gerry:

I hope it is not too late to submit the enclosed two articles from NEW SOUTH for consideration for your second edition. Unlike my thing, these are copyrighted.

As I've said, I was honored to be in the distinguished company of the first. What you wrote about the importance of the magazine article was interesting; I'm not sure I would agree all the way. There is so much that gets in the way of telling it like it is.

We are putting the finishing touches on the voter book before submitting it to the printer. If all goes well, it will be out next spring. I think I'm almost at the end of the road, too, on my novel.

Let us hear from you.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

P. S. I decided to send the two issues of the magazine, figuring since you don't have much else reading to do, you might want to browse through the rest. The articles marked (Campbell on black anger and Harding on redemptive love) are the ones we would recommend for your anthology. Both writers, incidentally, are Negro.

File

July 1, 1964

MEMO TO: Les Dunbar

FROM: Nat Welch

We all get a bit tired of reading every day in the newspapers about demonstrations in St. Augustine and Philadelphia, Miss. We readers need some success stories to go with the other. The Horatio Alger success story is a proven reader interest formula.

May I suggest you talk with Pat Watters on what can be done in this direction? Here are some of my quick ideas:

1. The Progressive Farmer has become a great magazine primarily on success stories of individual farmers. This magazine has a circulation of 1,400,000 in the Southern Region. I don't recall ever having read a story of a successful Negro farmer in this magazine. The key man to contact is Alex Nunn, Executive Editor, in Birmingham.

2. Business men success stories. I comment on this in the attached letter.

3. Success stories of great teachers, community leaders, doctors, dentists, and engineers would make good reading. Dr. Charles Cassin of Huntsville has a thriving bi-racial dental practice. He and his attractive wife would make a good human interest photograph.

Pat might work along these lines:

1. Planting these ideas with several key metropolitan dailies.

2. The AP could do a series of Negro success stories for Southern Regional uses.

3. The national magazines - Time, Business Week, Wall Street Journal - already do a good job. Time had an 8-page spread several months ago on successful Negroes in a variety of vocations.

This effort would project the important image of intelligent, able citizens making real contributions in their communities.

NW:kw

Nat

Associated Press Story
Appearing in:
Alabama Journal
Gadsden Times
Huntsville Times

LD
PAV
ML
Return PW

Birmingham News....Second Front Page

Thursday, April 22, 1965

State Group Urges Racial Cooperation

The Alabama Council on Human Relations has urged a mass cooperative movement toward improved racial relations in Alabama by administrative leaders, law enforcement groups and social, civic and professional organizations.

A proposal adopted by the 850-member council calls for "one great month of progress" in racial relations.

Included among steps the council urged to be taken in the next month are:

—Consideration of a revision in voting laws by legislative and administrative leaders.

—That law enforcement agencies be advised by their superiors against abuse and lack of courtesy in enforcing the law.

—That all city and county governments take definite steps to hire qualified Negroes in law enforcement and other community service and to appoint Negroes to positions on governmental boards.

—That churches and religious leaders open their doors and programs to all persons.

—That discrimination in employment be eliminated,

—That community relations groups be formed so that Negroes and whites collaborate on community problems.

HUNTSVILLE, April 22 — "One Great Month of Progress" — during which integration will be pushed — has been called for by the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

The ACHR, in making the appeal, noted that Alabama is "compelled to go the mile of justice under the law," and asked that Alabamians "go the second mile" toward creating better relations between races in the state.

The proposal appeals for simultaneous action on Alabama's racial ills by the state's industrial, business, labor, government, religious and professional leaders and the press and all civic groups.

"ONE GREAT Month of Progress" is based on a nine-point resolution adopted by the executive committee of the ACHR Monday.

In the proposal, the ACHR executive committee said, "The time now seems exceedingly short within which Alabama may greet inevitable change with any grace at all."

the next 30 days:"

1. State, county and municipal "executive officers" remind all law enforcement officers "that officers of the law are the impartial servants of all citizens . . . that abuse of any citizen will not be tolerated."

2. Legislative and administrative leaders to "take cognizance of the urgency of the current situation in Alabama" and act within the next 30 days in response to those complaints about our voting

3. ALL CITY AND county governments "publicly commit themselves to definite plans to employ and-or upgrade minority-group citizens in law enforcement and other community services," including appointment of local Negro leaders such posts as planning, zoning and housing boards.

4. Church groups "declare themselves anew" by supporting the resolution and open their houses of worship "to all."

5. Businessmen, industrial and labor leaders "take steps to eliminate discrimination in the spirit of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, mindful that Title VII takes effect July 2, 1965."

6. Owners of businesses affected by Title VII "meet to arrange simultaneous changes of policy designed to remove discriminatory practices in employment and service."

7. Professional groups, such as chambers of commerce and civic clubs, endorse the resolution and open their organizations to members of minority groups "in order to facilitate inter-group communications."

8. COMMUNITY relations groups be formed "through which Negro and white citizens may work together as peers on community problems; and that such groups seek the guidance of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Department of Commerce."

9. Communications media "begin or continue to facilitate orderly transition in Alabama by means of constructive editorials and thoughtful review and correction of any prejudicial policies."

The resolution concludes by saying, "Our concern is for better human relations. The Alabama Council on Human Relations seeks for all persons that human understanding and sympathy without which any life is blighted indeed, and which lies beyond all that good laws can require.

"CONVINCED THAT Alabama is shortly to be compelled to go the mile of justice under the law, our concern prompts us to offer so ambitious a program and to ask of our fellow citizens thoughtful consideration of it. Let us go the second mile."

ACHR is a voluntary association of Alabamians which seeks to attain, through research, education and persuasion, equal opportunities for all people of Alabama.

The executive committee of the council is composed of Nat Welch, Auburn, president; Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, Birmingham, vice president; Rev. J. C. Wilson, Tuskegee, vice president; Father Brice Joyce, Sheffield, vice president; Mrs. Lois Reeves, Tuskegee Institute, secretary; Mrs. Moreland Smith, Montgomery, treasurer, and Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Herman Long, Talladega; Rev. Powers McLeod, Mobile, and the Rev. J. Edwin Stanfield, Huntsville.

The Rev. Mr. Stanfield is executive director of the 850-member council which maintains headquarters at 2809 Governors Drive SW, Huntsville.

State Council Asks 'Progress Month'

The Alabama Council on Human Relations has called for "one great month of progress" in racial relations in Alabama

According to a statement released Wednesday by the executive director of the organization, J. Edwin Stanfield of Huntsville, the executive committee of the 850 - member council adopted a proposal setting forth its recommendations for improvement of race relations at a meeting Monday.

The association includes in its membership many educators, clergymen, businessmen and professional persons. Its stated goal is to "attain, through research, education and persuasion, equal opportunities for all people of Alabama."

Mrs. Moreland Smith of Montgomery is treasurer of the council.

The proposal prefaces its recommendations by saying that it believes the "great majority of white citizens of Alabama are **now ready to accept and facilitate change but are afraid to advocate it because the climate of opinion is determined by a vociferous minority which makes bold a lunatic and criminal fringe who commit acts of violence and intimidation."**

The council urged that within the next month:

—Legislative and administrative leaders "act within the next 30 days in response to those complaints about our voting laws and the administration thereof which may seem to them, on earnest consideration, to be justified."

—That law enforcement officers in the state be reminded by their superiors that "officers of the law are impartial servants of all citizens under the law, that firm law enforcement is not incompatible with courtesy, and that abuse of any citizen will not be tolerated."

—All city and county governments **commit themselves to definite plans to employ or upgrade "minority-group citizens in law enforcement and other community services" and to appoint qualified Negroes to positions in governmental boards.**

—Churches and religious leaders declare themselves "in support of those laws, governmental policies and social customs which affirm the worth of every person" and "affirm or reaffirm" that churches and church programs are open to all.

— Businessmen, industrialeaders and labor leaders taken steps to eliminate discrimination in employment.

—Community relations groups be formed "through which Negro and white citizens may work together as peers on community problems."

—And, that social, civic and professional organizations and communications media support the council's resolution, or similar proposals.

Montgomery Advertiser
....Front Page, April 22

Pat,
Thanks again for your fine help in preparing this release.
Warm regards,
Nat Welch

Comerth

February 14, 1964

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Machanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

For our files here, and inquiries about our new President. Would you please check the attached biographical sheet for accuracy and to bring it up to date?

I enjoyed seeing you at the annual meeting, and want to take this opportunity to express my personal good feelings about your accepting the presidency of Southern Regional Council, and the beautiful way in which you expressed yourself about it.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters,
Director of Information

PW:lg

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 1, Ga.

Board of Directors - Biographical Data Sheet

Name WHEELER, John Hervey ~~John Hervey Wheeler~~ Address 302 Formosa Avenue Durham, North Carolina

Current Profession and Employment Banking - President

Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C.

Background:

Born: January 1, 1908 - Kittrell College Campus, Kittrell, North Carolina

Education: Public Schools-Atlanta, Georgia
A. B. Degree (Cum Summa Laude) Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia (1929)
L. L. B. Degree-Law School, North Carolina College at Durham (1947)
Holds Doctor of Laws (LLD) Honorary Degree conferred by Shaw University 1954.

Admitted to Law Practice in Courts of North Carolina (1947); U. S. Courts:-
Middle District of N. C. and Circuit Court of Appeals for Fourth Circuit in 1950 and U. S. Supreme Court in 1955.

Employed by Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, N. C. since 1929 --
Has been president of the institution since 1952.

Also employed by North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company as member of its Securities Investment Committee.

Member Board of Directors of following business corporations:

Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham and Raleigh, N. C.
Bankers Fire Insurance Company, Durham, N. C.
Southern Fidelity Mutual Insurance Company, Durham, N. C.
Mutual Savings and Loan Association, Durham, N. C.

Member Boards of Trustees (or Directors) of:

Atlanta University (also Executive Committee)
Morehouse College (Secretary to Board)
Lincoln Hospital, Durham, N. C.
Saint Joseph's AME Church, Durham, N. C.
Stanford L. Warren Public Library, Durham, N. C.
4-H Club Foundation of N. C., Inc. (also president), Greensboro, N. C.
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students, New York, New York
United Fund, Inc., Durham, N. C
Durham Committee on Negro Affairs - Acting Chairman
Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
John Avery Boys Club, Durham, North Carolina
Commission on Race and Housing (Ford Foundation Study)

Has served as:

Member: Budget and Admissions Committee, Durham Community Fund (6 years)
Recreation Commission of City of Durham (2 terms)
Vice President-Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
President-National Negro Bankers Association (2 terms)

32° Mason and Shriner

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

JOHN H. WHEELER
PRESIDENT

February 17, 1964

Miss Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Watters:

As per your request of February 14, you will find enclosed an up to date biographical sheet for Mr. Wheeler.

Sincerely yours,

Vivian Patterson
(Mrs) Vivian Patterson
Secretary to Mr. Wheeler

p
enclosure

John H. Wheeler (right), here greeting customer of biggest Negro bank, calls for Negroes to 'reenter U. S. marketplace'

Wheeler chats with mayor of Durham, R. W. Grabarek (right), Vice-Pres. Everett Hopkins of Duke University (hatless), attorney V. S. Bryant, Jr.

NAMES & FACES

File John Wheeler

Banker with a mission

Successful Negro bank president, firm in pushing for both Negro advancement and North Carolina development, wins an influential role throughout South and in the nation

The Mechanics & Farmers Bank, of which John H. Wheeler (pictures) is president, is located in downtown Durham, N. C., within a block of five competitive banks. When Wheeler walks along the streets downtown, many people nod or greet him with the good will and respect normally accorded to a successful and prominent local businessman.

This would not be especially notable except that Wheeler, 56, is a Negro, born near Durham, who has lived and worked his entire life in the South. And those who greet him today might have seen him in 1960—with an established reputation as bank president—walking in a picket line on behalf of sit-ins launched by Durham Negro students.

Wheeler would not want his career—remarkable by any standards—measured with a racial yardstick. Yet it is in the light of the impassioned and often troubled Negro fight for economic and social improvement that his work holds particular interest today. Though he is not well-known to the public, his contributions both as a businessman and as an influence on affairs affecting Negroes are outstanding.

His range of activities is broad—in private business, as an active lawyer, college trustee, key member of many state and national groups, and behind-the-scenes figure whose advice is sought and heeded. Their wide scope makes him the most influential Negro leader in his state, among the three or four top Negroes in the South, and a man with sub-

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Durham problems get attention of Wheeler and other civic leaders at breakfast meeting of Redevelopment Commission of City of Durham, of which he is member.

stantial weight at the national level.

Pres. Johnson, for example, with whom Wheeler has worked on equal employment, commends the "record of accomplishment" resulting from his combination of "deep dedication to the cause of equal employment with a recognition of the need for effective methods." Johnson saw Wheeler recently during the President's Appalachia tour last week.

Breaking the pattern. What is most remarkable, though, is the way Wheeler cuts across stereotyped patterns. He represents the top level of successful Negro businessmen who, over the years, won secure, if restricted, positions in many Southern communities. His bank, the largest Negro-owned bank in the U. S., is one of a group of three Negro financial institutions holding, together, $100-million in assets.

Such men were long accepted as Negro leaders, and the white community dealt with them on racial matters. The eruption of militant direct action about 1960—sit-ins, boycotts, and street demonstrations—changed things drastically. Many conservative businessmen drew back, branded as "Uncle Toms" and "white man's Negroes," while more combative Negro leaders arose.

Wheeler breaks this pattern at both ends. More cleanly than most Negro spokesmen, he has been able —at least up to the present—to reconcile heavy pressures from his own people to be militant and from whites to go slow.

Willing, as his picketing stint for sit-ins showed, to "test new ground," he has won praise from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., for "unswerving commitment to the cause of freedom and justice." Yet he maintains good working relations with the white community, and has served the state of North Carolina so faithfully that Gov. Terry Sanford commends his "devotion, determination, and skill in important appointments."

All this time—while acting both as a sort of intermediary in the conflict with the confidence of both sides, and as a determined leader of one side—he has worked hard and successfully in his business.

I. Delicate balance

How Wheeler is able to do this appears more clearly in a close-up of his activities in Durham.

In Durham, Wheeler is at the center of Negro action. He is chairman of the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs, the group through which leadership channels its efforts. He is particularly proud of its accomplishments in education, where the group's efforts, he says, have resulted in "more Negro children attending integrated schools than in any other North Carolina city."

This was brought about largely by litigation, in which Wheeler's efforts were somewhat unorthodox for a businessman. While already vice-president of the bank in 1945, he went to law school for four years at night. Soon after graduating, he brought the first integration suit in North Carolina.

How to negotiate. The committee's strength, like that of similar groups, comes largely from its ability to influence Negro voting. Negroes comprise 28% of Durham's registered voters, and that so many are registered is, again, largely because of the committee's efforts. "You can negotiate in an atmosphere of friendliness," says Wheeler, "if you have the votes." He adds: "And if you don't rub people's noses in it."

Friendliness doesn't rule out a strong stand. When Durham Negro students launched sit-ins and picketing against some stores in 1960, Wheeler received calls from whites and from some Negroes, assuming he would help quell the demonstrators. Instead, he drafted a statement of support. Then he went on the picket line one morning to make his position unmistakable.

Wheeler holds profound and unyielding commitments to carrying Negroes along the path of social improvement as fast as possible, often faster than others want to accept. But he seeks to do this with calm reasonableness and clear judgment.

For the state. He also works hard for the state of North Carolina. His most important state activity is serving as treasurer and a director of the North Carolina Fund, a private organization headed by Gov. Sanford and largely financed by the Ford Foundation; it seeks answers to the problems of poverty in the state, without regard to race.

Difficult line. In this dual role, Wheeler has faced pressure and personal risk, both from whites and cautious Negroes. But white leaders know that when he speaks, other Negroes listen. Negroes know that he will not "go along" for the sake of easy acceptance.

At times, the irony of his position is striking. Wheeler recently went with a small group from the North Carolina Fund to 11 towns that had applied for assistance. At many meetings he presided over discussions that included mayors, city managers, other officials, and prominent businessmen. Yet, careful arrangements were necessary to insure that Wheeler could be served meals without incidents. In one strictly segregated town a newspaper reporter, watching Wheeler talk to city officials, observed: "Look at the way he handles those people. And that man couldn't even buy a cup of coffee across the street."

II. The Negro in business

"It can be extremely difficult," is Wheeler's only comment on such things. But he also says: "Some Negro businessmen have never known the thrill of seeing relationships change from a patronizing popularity to mutual understanding and respect."

For this activity, of course, rests solidly on the foundation of Wheeler's business career. His bank, the Mechanics & Farmers, is closely associated with Durham's North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co., largest U. S. Negro-owned business.

Wheeler is also a director of a savings and loan association closely tied to N. C. Mutual. With two Durham offices and branches at Charlotte and Raleigh, Mechanics & Farmers has $12-million deposits. It ranks ahead of Atlanta's Citizens Trust Co. and the Industrial Bank of Washington among Negro-owned banks.

"We're a stone's throw from our white competitors in Durham," Wheeler notes, "but we have many accounts from white businessmen." His bank has accounts from many big North Carolina companies, and deposits of public funds.

Like many bankers, Wheeler takes satisfaction in supporting new and expanding business—particularly Negro enterprises. "Often our support determines whether a Negro business survives or not," he says.

Special problems. But for Wheeler, business pursuits inexorably lead to some hard thinking about the Negro's position in the economy. His analysis runs something like this. For Negroes, the period beginning in the mid-1890s (it was in 1896, for one thing, that the Supreme Court enunciated the "separate but equal" doctrine) brought political disenfranchisement, social separation, and the "removal of the Negro entrepreneur from the marketplace where American citizens are accustomed to bargaining for the goods and services of one another."

This brings special problems; Negro business is confined almost entirely to the low-income segment of the market. Negro bank accounts tend to be smaller, so serving them raises costs. "This means," says Wheeler, "we have to do a little more efficient job of management."

Holding operation. Wheeler sees successful Negro businessmen as conducting a "holding operation of unusual importance"—important because of growing Negro economic strength. In 1963, he points out, 14 Negro banks had total resources over $75-million, 53 life insurance companies had $335-million, 32 savings and loan associations $350-million.

Negroes are now ready, Wheeler feels, for the payoff of this holding operation. Negro businessmen, he says, must help the Negro "reenter the marketplace through pressure for maintenance of a free and open society by every means at our disposal, including some of the extraordinary ones in which all too few of us have participated in recent months."

III. South and nation

This year, Wheeler took on an assignment of wider geographical scope. He became the first Negro to be elected president of the influential Southern Regional Council, which has strongly shaped the course of race relations in the South.

Deep roots. It is a South in which Wheeler's own roots run deep. Like many successful Negroes, he comes from a comfortable background. His father was a college president, later Atlanta manager for N. C. Mutual.

From the age of five, Wheeler lived in Atlanta, where his family was part of a substantial middle-class Negro group including Walter White, later head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; M. L. King, Sr., father of the Negro leader; and the Dobbs family whose best-known member is Metropolitan Opera star Mattiwilda Dobbs.

Graduating from Morehouse College, summa cum laude, Wheeler went to work in 1929 for Mechanics & Farmers as a teller at $60 a month. He became vice-president in 1944, president in 1952.

Wider range. The broader range of Wheeler's activities now has a national as well as regional scope. About 1958 he met R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., in Chicago, and later Shriver asked him to become a director of the Businessmen's Committee for Kennedy-Johnson. "We were proud to have Wheeler as one of the original members," Shriver says. He also served during this period on the Commission on Race and Housing. He was sounded out about coming to Washington, but felt his bank needed him.

He is, however, a member of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, formed in 1961 by Pres. Kennedy and headed by then Vice-Pres. Johnson. He says: "I never had hesitancy about expressing strong views, to which Mr. Johnson was usually receptive."

Next step. Wheeler describes the next order of business for Negroes in these terms: "The current wave of militancy can succeed only in removing the artificial barriers to our return to the marketplace." He names some qualities Negroes will need to follow through, qualities that sum up his own personal credo: "Hard work, thorough training, tenacity, a genuine interest in other people, and intense self-discipline."

July 12, 1965

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
P. O. Box 1932
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

Enclosed is a draft of the press release on our change of command for your approval and possible improvement.

I have sent a copy to Mr. David M. Church at the Field Foundation, and suggested a July 25 simultaneous release date for their announcement and ours. We thought Sunday would be the best day to release it, and it doesn't look like it will be possible for them to get theirs approved in time for this coming Sunday.

Let me add the personal word that as much as I regret having to write the part about Les's leaving, I couldn't be more pleased about the choice of the committee for his successor.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures - 1.

March 23, 1964

Dr. and Mrs. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Ray and Julie:

A belated note to thank you both for your wonderful help, hospitality and good counsel. Obviously, I would have been lost without it.

I meant to write sooner which is to say I meant to get done with the writing of the report sooner. I just finished the rough draft yesterday. Les will be sending it along soon I assume. I will trust your judgment on who else besides yourselves there should look at it. I'm not satisfied with it, but never would be. Any improvements you all can recommend will be appreciated.

I did very much enjoy being with you and the opportunity to explore Charlotte. Thanks again. Hope to see you again soon.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

COPY

April 14, 1964

Dr. & Mrs. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Ray and Julie:

After too long a time, here at last is the draft of the Charlotte study. As I said before, I will appreciate very much a hard reading of it for accuracy, generally and in details. I am a great one for getting names and dates mixed up. Also, as I said before, I'll trust your judgment on calling in another consultant.

I am particularly concerned that the report not have any embarassing or hurtful effects in Charlotte. Going at it the way I have--trying to let the events speak through the people---puts an emphasis on personality that gets at the truth, I think, but could backfire. For example I don't think the cross-fire of criticism between Negro leaders could be left out, and I don't think saying there is dissension is nearly so powerful literarily as just letting it speak out in their words. At the same time, however, I don't think to fan the fires of it with any unnecessary or too strong examples. So help me walk this tightrope. Other parts of it that seemed to me sensitive were the expressions of Fred Alexander attitudes about anger at whites and the whole Belk interview. Please give me your views about this material and any other that might have local repercussions.

I am about ready now to begin writing the one on Brunswick, and after that, there'll be only Baton Rouge to go..It's been

so far, very good for me personally to learn the reality of the good that goes on in the South---having been in the newspaper business so much concerned with the evil.

Anyhow thanks again for your help--while I was there, and on being sure the attached is in focus.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

COPY

April 30, 1964

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Ray:

As I suspected, Les wants to move faster on the Charlotte report than waiting until the committee meeting would allow. Unless you feel otherwise, I think handling it over the phone would be easiest all around.

With the exception of two hours Monday (10 to 12), I will be in the office all next week. Call collect. If you would prefer getting it over with this weekend, I should be at home most of the time. The number is TR. 5-1993.

Again thanks for all the trouble and your help.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

File

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. McCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

May 4, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I am enclosing a copy of the letter to Mr. Knight, and under separate cover, am returning the Charlotte story.

To sum up my accounts of last evening, it seems to me that the "moral leadership" that was so in evidence in the opening up of previously segregated restaurants and hotels, was strikingly lacking in the much more important areas of education and medical care. We still have a "new" and terribly inadequate Negro hospital, which at this point has no full-time radiologist, pathologist, and no anesthesiologist at all, and no prospect of getting any of them. We also have a brand new, but empty, set of college buildings out on the western edge of town, representing an investment of more than a quarter of a million dollars, while Charlotte College is at present crying for funds for expansion.

I am sure the long conversation was fatiguing for you, but we enjoyed it.

Sincerely yours,

RMW

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/alv
Enc.

May 13, 1964

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Charlotte Medical Clinic
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte 7, North Carolina

Dear Ray:

Once again, thanks. I've incorporated the corrections, and will try to do something about the writing.

Congratulations on being named chairman of the executive committee. I was happy to hear it.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
m
p

From the desk of

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

Pat

I have made several factual corrections in Part I. I do not think the quality of the writing in it is up to the rest of the story. Perhaps you will have time to smooth it a bit.

Your analyses in Part II are excellent & I approve very much.

Sorry to see you so little on Mon -

Dear Ray:

Once again, thanks. I've incorporated the corrections, and will try to do something about the writing.

Congratulations on being named chairman of the executive committee. I was happy to hear it.

Yours truly,

May 6, 1965

Dear Julie:

Great clipping on the great man, Hawkins. The quote about the mayor for no good reason reminds me of the one I read last night in the Times by Duke Ellington on the Pulitzer Committee refusing the recommendation that he get a special award for all his years in jazz: "Fate is being good to me. Fate doesn't want me to get too famous to young."

I'm very glad to hear Fred got in. We were happy here that Julian Bond of SNCC and several other good Negro candidates, as well as all of the better white ones won primary races for the legislature.

We enjoyed seeing Ray the other night; sorry you weren't here.

Best wishes,

Mrs. Ray Wheeler
3724 Washington Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina

PW;mpa

Yale University *New Haven, Connecticut*

Department of History

237 Hall of Graduate Studies

File

16 August 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

It has taken me this long to recover from my embarrassment. Of course I remember meeting you at Montgomery, but also remember that we never got a chance to talk.

I am obliged to you for the piece about "Gregory" and I hope you will keep me on your list for anything you write.

Sincerely yours,

Vann Woodward

C. Vann Woodward

CVW:sw

July 27, 1965

Professor C. Vann Woodward
Department of History
237 Hall of Graduate Studies
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Woodward:

Coming from one who in Tom Watson told me more than anybody about the Georgia state capitol and politics I was covering as a newspaperman in the early 1950's, your letter about Encounter with the Future was greatly appreciated. I am not Miss Watters though. We met briefly at Virginia Durr's the night of the Luizzo murder in Montgomery. It was the kind of wonderous gathering of people, including the gentleman with the long white beard and sandals, that renders me speechless so there's no reason you should remember me. I kept hoping you would talk about King's speech all about Populism, but you weren't talking much yourself that evening. I am enclosing another thing I have written recently--not the same kind of thing, but in my opinion, saying more.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa
Enclosure

CROSS REFERENCE

Ltr from Marian Wright 2-23-65 requesting SRC publications,

SEE:

Requests for Information

File

538½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi
March 4, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Many thanks for the materials you sent me. They will be very useful in my work here.

Sincerely,

Marian E. Wright

MEW:cf

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible]ORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Linville Falls, N. C.
December 12, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I was quite impressed with the reprint of editorials from the college press.

Their use reminds me of a suggestion I advanced some years ago that New South at intervals print a page or two of excerpts from the college papers. I would have in mind only a paragraph or two from each one so that several could be handled in one issue. There may be objections or difficulties of which I am not aware but I think the good points are fairly obvious.

Reciprocity seems to work among papers and our reprints from the college press might inspire that press to reprint from New South.

All of us like a little recognition. An editor who has taken a fairly bold stand and expressed himself articulately might be encouraged to repeat. Also his fellow editors might be encouraged to begin.

The fairly regular use by New South of the reprint idea would seem to have advantages over the use of college material only in times of crisis.

Anyhow, I lay the idea before you.

An entirely separate matter:

The sit-in and Freedom Rider cases have now gone, in many instances, to the courts of last resort, state and Federal. I am delighted to report that the South Carolina Supreme Court recently in unanimous decisions reversed convictions, while allowing them to stand in a

third case.

Unless Southern School News or some other service has collected and published the opinions of the courts of last resort, including the Supreme Court of the United States, it seems to me that it might be a good idea for SRC to get some lawyer like Dan Pollitt to review all of these decisions and come up with some conclusions as to the attitude of the courts on trespass, conspiracy, disorderly conduct, etc. when the prosecutions arose out of demonstrations, picketing, entry to purchase food, etc. In addition to the usual mailing list, the article should go to all Southern lawyers, judges, justices of the peace and legislators, if such a list could be developed.

New South has from time to time reprinted decisions by the United States Supreme Court and other courts in regard to schools and parks. In my opinion this has been of great value. I believe an analysis of the decisions in the sit-in and Freedom Rider cases would have equal value.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wr.

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

January 7, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

What with Christmas and being in New York over the holidays, I have been somewhat remiss in returning the copy of your speech to the NAIRO clambake in Washington last November. But I was mighty glad, as was Les, to get a chance to read it. And from what Fred Routh told me avout it during a visit to D. C. in December, the NAIRO delegates were mighty glad to have a chance to hear it. Incidentally, meeting all those SRC alumni now carving out new trails on the New Frontier certainly made me appreciate your apt and accurate observation about the outfit with its headquarters in Atlanta and its hindquarters on the Potomac.

I was also glad to have a chance to meet you, albeit briefly, at our annual meeting here last fall, and I hope to see you again before we get too far into 1963.

Yours sincerely,

Staige Blackford
Director of Research

SB/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Speech)

Feb. 6, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I'm not sure about the exceeding fine, but the SRC mills sometimes grind very slowly indeed. And such has been the case in our reply to the suggestions you made in your letter of Dec. 12. Nevertheless, we have given them serious consideration, and this is our reaction to each of them:

1) NEW SOUTH reprints of college newspaper editorials

This is a mighty good idea, but it does involve considerable difficulties. One is the problem of space; Maggie Long has a terrible time right now finding room for the pieces on hand for a particular issue. Then, too, there is the problem of deciding which papers to subscribe to (as an old college newspaper editor, I well remember the daily chore of going through the stacks received from other campus dailies) plus that of shifting through them all to decide what you'd want to reprint. As you know, the NEW SOUTH staff consists of only Maggie and a secretary, and a good bit of their time is taken up with the care and feeding of foreign visitors. So they really wouldn't have time to give much attention to college papers.

For these reasons, it seems to me that NEW SOUTH's limited space and limited staff are not equipped to handle such a feature. On the other hand, I think we could do in the future what we did last fall. For example, it's a pretty sure bet that the University of Alabama will have some Negro applicants next fall. It seems equally certain that Brother Wallace and his boys are not going to greet these applicants with a shower of that famous southern hospitality. So if there is a crisis at Alabama next September, I think that would be a good time to do another round-up of southern college newspaper editorials. We could also consider the possibility of doing similar round-ups from time to time of other burning issues on southern

campuses which provoke editorials and which concern the civil rights movement. Since we work pretty closely with the gals at the YWCA and NSA offices here (indeed, they helped pay the costs of the Ole Miss editorials and are anxious for more copies), we could get their advice on what topics would be suitable for such round-ups.

At any rate, as a result of the tremendous response we've gotten to the Ole Miss round-up, I can assure we'll be in the market for similar reprints in the future.

2) A review of court decisions on sit-in and freedom rider cases

This is an excellent suggestion, and one we're planning to follow up. In fact, quite by accident, I came across an M. A. thesis here in the office last month titled SIT-IN DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE LAW. It was written by a Washington Post reporter named Susanna McBee, whose reporting of civil rights stories in the Post had already impressed me. I read her thesis and then fired off two letters, one to an old colleague at Louisiana State University Press and the other to Miss McBee. In them, I suggested there was a possibility of a book in her study. Apparently, LSU Press agreed after she sent them the ms. As you will see from the enclosed letter, she is now hard at work, revising and expanding her manuscript. I replied to that letter this morning and mentioned that we would like to do a report of a similar nature. Admittedly, this gal is now lawyer, but she's a darned fine reporter and sometimes journalists can make the law clearer to laymen--and other lawyers--than members of the legal profession. At any rate, Miss McBee has already devoted quite a bit of time to this subject, and I think she might be a good bet to do a report for us. I plan to discuss your suggestion further with Les next week when he returns from a junket to New York, Notre Dame (where a group of lawyers are meeting to consider possible civil rights legislation) and the White House (where he, Wiley Branton and their wives will attend a reception commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation).

Of course, we do not want to move ahead at full speed on this project until the Supreme Court hands down its decision on the sit-in cases that were argued before it last fall. Once the Court does make a decision, then we'll put the project in the works.

Again, I apologize for our delay in responding to your suggestions, but I sure hope that won't stop you for making them in the future. Lord knows we can always use them, particularly when they're as good as the two discussed above. I also apologize for the typos in this letter, but secretaries are what we ain't got right now: our staff is being riddled by one of those mystifying and maddening viruses. Best Regards,

Staige Blackford

June 13, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I am returning your paper on "The Sit-in Movement: Progress Report and Prognosis." Les and I have both read it with great interest and found it enlightening and eloquent, as, for my money, most of your pieces seem to be.

If it is at all possible, we would like to have an extra copy of the article, either when it appears in the Wayne State Law Journal, or if you happen to have a spare one. It would be most helpful to us in preparing a brief study of the 'direct action' movement. (I have however, taken some notes from it).

We will look forward to seeing you at the next Executive Committee Meeting, if not before.

All best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

Not for publication.
Prepared for Emancipation
Proclamation centennial
edition of Wayne State
University Law Journal.
Please return.

M. A. W.

4-19-63

SB-

RECEIVED
APR 22 1963

~~please return to L.D.~~
Read it good. Would
you please return, with
one

my compliments to
Mr Wright. Incidentally
do you want to keep a copy?

June 28, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Les asked me to return your address, "New Role of the Southern Liberal," since he was caught up in a flurry of last minute activities before leaving here yesterday on a well earned vacation.

He asked me to tell you that he was unable to read the speech himself, I have however, and have no suggestions or criticisms to make: I think it is a darn good speech, and I am sure your audience at Fisk will too.

Best regards,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosure

VIA AIR MAIL

July 23, 1963

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

We have almost completed gathering the information on court cases involving public parks, playgrounds, and golf courses, and I hope it will be on its way to you within the next day or two. Once you have seen it, please let me know if you would like further materials.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm

VIA AIR MAIL

PENN COMMUNITY SERVICES, INCORPORATED

ST. HELENA ISLAND

FROGMORE, SOUTH CAROLINA

COURTNEY SICELOFF
DIRECTOR

BEAUFORT, S.C., 524-4337
AREA CODE 803

Linville Falls, N. C.
August 8, 1963

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Many thanks for the research which you did on the recreation matter. This will be quite helpful in a little pamphlet I am preparing for Penn Community Services. You will receive a copy.

Again thanking you and your assistants, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

PW

File

Topknot

Linville Falls, N. C.

November 18, 1964

Mrs. Margaret Long
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Long:

Yesterday I returned the galley sheets on the capital punishment thing. I added one or two corrections of my own. It seemed advisable to note that since this paper was prepared Oregon had gone civilized.

One other suggestion, I would like for it to be shown in a note that this is a talk made at the Linville Falls, N. C. Community Church. I want to account somehow for the use of scripture and the unusual note of piety which runs through my remarks.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright per MG

M. A. Wright

MAW:mg

January 19, 1965

Mr. Marion W. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Attached self-explanatory. Will send others as they come I gathered from a story in Sunday's local paper that the Moore statement pretty well dooms hopes. Incidentally, I was summoned for jury duty here last week and the summons included a questionnaire which included the question of whether I was opposed to capital punishment. With your piece fresh in mind (bolstering convictions), I answered no--which probably means I won't get seated on any of the panels.

Best wishes,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
p

Enclosures

February 10, 1965

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

Not a small number of the people here who read a file of our letters have pointed out that my recent note to you regarding my own feelings about capital punishment didn't make a whole lot of sense.

I am not going to worry about the Freudian implication of what was a pure and simple slip of the typewriter. I will go on record, however, as saying that I agree with your article and sentiments against capital punishment very strongly.

What I'm really opposed to though, is writing letters.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

July 21, 1965

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linvill Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

This is not to flutter, but my thanks for the Grecian Tour. I do indeed feel edified an expert. Have you got anything else to read for fun or for New South?

Cordially,

Margaret Long

ML/mpa

March 31, 1965

Miss Mary Yost
Mary Yost Associates
141 East 55th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Miss Yost:

Unless you have reasons to keep it further please return the manuscript of my novel, Damned If You Don't.

Thank you for your attention to this.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mp

July 8, 1965

Mr. James Youngdahl
1330 Tower Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Jim:

Thank you very much for your letter about Encounter. I was touched by it. So was Les. Needless to say, his hand in it helped immeasurably.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mpa

January 4, 1965

Mr. Howard Zinn
45 Chapin Road
Newton Centre 59, Massachusetts

Dear Howard:

Is there a chance that you will be in Atlanta during the month of January? I am trying to develop some more information on the COFO Freedom School and need very much to get your wisdom and insight. If not Atlanta, anywhere nearer (and warmer) than Boston?

My regards as always to Roz and Jeff any Myla. Best Wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

P
W
/
P

February 19, 1965

Mr. Howard Zinn
45 Chapin Road
Newton Centre 59, Massachusetts

Dear Howard:

I have just read your "Abolitionist and Freedom Riders," and just wanted to say--as we say--it sure hit the nail on the head, sure hit me in one of the places I live, etc.

You make clear that things I usually assume everyone agrees on are in reality, things most people don't agree on. I mean things like measuring by "the enormity of the evils," and the "goodness" of the emotionalism of the mass meetings and Negro churches.

The point about the importance of the book or oration which makes people realize the reality of situations is the one I dig the most. This is what I hope to do with my book.

Anyhow, I just wanted to say how well I felt your article put a lot of important things in perspective.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:p

July 14, 1965

Dear Howard:

Thanks for the kind words, and your great help.

Reaction has been for the most part heartening--toward better understanding, I really think, rather than snatching out things of context to bolster negative attitudes.

I hope this finds you all in Europe. I couldn't remember when you said you were going. My best to all of you.

Yours truly,

Mr. Howard Zinn
Department of Government
Boston University
236 Bay State Road
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

Conspicuous

Trange - ✓

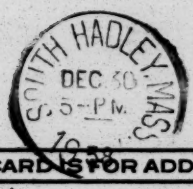
I suggest you order the Fall, 1958 issue of

Modern Age. devoted to the South.

Address:

Foundation for Foreign Affairs
64 E Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, 4, Ill.
$1.00

P.S. This is the sort of interest like point of view



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Miss Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MATERIALS SENT

The Easy Chair
Attitudes
Ralph McGill article reprint from Atlanta Constitution
Three Views
Journal and Guide reprint
Publication Listings
James McBride Dabbs interview
NYT reprint
The Churches Speak
NEW SOUTH - March and October, 1958
A First Step
South Carolinians Sepak

January 6, 1959

Miss Mary Lou Beckwith
7914 - 32nd Avenue, S. W.
Seattle 6, Washington

Dear Miss Beckwith:

We are sending under separate cover several items published or distributed by the Southern Regional Council, in reply to your request of December 30. "Understanding Our Neighbors" is, unfortunately, out of print. Perhaps "South Carolinians Speak" will best help you in understanding the wide range of Southern opinion on problems connected with race relations (this booklet is distributed, not published, by SRC). The position of our organization, of course, favors compliance with the Supreme Court School Decisions; therefore, if your need is for materials published by those favoring continued segregation, as your letter leads me to suspect, you may wish to write the following organizations for such literature as they publish.

(1) Georgia Commission on Education
717 One Peachtree Building
Atlanta, Georgia

(2) State's Rights Council of Georgia, Inc.
William-Oliver Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

December 30, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

In our Contemporary Problems class we have started a new unit of study - it is on Human Relations. I am to investigate America's race problem. To better understand this problem I would like to get the southern point of view. So I am writing to you and asking for a copy of "Understanding Our Neighbors". My name and address are as follows;

Mary Lou Beckwith
7914 - 32nd Ave. S. W.
Seattle 6, Washington

Sincerely Yours,

Mary Lou Beckwith

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1959

January 12, 1959

Bureau of Instruction
Division of Instructional Services
Frankfort, Kentucky

Gentlemen:

Please forward one (1) copy of your "Report on Integration: School Year 1958-59" to me in care of the above address. Bill the Southern Regional Council for any charges.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

January 12, 1959

League of Women Voters of Georgia
NEWSLETTER
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Madam:

I would like to place my order for the six issues of the Legislative News Letter edited by your organization. Enclosed is a check for one dollar ($1.00) to cover the cost.

Yours truly,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc
Enclosure

RECEIVED JAN 5 1958

FROM THE OFFICE OF

GEORGIA COUNCIL of Churches

RECEIVED JAN 6 1958

63 AUBURN AVE., N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

TELEPHONE JAckson 4-0971

PRESIDENT
REV. DR. HERMAN L. TURNER

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
REV. EDWARD A. DRISCOLL

December 30, 1958

To: Legislative Committee Members
Participants in Legislative Study Session, December 18th
Invited Consultants; Interested Persons

From: Rev. Dow Kirkpatrick, Chairman
Edward A. Driscoll, Executive Secretary

Are we getting? JC MM

1. The enclosed report is the result of the Legislative Study Session of December 18th. It has been held up several days in the hope of getting information on specific bills relating to the public school issue but such will not be available until after January 13th. Follow newspaper reports for this information.

2. The League of Women Voters of Georgia edits a Legislative News Letter while the State Legislature is in session. There are six issues of the News Letter and the first one will be mailed out about January 17th. If you are interested in receiving this LWV service, send $1.00 to: League of Women Voters of Georgia, Newsletter, 78 Marietta Street, N. W., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

3. The Sixth Annual Assembly of the Georgia Council of Churches

Tuesday, January 13, 1959 10:00 - 4:00 o'clock
Atlanta Y. W. C. A., 72 Edgewood Avenue, N. E., (at Ivy)

While the Assembly is necessarily composed of Official Denominational Delegates, it is not a "closed Assembly". All interested ministers and lay persons are urged to attend - this includes the Fellowship Luncheon (by reservation.)

******

1474 East Long Street
Columbus 3, Ohio
January 13, 1959

Miss Marge Manderson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

Thank you kindly for your letter of December 18, 1958, and for the very valuable data which you sent. This information will be very useful in my study. It was very kind of you and your associates to assemble the data for me. Please extend to Mr. Fleming my appreciation of the role which he played in the process. I shall be glad to send you a report of my findings.

HCF

Forwarded, 1/15/59 MM

I have heard of the existence of a report of the number of Negroes registered to vote in the Southern States in 1958, but I have not seen any published data anywhere. Will you tell me whether or not there is such a report or release, and if so where and how I may secure or see it, or a copy? I have the data for 1956.

Greetings to Mr. Routh. Say to him, please, that I am glad that he accepted the invitation to deliver the message on Race Relations Day in February for the Tuskegee Civic Association.

FBR

Best wishes for good health and happiness during 1959.

Sincerely yours,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion

January 14, 1959

Doctor Donald H. Wollett
Professor of Law
New York University
School of Law
Washington Square
New York 3, New York

Dear Doctor Wollett:

In reply to your letter of January 6, 1959, we are very much interested in procuring copies of the research studies you have underway, and would like to be included on your mailing list.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

Eckerd
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

MM

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF LAW
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

FACULTY OF LAW

TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

January 6, 1959

RECEIVED
JAN 8 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The Arthur Garfield Hays Memorial Fund, which was established by the friends and admirers of the late general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, began its work this fall at New York University School of Law.

The program of research and teaching in the field of civil liberties is under my direction with the assistance of a graduate law student and two senior law students.

Our investigatory work is geared to the concept of what might be called "middle distance" research, that is, the examination, without being tied to actual or pending litigation, of matters which have potential utility to all persons and groups interested in advancing and protecting civil liberties.

The first research project, which is nearing completion, is a study of the question of what judicial procedures and affirmative remedies are available to persons who seek to challenge the constitutionality of specific governmental action. This study has been conducted in the context of Louisiana legislation which prohibits public school teachers from advocating or in any manner performing any act toward bringing about integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning.

Other reports dealing with the constitutionality of related legislation in Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia will be completed early in 1959.

Subject to budgetary limitations, our published work will be available for distribution to lawyers, organizations, and others who are active in the civil liberties field.

In addition to these projects, we are about to begin a study of the extent to which the right to a fair trial is impaired by published pre-trial comment, whether the source of the comment is private, e.g., a newspaper, or public, e.g., a congressional committee.

We also expect the civil liberties seminar for law students, which will be conducted next semester, to produce some publishable reports.

The purpose of this letter is twofold. First, we want to know if you would like to be included on our mailing list. Second, since the concept of "middle distance" research demands an earthy approach to civil liberties and attention to matters of current interest, we invite your suggestions as to matters which we might meaningfully explore.

Sincerely yours,

Donald H. Wollett

Donald H. Wollett
Professor of Law

LRE

Dr. Donald H. Wollett:

~~Gentlemen~~:
~~Dear Dr.~~ Wollett:

In reply to your letter of Jan. 6, 1959, we ~~at the Southern Regional Council~~ are very much interested in procuring copies of the research studies you have underway, and would like to be ~~added to~~ included on your mailing list.

Sincerely

[redacted]

January 16, 1959

Mr. Roland Heacock:
Staffordville Congregational Church
Staffordville, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Heacock:

In reply to your request of January 6, we are enclosing herewith (1) a thermo-fax copy of the "Southern Manifesto" of 1956, and (2) the SRG Special Report "The Negro Voter in the South - 1958," which will give you current figures on Negro registration.

The oath administered to the governor of the state of Georgia is prescribed in the Georgia Constitution as follows:

> "Paragraph IX, Oath of office. The Governor shall, before he enters on the duties of his office, take the following oath or affirmation:
>
> "I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will faithfully execute the office of Governor of the State of Georgia, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution thereof, and the Constitution of the United States of America."

"A Citizen's Guide to Desegregation," by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg (Beacon Press, Boston, 1955), which should be available through your local library, is a helpful reference for court rulings on segregation prior to 1954.

We hope this information will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc
Enclosures, 2

Staffordville Congregational Church

Staffordville, Connecticut

TREASURER
RUDOLPH LADR

DEACONS
HIRAM WALBRIDGE
C. WESLEY HALE

PASTOR
ROLAND T. HEACOCK
TELEPHONE OV 4-3328

CLERK
MRS. INA E. PRAGL

January 6, 1958

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am making a study of the Desegregation process and am in need of certain statistics which you may have, either in the form of Special Reports or pamphlets. These include such facts as: a record of the rulings of any Federal Courts on Southern school segregation prior to 1954; the number of Negroes registered throughout the South in 1958; a copy of the Governor's Oath for Arkansas, Georgia or any Southern state; and a copy of the Southern Manifesto.

If you do not have any of these on hand will you please indicate where they may be secured. Such data as you have may be mailed C.O.D. to me at the enclosed address.

I should like, also, to be placed on your current mailing list.

Sincerely yours,

Roland T. Heacock

Roland T. Heacock

R.T.H./L.H.
encl

JAN 9 1959

JAN 9 1959

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MARGE MANDERSON**

January 20, 1959

Dear Les:

Bev and I heard this morning that you have found a house (congratulations!); therefore, we'll discontinue the want ads unless you let us know otherwise.

We're all looking forward to seeing you in early February.

MM

January 22, 1959

DISSENT
509 Fifth Avenue
Department N
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send me one (1) copy of the Winter 1959 issue of DISSENT.
Our check in the amount of $ .75 is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc
Enclosure

January 23, 1959

Mr. A. L. Kidd
Corresponding Secretary
Tallahassee Council on Human Relations
Box 252
Florida A&M University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Kidd:

Mr. Constable, who is not in the office today, has asked me to reply to your letter of January 21.

Unfortunately, I can only recommend one film of the type you describe. It is "A City Decides" (27½ minutes, 16mm,, Rental: $7.50 per booking. Contemporary Films, 13 East 37th Street, New York 16, New York). "A City Decides" is described as "...the timely, true story of how desegregation was effected in the public schools of St. Louis," and it is the only film of this nature known to this office. However, it is not recent. It must have been released in early 1957, at the latest. So that you may have some range for selection, I am enclosing a copy of a CCD selected listing of films which may be of interest, although none of them meet your exact needs.

We are also enclosing a copy of a bibliography of pamphlets dealing with techniques of school desegregation.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc
Enclosure

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University

Tallahassee, Florida

DR. GEORGE W. GORE, JR., PRESIDENT

COORDINATOR___COST OF INSTRUCTION

January 21, 1959

f p. B.S. APL

Mr. John Constable, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

The Tallahassee Council on Human Relations wants to obtain some films dealing with the desegregation of public schools. If possible, we would like to show a film of more recent date than "Segregation in the Schools". That film was shown here in December 1957. You are aware of the type of film that would meet our needs - one that points up the positive approach resulting in a successful integrated operation.

We are pressed for time because the next meeting is February 9th and the executive committee of the council would like to preview the films in order to select the one they prefer. A self-addressed envelope is enclosed.

We are always grateful to you for the assistance you afford us.

Sincerely,

A. L. Kidd

~~xxxxxxxxx~~
A. L. Kidd
Corresponding Secretary
Tallahassee Council on
Human Relations

P.S. Please excuse my typing
AKK

M.M.

THE LIBRARY
of
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Harry J. Alderman
Librarian

MUrray Hill 5-0181

January 23, 1959

The Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We understand that you have recently begun to issue a new bulletin entitled, Highlights from Recent Literature, the second number of which appeared in December. We would be very grateful indeed if you would place our Library on your mailing list to receive this regularly in the future. If copies of previous issues are still available, may we receive one of each so that we may eventually have a complete file of the bulletin?

Thank you very much for your courtesy and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Alderman

Bev -
Send I + II directly to ↑
Obtain a copy of the cooperating agency list to use regularly in mailing this item and add his name, library address, with notation that he always is to receive a copy.

169-11-58

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS

EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER

MATERIALS SENT
Publication listings
James McBride Dabbs interview
The Wall St. Journal reprint
NYT Magazine reprint
NEW SOUTH, January 1959
The Easy Chair

JAN 26 1959

248 A Jackson Cir.
Chapel Hill, N.C.
January 20, 1959

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

A committee in the Eastern North Carolina chapter of the National Association of Social Workers is currently looking at the social worker's professional responsibility in the broad area of race relations. We know of some of your research work in the area of Southern Negro-White relations and are interested in learning whether any of your work might be pertinent to our area of concern. It would be helpful for us to know how to obtain some of your work.

Sincerely yours,

Frances C. Seasholes
(Mrs.) Frances C. Seasholes
Co-chairman
Interpretation Committee

January 27, 1959

HCF -

Re. the research office copy of the Atlanta Constitution, as you know John has been bringing his personal copy daily for this office and our newsclip files. He no longer finds it convenient to do so. Since the SRC copy which you bring in is sometimes needed downstairs during the day in which it's printed, I'd like to bring the Constitution I receive at home, or make some other arrangement for receiving a copy each day, early in the day. If I bring my copy, I'll have to be reimbursed for the subscription cost. If you think it wiser to use the copy you receive for our files, then we'll have to ask you to bring, every Monday, the Saturday and Sunday papers, and also, to let us have your daily copy as early in the day as possible.

January 27, 1959

Mrs. Elizabeth W. Hill
407 Glasgow Road
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Hill:

I am sorry to be so late in replying to your letter of January 12. Unfortunately, we do not have any specific information ~~in~~ on the segregation policies practiced by drive-in theatres either in Atlanta or in the Southern region. I am told that the policies do vary, and evidently they are formulated by the management of the various theatre chains. (In the Atlanta area, I have definite information that at least one theatre, located on the out-skirts near Smyrna, Georgia - allows Negroes to attend showings, but directs the cars to the rear. Other theatres may have more strict or more lenient policy. We simply have no information about them.)

Your letter is being referred to the Georgia Council on Human Relations' Mrs. Knox for any information on Atlanta or state wide policy and practices she may be able to furnish, and I am also enclosing herewith a listing of similar Councils in other states in case you may wish to contact them separately.

I am sorry we are able to provide so little assistance.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc
Enclosure

cc: Mrs. Knox, Georgia Council on Human Relations

Inarge.

You probably already have this, but if not we should order - perhaps 2 copies

Where Shall We Live

Report of the Commission on Race & Housing; Univ. of California Press, Berkeley, 4, Calif. $1.50

Many thanks to you & Dave for the clippings. Will see you on the 16th

Luther

February 6, 1959

FLYING Magazine
Ziff-Davis Publishing Company
366 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

We are enclosing a copy of our recent letter ordering the January 1958 copy of Flying. We received the January 1959 issue by mistake and are returning it herewith. Please forward the 1958 issue to me in its place.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc
Enclosures, 2

FLYING Magazine
Ziff-Davis Publishing Company
366 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Please forward one (1) copy of the January 1958 FLYING to me in care of the above address. Bill the Southern Regional Council for charges.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/ole

correspondence

St. Mark's Methodist Church

Louisville, Tennessee

February 6, 1959

Miss Marge Manderson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

This is just a brief note to express my deep appreciation of your kindness in helping our survey with the data and references you sent, which were most helpful.

This will be a most valuable addition to the background research for our conference, and on behalf of the presiding bishops and the delegates I should like to say a most hearty, "Thank you!"

Sincerely,

Roy DeLamotte

Roy DeLamotte
Minister

RD:jaf

JC
Suggest the Congressional Record
Don't publish what
else you think
JR

Box 8724
Guilford College, North Carolina
February 10, 1959

MATERIALS SENT

NYT reprint 12/25/57
Publication Listings
Journal and Guide Reprint 5/31/58
Congressional Record

Mr. Fred Routh
Administrative Associate
63 Auburn Avenue
North East Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

A term paper has been assigned to me; it is to be on the Southern Regional Council. I would like to ~~know~~ what the Southern Regional Council's objectives are and what it is doing in the South. Any other information, that you could send me, would be appreciated. Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
Charles H. Lester

Please send as soon as possible two packets of pertinent SRC materials

(1) Mrs. Lloyd M. Southwick
2108 Baringer Avenue
Louisville 4, Ky.

and (2) Miss Mayo Powell
1210 E. Washington St
Phoenix, Ariz.

Mrs Southwick is to make a talk to a club group of wealthy women in the Louisville community. Her topic is "Equality of Opportunity"

Miss Powell was active in the earlier desegregation of Phoenix Schools and is now a public relations consultant in that locality

1. Negro Potential
2. Paradox + Potential
3. Education + Readiness
4. Seg. Costs

Recent statements

MATERIALS SENT - 1/27/59

We the Undersigned
NYT Magazine reprint
Do You Know the Law About Schools
The Commission of Civil Rights
Public Ethics
The Angry South
Dade County Schools and Deseg.
Publications Listings
The Wall St. Journal reprint
James McBride Dabbs interview
Crisis in the Public Schools
The Truth About Deseg. in Wash. Schools
Out of Conviction
A First Step
NYT reprint
NEW SOUTH 1/59
The Easy Chair
The Negro Voter in the South 1958

A Distinguished Issue

DISSENT

• Our winter 1959 issue (104 pp.) features a brilliant "nuclear fable" by F. Aitkin which tells what happened after a U.S. SAC bomber went berserk; a sharp polemic against the Kissinger thesis on limited nuclear war by Wm. Newman; a lively exchange on current U.S. policies by Irving Howe, Norman Mailer, Lewis Coser and others; a sensitive appreciation of Dr. Zhivago by Nicola Chiaramonte; and:

⊙ A bristling controversy: "Force, Justice and Integration." Hannah Arendt has written a piece on integration in the South that is likely to disturb liberals; it is sharply answered by David Spitz and Melvin Tumin.

Send me a copy of the Winter 1959 issue [75c]. I want to subscribe for one year at $3.00 (50c postage for foreign countries). Two years at $5.

Name.....

Street.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Mail to Dissent, 509 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N. Y. Dept. N.

February 10, 1958

Dr. Gordon W. Lovejoy
Program Consultant
The National Conference of Christians
and Jews, Inc.
P. O. Box 507
Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Gordon:

In the midst of travels, I asked other members of the staff to do a brief statement of the sort requested in your letter of January 29. Unfortunately, the files of the old Commission are buried at Atlanta University and time presses us hard -- as usual and in common with everybody else.

So the sketchy statement enclosed hardly does justice to your request. But accept it as at least token evidence of our good intentions.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Original

File

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., with offices in Atlanta, Georgia, is the direct successor to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation founded in 1919. SRC was formed in 1944 as a result of a series of conferences by white and Negro Southern leadership concerned with strengthening the organizational effort toward a more just and equitable society.

In 1936 the major program effort of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation was directed toward general purpose conferences with clergymen, church lay-leadership, editors and educators. The purpose of these conferences was to bring about good will and understanding between the races within the separate-but-equal framework. Much activity was also directed to combatting lynching and other types of violence against Negroes. Small groups of status people visited key governmental officials and other opinion-makers to further these goals. Published materials were aimed at fostering good will and understanding based on the religious concepts of brotherhood. The Commission, though interracial, tended to work for Negroes in attaining a better break from public authorities, law enforcement agencies, before the courts, and from employers. Each Southern state had a local chapter of the Commission and their programs were directed toward local implementation of this program.

In 1957 the Southern Regional Council was engaged in the current struggle for full recognition of civil rights and civil liberties in the South. Some years before the May 17, 1954 school decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Council had declared that segregation was unjust and must be abandoned as public policy. Since that time the Council has worked not for fair treatment under the separate-but-equal concept, but rather for full citizenship for all Southerners. SRC no longer worked for Negroes; rather it worked with Negroes and white Southerners for a more democratic society.

In 1957 the Southern Regional Council's major program efforts may be listed under seven headings:

1. Information Services. SRC's monthly publication New South through original articles and reprints gives information and interpretation of trends in Southern human relations. Through fact finding, an extensive clipping service, and information files SRC serves the press, national magazines, radio and television as a source of facts and analysis.

2. State Organizations. Ten autonomous state organizations work in close cooperation with SRC which aids them in program development, informational services, and through financial assistance.

3. Consultant Service Program. SRC offers the services of skilled social scientists and agency staff members to state organizations, local human relations groups, colleges, and public officials. Consultants serve as advisors and resource persons, not as speakers.

4. Interagency Cooperative Effort. SRC works with other Southern and national agencies having Southern staff concerned with human relations problems and desegregation. The agencies meet quarterly to discuss strategy and plan useful cooperation.

5. Organized Labor. SRC has a full-time Labor Consultant who attends labor institutes, confers with labor leaders on problems of race and unionism, and serves as resource person to labor union staff members.

6. Church Women. SRC works closely with the Fellowship of the Concerned, a body of Southern church women of the various faiths and denominations. Mrs. M.E. Tilly serves the group in planning meetings, developing programs, and maintaining fruitful communications.

7. Foreign Visitors. A steady stream of opinion-makers from Asia, Africa and Europe visit SRC's office. They come seeking factual information and objective, meaningful interpretation of the changing patterns in the South.

From this brief summary it can be seen that SRC has professionalized its approach in the field of human relations, that the efforts are more and more focussed on key people and gate-keepers, and that the goals have been lifted to a democratic society in which all citizens may participate on equal terms.

February 10, 1958

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

Founded 1928

SPONSOR OF BROTHERHOOD WEEK

P. O. BOX 507, GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C.

PROGRAM CONSULTANT
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PRESIDENT
EVERETT R. CLINCHY

EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT
STERLING W. BROWN

TREASURER
HERBERT J. OSBORNE

January 29, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Speeches get in the hair and when they do they sometimes result in an SOS. This letter is in such a nature. Briefly, here is the problem:

I have been asked by the Michigan Mental Hygiene Society to discuss the way in which Human Relations Agencies have changed their types of programming in accordance with changing knowledge about prejudice.

The Society has asked me to trace these changes over the 21 year period, 1936-1957. It is not especially difficult for me to plot the successive types of research findings and action programs designed to counteract prejudice, and on this point - while I would certainly appreciate suggestions - I really need little help. Would it be asking too much for you to take your own agency and in whatever brief or extended form for which you have time, mention first the principal types of programming you were doing in 1936, the various methods you have tried during intervening years, and the principal techniques you are following now.

I would appreciate receiving any written reports or other materials you might have illustrative of these changes.

What I am asking, I realize, is a very great favor. Perhaps in thinking through to an answer to the questions I have raised you will find some interesting points just as I have found in doing this with the Conference's programming.

If I have not made myself clear in terms of specific needs, please let me know and I will try to re-phrase the questions.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon

GWL:nwn

Gordon W. Lovejoy

"—TO PROMOTE JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS, AND TO ANALYZE, MODERATE AND FINALLY ELIMINATE INTERGROUP PREJUDICES WHICH DISFIGURE AND DISTORT RELIGIOUS, BUSINESS, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS, WITH A VIEW TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SOCIAL ORDER IN WHICH THE RELIGIOUS IDEALS OF BROTHERHOOD AND JUSTICE SHALL BECOME THE STANDARDS OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS." (NCCJ BY-LAWS)

National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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SECRETARY

February 11, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
41 Exchange Place, SW.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a letter and two envelopes which indicates how it ended up in our office. Obviously, it was intended for your office and I know the writer will be grateful for your assistance.

Cordially yours,

Carlton P.

Carlton O. Parker
Campus Work Secretary

COP/p
Enclosures - 3

Cable Address: AMBAPTIST
ZÜRICH

AMERICAN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY
WOMAN'S AMERICAN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY

EDWIN A. BELL, REPRESENTATIVE IN EUROPE
SEESTRASSE 274, ZÜRICH 2
SWITZERLAND

HOME OFFICE
152 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, U.S.A.

TELEPHON: 45 55 66

Zurich, January 30, 1959.

RECD FEB 3 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street
A t l a n t a, Georgia
U.S.A.

Gentlemen:-

Would you be kind enough to send me whatever documents you may have published in any form dealing with the question of the integration of schools in the South as well as any other pertinent information regarding the status of negroes in the United States, and particularly in the South. I would especially like to have some information about the progress of the school integration matter.

This information would be useful in answering many questions which are directed our way by our European associates regarding the race issue in the United States and giving us the facility to present a balanced picture and offer a fair and just answer to the questions which are put before us in this connection.

I shall greatly appreciate anything you may furnish me in response to the above request.

Yours very sincerely,

Edwin A Bell

Edwin A. Bell.

MATERIALS SENT
The Louisville Story
What's Happening in School Integration
Integration North and South
The Region (Deseg. in Public Schools)
NYT Magazine reprint
The Wall Street Journal reprint
NYT reprint
The Churches Speak
Deseg. in the Baltimore City Schools
Survival and Freedom
A First Step
Changing Patterns

February 13, 19

Dear Sir;

I am a student at the Henry O Peabody School in Norwood Mass.

We have to get some or fine any information on race in the U. S.

I would like you to send any thing that (whell) will help me out in the subject.

Understanding our Neighbor. is the name of the booklet I found under your address. So I would appreciate if you would send it to me.

Thank you

Warren Pasquarosa
27 Lincoln, Ave. Box 164
Canton, Mass.

MATERIALS SENT

Publication Listings
The Wall Street Journal reprint
The New York Times Magazine reprint
The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools
Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools
The Easy Chair
Congressional Record

February 13, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In our Social Studies class we are studing Juvenile Delinquency. I would appreciate it very much if you could send me any information on this subject.

Thank you very much for your trouble.

Sincerely yours,

Diane Biemiller

(Miss) Diane Biemiller
104 Wyndcrest Avenue
Baltimore 28, Maryland

MATERIALS SENT: 3/9/59

Publication Listings
NYT reprint 12/25/57

MATERIALS SENT

Reconstruction Ku Klux Klan
Books (listings)
Ku Klux Klan (bibliography)
Facts - the Ku Klux Klan Revival
The Facts - The Ku Klux Klan
Dixie Dynamite - New York Post, 1/16/57
The Truth About the Klan Today - Saturday Evening Post, 10/22/49

February 16, 1959

Miss Doralee Zion
Wells College
Aurora, New York

Dear Miss Zion:

Mr. Fleming has referred your letter of February 6 to this office. We are enclosing copies of several magazine articles dealing with activities of the Ku Klux Klan at various periods during the past fifteen years, as well as three bibliographies of books and periodicals which may be helpful in your research. We hope you will find this material to be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

Enclosures, 7

MM - Please handle.
HCF

Wells College
Aurora, New York
February 6, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I am a student of Miss Katherine Lumpkin at Wells College, and I am planning to write my thesis, the topic of which is the Ku Klux Klan, under her. She suggested that I write to you for information dealing with the period from 1920 to the present day.

Any material that you could send me would be greatly appreciated. If you wish I will use the material in the library, so it will be well taken care of. Also, please state whether or not you want the material returned to your office.

Would you also give me a bibliography, and a list of other suggested sources?

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Dorale Zion

MATERIALS SENT

Publication Listings
Open Occupancy Housing
Exposure to Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation
Education, Prejudice and Discrimination: A Study in Readiness for Deseg.
Changing Patterns
Wanted: An Educated South
The Wall Street Journal reprint
The New York Times Magazine reprint
America's Tenth Man
Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends and the Housing of Minority Groups

February 16, 1959

Miss Marilyn Matusovich
659 George Street
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Miss Matusovich:

In reply to your letter of February 8, we are forwarding under separate cover several Southern Regional Council publications which may be of some help to you in your Sociology project. You will probably not find our materials to be of much use, however, in regard to your specific concern with the city of New Haven and the state of Connecticut, Since the activity of this agency is primarily concerned with the Southern region. We are sorry not to be of more assistance.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

659 George Street
New Haven, Connecticut
February 8, 1959

Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a student nurse at the Hospital of St. Raphael, School of Nursing. I am doing research on a Sociology project regarding Foreign-born and Racial Groups in the United States, especially with reference to the State of Connecticut and the city of New Haven.

I would appreciate it if you would send me any information, statistics, pamphlets, or other data which you may have concerning this project.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Respectfully yours,
Marilyn Matusovich
Marilyn Matusovich

P.S. Would you please send this information immediately being that my project must be completed within three weeks.

RECEIVED
FEB 13 1959

February 18, 1959

Prof. Donald S. Strong
Book Review Editor
Drawer 1
University, Alabama

Dear Professor Strong:

I shall be glad to review LEGAL PERSONALITY AND POLITICAL PLURALISM edited by L. C. Webb. I shall do what I can to meet your March 10 deadline, but I am glad to note that the review can still be used if received later.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Research Department

LWD:a

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS
Published by the Southern Political Science Association

DONALD S. STRONG
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR
DRAWER I
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

Monley - Please acknowledge this for Res + tell Mr Strong he should be in the Office in about a week. Thanks. HCF

February 5, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Journal of Politics has for review LEGAL PERSONALITY AND POLITICAL PLURALISM edited by L. C. Webb. I wonder if you would be interested in undertaking this review.

I have in mind a review of not over 500 words. A manuscript reaching me by March 10 would probably appear in our August issue; one received by June 10 in the November issue.

If you are interested, please let me know and I shall mail you the book promptly.

Very truly yours,

Donald S. Strong

Donald S. Strong

DSS/a

February 19, 1959

The Israel Digest
16 East 66th St.
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please discontinue sending to my former address, as given below, your fortnightly issue.

Former address: Dept. of Political Science
Mount Holyoke College
South Hadley, Mass.

Thank you for sending it to me in the past.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

a

February 19, 1959

Supt. of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Will you please send us the Congressional Directory for 1959 and bill us for any charges.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

225

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
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MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

MAR 10-59 241094 E Chk 2.25

Southern R[illegible] C[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN A[illegible] [illegible] GEORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

7

February 19, 1959

1 MAR 11

Supt. of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

$2.25 a copy
$4.50 Student Index

Dear Sir:

Will you please send us the Congressional Directory for 1959 and bill us for any charges.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

1 Enclosed
To be mailed 2.25
later
Subscription
Refund
Credit Refund
Postage

REF. 7

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DELAYED SHIPMENT NOTICE

We regret that temporarily we do not have stock of the publication you ordered. We have placed a rush order for copies and your request has been scheduled to receive immediate attention as soon as copies come off the presses.

Your original letter or order is returned, and we will appreciate your keeping it as a receipt until you receive the publication.

We are sorry for this delay.

SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS

GPO 83-32730

February 20, 1959

Mr. Dewey Anderson, Executive Director
Public Affairs Institute
312 Pennsylvania Avenue S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for sending us your summary sheet outlining the research program underway at the Institute. We hope we are on your revised mailing list.

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

It would be helpful if you could send two copies to the names listed above. If only one copy is to be sent to each organization, please address it to me.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

312 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE S. E. • WASHINGTON 3, D. C. • PHONE LINCOLN 4-8746

DEWEY ANDERSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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FIRST ADMINISTRATOR, R.E.A.

MORRIS L. ERNST, ATTY., AUTHOR
NEW YORK CITY

JOHN M. CARMODY
FORMER U. S. PUBLIC WORKS COMMISSIONER

THEODORE J. KREPS
PROF. OF BUSINESS ECONOMICS
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

JAMES G. PATTON, PRESIDENT
NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

ABE FORTAS, ATTORNEY
FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF INTERIOR

DR. ALVIN JOHNSON
PRESIDENT EMERITUS
NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
NEW YORK CITY

FOWLER HARPER
PROFESSOR OF LAW, YALE UN.
FORMER SOLICITOR, DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR

HUBERT HUMPHREY
U. S. SENATOR
FROM MINNESOTA

THURMAN ARNOLD, ATTORNEY
FORMER ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL IN CHARGE OF ANTI-TRUST DIVISION

J. FRANK BURKE
PRESIDENT, STANDARD BROADCASTING CO.
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

HUGH B. MITCHELL
U. S. REPRESENTATIVE
FROM WASHINGTON

BRYN J. HOVDE, PRESIDENT
NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RES.
NEW YORK CITY

CHARLES A. MURRAY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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DR. PAUL S. TAYLOR
PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

JEROME I. UDELL, CHAIRMAN
MAX UDELL SONS & CO.
NEW YORK CITY

Acknowledge, & say we hope we can have you keep in touch periodically hereafter

February 3, 1959

Dear Friend:

I am enclosing a summary sheet outlining the research program underway at the Institute just now, as we face up to the new Congress and the problems of national importance with which it and the administration must deal.

We have continued our original purpose of doing studies of major issues that need solution. A reading of this list of topics will convince you that all are pressing issues on which insufficient information is available and too few people know what should be done.

The authors of these studies include some of the outstanding experts in this country. To insure the use of their reports, we are reworking our mailing lists so that 4,000 outstanding Americans, all makers of public opinion, get them. They go also to members of Congress, the administration, educational institutions and libraries.

If you have any individuals of your acquaintance whom you think could profit by reading these studies as they are published, I'd appreciate having their names and addresses.

Sincerely yours,

Dewey Anderson

Dewey Anderson
Executive Director

Enclosure

PUBLIC AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

312 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE S. E. • WASHINGTON 3, D. C. • PHONE LINCOLN 4-8746

The 1958-59 Program of Action

Research at the Public Affairs Institute

Note: The studies described here are those now underway. As time and occasion warrant others will be added to the list.

THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF OUR ECONOMY. An analysis by W. S. Woytinsky and Emma Woytinsky. This team is widely known both in the United States and abroad as a leader in economic research. Dr. Woytinsky is an optimist among contemporary economists. But his optimism is based on a searching analysis of economic data, in which field he has few peers. His study covers the vital issue of how to maintain stability in a growing economy. The questions raised lead inevitably to such issues as the shortened work week, the role of the marketplace, the problems of higher living standards, the place of the United States in the world, the costs of recessions and how to avoid them.

NOT TOO MUCH FOOD. An analysis of our surplus problem, and a new proposal for handling our feed grains, by Stephen Raushenbush.

THE SUPREME COURT IN ACTION. Inquires into the question of the public's relationships with the court, describes the court as an American institution, points out its place in our system of democratic self government, and ends with a listing of the court's problems as it functions in modern society. By Eugene Gressman, who practices before the court and was the clerk to former Justice Frank Murphy.

HOW AMERICA VOTES. By Louis H. Bean, whom many authorities regard as our most successful pollster. This eminent statistician has pioneered in the field of political science under review in these studies. His books include How to Predict Elections, The Mid-Term Battle, and his study for PAI Influences in the 1954 Mid-Term Elections. This series is planned to include 12 pamphlet-length studies of voting according to religion, color, occupation, (the farm and labor vote,) economic status, nationality, region; the vote for presidents, senators, congressmen and governors, voting in suburbs, voting in primaries, voting on issues, vote results and spending.

GETTING THE HEALTH CARE YOU NEED -- AND PAYING FOR IT. By Dewey Anderson, author of Health Service is the Basic Right of All the People, and co-chairman of the first California legislative committee to study the need for health insurance. This inquiry covers the problem of getting and paying for health care, the political issues updated, the protagonists, the innocent bystanders and/or victims, the next five years -- health insurance by the front, side or back door -- which?

FEDERAL-STATE-LOCAL RELATIONSHIPS. An inquiry into several specific issues in which the role of each level of government is examined in comparison with that of the others and the purposes to be served by government. Such topics are tax sources and expenditures; social security coverage, administration and financing; grants-in-aid, their meaning in education, housing, etc.

THE NEXT FIFTY YEARS IN CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES. A conservation credo for our future, by a group of leading conservationists, drafted by David Cushman Coyle, author of the book Conservation -- An American Story of Conflict and Accomplishment. The credo statement is followed by a brief summary of problems to be solved if we are to maintain our natural resources and pass them on as a growing heritage to future generations.

February 20, 1959

International Documents Service
Columbia University Press
2960 Broadway
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We enclose remittance in the amount of $3.00, for which please send us the following:

8 copies United Nations Work for Human Rights @ .15	$1.20	58.1.16
1 A Standard of Achievement: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights	.25	58.1.22
1 Race and Biology, by L. C. Dunn	.30	
1 Race Mixture, by Harry L. Shapiro	.25	
1 Selected Documentation for the Study of Race Relations. Reports and Papers in the Social Sciences No. 9	1.00	
	$ 3.00	

We have sent in our card to continue to receive the quarterly issue of The International Reporter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

February 20, 1959

Supt. of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Please send us a copy of New Statistical Abstract, the latest edition. We are enclosing our check for $3.75. If the price has increased since we last purchased the abstract, please let us know the correct amount.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research Dept.

February 20, 1959

Mr. P. D. East
Editor and Publisher
The Petal Paper
Box 349
Hattisburg, Miss.

Dear Mr. East:

Please enter our subscription to The Petal Paper, to be mailed to:

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. M. E. Tilly receives it regularly, and the entire staff enjoys reading it from cover to cover. We have especially enjoyed the last two issues and the blow-by-blow on "how to write an article for Harpers."

Our check for three dollars is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research Dept.

February 23, 1959

Mr. Harold A. Lett, Asst. Director
Division Against Discrimination
State of New Jersey Dept. of Education
1060 Broad Street
Newark 2, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Lett:

I have had a chance to look at the report, Railroad Employment in New York and New Jersey, which you and your New York counterpart have issued. I hope you will continue to supply us with your publications and that you will call upon us whenever we may be of assistance to you.

I had the pleasure of meeting you while I was a guest a couple of years ago in Del Mar, New York, where we talked at a cocktail party given by some gracious host whose name I have now unhappily forgotten. I enjoyed very much our meeting and trust that you will look in on us whenever you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 23, 1959

Commission on Law and Social Action
of the American Jewish Congress
15 East Eighth Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

I would like to continue receiving your excellent special reports, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, at my new address. I was formerly at Mount Holyoke College.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 23, 1959

Eagleton Case Studies Program
Wood Lawn, Douglass College
New Brunswick, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

Will you please send, when available, one copy each of the case studies listed below:

The "Purge" of Adam Clayton Powell
by David Hapgood, New York Times
Two Parties for Shreveport, Louisiana
by Kenneth N. Vines, Tulane University

Our check for $1.00 is enclosed in payment.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Culver, Oregon
February 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a Senior at Culver High School. As a project in one of my classes - American Problems - I have to write a term paper, I have chosen segregation for the subject.

I would appreciate any information you could send me about this subject or about the Negro. Please send the information as soon as possible.

Thank you.

Donna Urbach

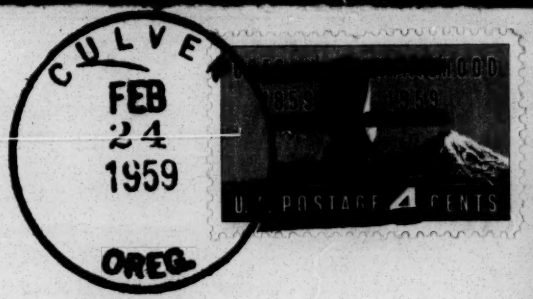
Donna Urbach

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1959

MATERIALS SENT

America's Tenth Man
The Easy Chair
The Negro Voter in the South - 1958
Publication Listings
NYT reprint
Wall Street Journal reprint
James McBride Dabbs interview
The Negro in our Economy

Miss Donna Urbach
Box 52
Culver, Oregon



Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 26, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me some information on Probation and Parole, Detention Homes and Court, Causes, Treatment, and Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency.

We have a list of available materials in our file in SWD's office
MGa

Thanking you for your trouble.

Sincerely,

RECEIVED
MAR 2 1959

Joyce Chaney (Miss)
6207 Frederick Road
Catonsville 28, Maryland

Materials Sent:
The N.Y.T. reprint - 12/25/57
Toward the South

Corres.

HOPE, INC. . . HELP OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION, INC.

714-715 ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING • 50 WHITEHALL STREET, S. W.

JACKSON 5-8469

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Kendall Weisiger

February 26, 1959

Miss Marge Manderson
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

The enclosed material is being sent to you to further stimulate your interest in HOPE,INC. Our organization needs active groups throughout the State of Georgia in the quest to prevent the public schools of Georgia from being closed. We believe that you may be interested in starting such HOPE chapters in various areas of Georgia. This material will help you gain more knowledge of the purposes and workings of HOPE, INC. We have duplicate copies of the enclosed material and more material available free of charge to assist you in forming HOPE groups. Please let us hear from you so that we may assist you in any way possible in forming HOPE, INC. chapters throughout Georgia.

Yours sincerely,

Harry Boyte

Harry Boyte

HB:MNM

Second draft
February 27, 1959

Religion and the Churches in a Changing Racial Setting:

A Proposal for a Program of Research Sponsored by the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.

Purpose

The National Council of Churches is concerned with the role of the churches and religion in modern life - both with the broad moral issues involved in social problems and, more specifically, with the part played by the church as an institution in the solution of these problems. It believes that the churches can and should provide guidance in the solution of life problems, both of individuals and society. The historic role of the churches has included the statement and clarification of basic values that serve as criteria for determining what constitutes ethical behavior. But the National Council recognizes that the values which the churches represent have not always been brought into effective relationship with other social forces, and that there is often a discrepancy between the teachings of the churches and the attitudes and behavior of their members. It is seeking ways of reducing this discrepancy and of increasing the effectiveness of the churches, both as a moral force and as an operating institution, in the solution of social problems.

The National Council believes that social science research can be an important aid in the search for ways of increasing the effectiveness of the churches in a changing society. The Council's Bureau of Research and Survey is currently carrying out a number of studies designed to help answer problems of how the churches can better carry out their ministry.

One of the areas of American life in which the churches feel that the moral and spiritual values they represent can provide a major source of guidance is that of race relations. All of the major denominations have made unequivocal statements of basic principles and policy in this area. So too has the National Council itself. The Triennial General Assembly of the National Council of Churches, in December 1957, adopted a policy statement on "The Churches and Segregation", which reads, in part: "The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches reaffirms at this time its renunciation of the pattern of racial segregation, both in the churches and in society, as a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood....This General Assembly commits itself, and urges the member churches and all of their constituencies to commit themselves, to strengthen further the efforts and to increase the work of the churches, national, regional and local, to achieve as soon as possible a non-segregated society."

But there are serious difficulties in translating these statements of principle into action. Many church members, as well as many non-church members, in both North and South, have deeply entrenched patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting, which impede the carrying out of these principles. Moreover, their application in specific situations may require real sacrifices on the part of some or many individuals. The churches feel keenly the need for greater understanding of the nature of the problems involved in translating these values into action and for knowledge of the conditions which encourage their application and those which interfere with it. Therefore the National Council is requesting a grant for a program of research on religion and the churches in a changing racial setting, to extend over a period of at least five years.

The value of such research would not be limited to its usefulness to the churches; it can be carried out so as to provide a potential source of guidance for other institutions and individuals concerned with the problems of our society and also to contribute to basic understanding of intergroup relations and of the processes of social change. A number of social scientists have pointed out that the present period of widespread changes in patterns of race relations, both in the North and the South, constitutes an unprecedented, and probably unrepeatable, opportunity for research on the process of social change, and have lamented the lack of support for such research. *

Plan of Operation

The scope of the problem is too great for adequate investigation by the small staff of the Council's Bureau of Research and Survey. Rather, the Council proposes to sponsor a program of research to be carried out by independent social scientists. Its aim is to provide organizational arrangements that will assure, in so far as possible, freedom, objectivity, and efficiency in the scientific pursuit of knowledge in this problem area and integrity, responsibility, and conscientiousness in the interpretation of the scientific findings.

---

*See, for example:

Cook, Stuart W., Desegregation: a psychological analysis. American Psychologist, 1957, 12, 1-13.

Anderson, Edward A., John P. Dean, Robin M. Williams, Jr., et al. Desegregation: some propositions and research suggestions. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New York, 1956.

Williams, Robin M., Jr., Burton R. Fisher, and Irving L. Janis. Educational desegregation as a context for basic social-science research. American Sociological Review, 1956, 21, 577-583.

The Council will enlist the help of about ten outstanding social scientists to serve as an Advisory Committee on Research. This Committee will prepare a detailed statement of the kinds of research considered relevant and through public announcement and active staff solicitation will encourage social scientists to submit proposals for specific studies. These proposals will be reviewed by the Advisory Committee, who will decide which ones are to be supported. Support of projects will include provision for working conferences at which those who are to carry out research under the program will develop detailed plans for their studies. The purpose of such conferences would not be to impose a single common design on the studies but to provide for coordination among them, so that their combined results would lead to greater understanding than if each had been carried out as an isolated investigation. The opportunity for mutual consultation might also be expected to raise the general quality of the research accomplishment.

Such a program obviously requires coordination. A social scientist will be employed to devote at least half time to this function. His salary, as well as that of a secretary, will be paid by the National Council's Bureau of Research and Survey; he will act as a member of the Bureau staff. The grant we are requesting would provide the funds for the research. These funds would be channeled through the National Council to the social scientists who carry out the investigations. The function of the National Council would be to provide a central source for such funds and, through its Advisory Committee of social scientists, to encourage applications and to select from among them those that seem most promising.

Nature of the Research that Would Be Supported

It is not possible in a short memorandum to present the whole range of research questions that might be investigated under such a program. The documents cited on page 3 offer detailed analyses of the kinds of questions that need answering, both from the point of view of guiding social action and of contributing to basic understanding of social processes, and suggestions as to the kinds of investigations that might help to provide the answers.

Emphasis within the proposed program will be on research that may be expected to help the churches to contribute more effectively to the solution of problems of race relations. A broad scope is contemplated, for in order to carry out their work effectively, the churches need information about the social context in which they are operating as well as about their own functioning. Moreover, even questions that are directly focused on the role of the churches in the area of racial relations can be investigated in such a way that the findings provide a basis for tentative generalization to other institutions and other areas of social relations. Thus it is expected that many competent social scientists will be interested in carrying out research under the proposed program, even though their primary research interests may not be in the area of either religion or race relations.

Studies in Northern settings as well as in the South will be encouraged. Churches in the North face many problems similar to those in Southern communities, and the programs for desegregation within the churches themselves in some Northern communities provide excellent opportunities for research. Comparative studies in different regions would be extremely useful. Studies focusing on the Negro community as well as the white community will be encouraged.

One of the first tasks of the Advisory Committee on Research will be to prepare a statement for distribution to social scientists, outlining the kinds of research that would be considered relevant under the program. The following suggestions are given simply as illustrations of the kinds of questions that might be investigated; they are by no means an exhaustive listing.

1. Desegregation within the churches themselves.

   What is the present state of affairs? What proportion of churches have racially mixed congregations? In "mixed" churches, what is the proportion of minority group members? What is the relation between the racial composition of churches and the composition of their surrounding neighborhoods?

   In churches which have become desegregated, what is the process leading to desegregation? Who takes the initiative? Which subgroups within the church are in favor of desegregation, which opposed? How is the opposition, if any, overcome? How are Negroes informed that they are welcome? Are any special steps taken to encourage them to come to the church?

   In churches which become desegregated, what is the subsequent course of events? Do white members leave? Is there any friction; if so, how is it handled? Do both racial groups participate on equal terms in the affairs of the church? Is there a change in the attitudes of members of either racial group toward the other? Is there any increase in association between members of the two races outside the church?

2. The role of the churches in the process of desegregation in the broader community.

   To what extent have clergymen or church groups taken a public stand on questions of segregation or desegregation in their community? What specific actions have they taken?

   What leads some ministers to take a stand in favor of desegregation, others to take no stand or to oppose it? What obstacles do pro-integration church leaders encounter?

   How is the clergyman's role defined? Is it considered appropriate for him to concern himself with immediate social problems, or is his legitimate sphere seen as limited to more "spiritual" matters? What is the relation between ministers' definitions of appropriate spheres of activity and those of their parishioners?

When religious leaders or religious groups take a public stand, to what extent does it influence the course of events? Under what circumstances is the position or the action taken by church people effective, under what circumstances ineffective? Are there special characteristics of the churches which give them greater potential effectiveness than other institutions in the process of decision-making about segregation? Are there special limits on their effectiveness?

3. Knowledge that the churches need in order to carry out more effectively their ministry with respect to problems of race relations.

A wide range of information about influences on behavior, about social processes, etc., can be useful to the churches in increasing the effectiveness of their functioning.

What is the relation between ideology and behavior? To what extent do church members see a relation between the religious values to which they subscribe and their behavior in concrete situations, to what extent are different areas compartmentalized? Do most Americans, as Myrdal hypothesized, experience more or less consistently a conflict between democratic values and the traditional treatment of Negroes in the United States? To the extent that there is a field moral dilemma, how can the churches most effectively draw upon it as a force for changing behavior? If a considerable number of people do not experience such a conflict, are there techniques by which they can be brought to recognize it?

What kinds of sacrifices are entailed in carrying out the process of desegregation? When principles of equality and brotherhood come into conflict with other interests and values of individuals, how is the conflict handled? For example, if desegregation of schools may institutionally be expected, in a given community, to lead to at least a temporary lowering of educational standards for white children, how serious a dilemma does this present for white parents who are concerned both with the principles of equality and brotherhood and with the welfare of their children? How openly is the dilemma faced? Do the groups that are committed to the values of equality and brotherhood - for example, the churches - admit the existence of such conflicts? Do they provide any help in resolving them? What kinds of help might they provide that they are not now providing?

It is frequently remarked that communication between whites and Negroes in the South has broken down as a result of the present conflict over school desegregation. What were the former patterns of communication? Now, and on what terms, can communication be re-established? What part can the churches play in reopening lines of communication? What are the interracial communication patterns in Northern communities, especially those where there has been a large recent in-migration of Negroes?

What is the relation of community structure to the process of decision-making and action on a controversial social issue? What

are the loci of power? Where do churches stand in the power structure? What individuals and groups are likely to become active opponents of desegregation? How are they mobilized? How much strength do they have? Which individuals and groups are likely to support desegregation? Which ones could be drawn into support for desegregation by various approaches? Who are the silent groups unlikely to take an overt stand one way or the other? To what extent do they lend quiet support to one side or the other?

Provision for Use of the Findings

The National Council's interest in research in this area springs in large part from its conviction that the findings can be of use to the churches in planning programs. One of the major advantages of sponsorship of such research by an organization like the National Council is the likelihood that the findings will be put to use. In order to make systematic provision for examination of the research findings from the point of view of potential applications, the National Council, in consultation with the Advisory Committee of social scientists, will enlist the cooperation of about ten distinguished churchmen and other citizens to serve as a commission on public interpretation. The purpose of this commission will be to consider the implications of the research findings for social policy and to interpret their significance to the general and specialized publics concerned with contemporary problems of human relations in America. The Commission will issue a public report annually or biennually.

Materials Sent: Copies —
Peace as a World Race Problem
The Negro in the South
Changing Patterns
The Negro in America Today

March 12, 1958

Miss Lucille Wiese
Deaconess Hall
Valparaiso University
Valparaiso, Indiana

Dear Miss Wiese:

In answer to your letter of March 8th, we are forwarding under separate cover some materials from our research files. As you will notice, several of the publications are quite old; however, they may be of use to you in your consideration of racism in the United States. We have very little material on hand concerning racial problems of other nations. The first few pages of the 1944 Peace as a World Race Problem (which we are forwarding) may be of some limited use to you. You may wish to consult your library or write directly to UNESCO for their booklet, Race and Society, by Kenneth Little (1952), which contains material concerning racism in South Africa, Brazil, Hawaii, and the United Kingdom. The publisher's address is listed as: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and
Cultural Organization
19, Avenue Kleber
Paris 16e, France
and the price of the booklet is $ .25.

Your library's Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature will probably list articles containing more recent information on world-wide racial practices and problems.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

RECEIVED MAR 12 1958

MM
please
handle

March 8, 1958
Deaconess Hall
Valparaiso, Indiana

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We are writing a term paper, "Racism, A World Issue", and felt that you could possibly be of assistance to us in securing material. We hope to cover the race problem as it exists in India, the Far East, the Island World of the Pacific, Africa, and also the United States. Any information you can send us will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Lucille Wiese

Lucille Wiese

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in the UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
PEnnypacker 5-6722
Department of Social Education and Action
1409 Chowan Road, Richmond 29, Va.

File

April
March 4, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your good letter of March 25th and for the various fine suggestions you make as to pamphlets and articles in the field of interracial housing. These will be quite helpful to me and also my friends in Valparaiso who were eager to get some good material on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Marion

John H. Marion
Staff Representative

JHM:bfb

State of New Jersey
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
DIVISION AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

1100 Raymond Boulevard
Newark 5, New Jersey
Market 4-1414

162 West State Street
Trenton 25, N. J.
Export 2-2131

March 4, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of February 23. We hope that you will find the Railroad Employment Survey interesting and helpful.

The Cocktail Party to which you refer was held in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Theron A. Johnson in Delmar, New York. Mr. Johnson and I are Co-Directors of our Rutgers' University Workshops in Human Relations. I do remember our meeting with pleasant memories.

I hope you are enjoying your work in the southern region.

Sincerely,

Harold A. Lett,
Assistant Director

HAL:jjm

FELLOWS: HENRY P. CHANDLER, Washington, D. C. • EDWIN F. CHINLUND, New York City • CHARLES E. CLARK, New Haven, Connecticut • TOM C. CLARK, Washington, D. C. • ALEXANDER HOLTZOFF, Washington, D. C. • LAURANCE M. HYDE, Jefferson City, Missouri • JAMES KERNEY, JR., Trenton, New Jersey • JACOB M. LASHLY, St. Louis, Missouri • BOLITHA J. LAWS, Washington, D. C. • PHILBRICK MCCOY, Los Angeles, California • CARL MCFARLAND, Missoula, Montana • EMORY H. NILES, Baltimore, Maryland • ORIE L. PHILLIPS, Denver, Colorado • ROSCOE POUND, Cambridge, Mass. • GEORGE ROSSMAN, Salem, Oregon • DAVID SARNOFF, New York City • BARNABAS F. SEARS, Chicago, Illinois • ELWYN THOMAS, Tallahassee, Florida

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DELMAR KARLEN
40 Washington Square South
New York 12, New York
Telephone: SPring 7-2000
Extension 8080

March 5, 1959

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Our organization is engaged in one aspect of the type of work that you do on a broader scale. Our interest in public administration is limited to the specialized field of judicial administration.

Because we foresee a possibility of fruitful cooperation between your organization and ours, we are enclosing herewith a copy of our brochure recently revised.

If you would like a list of our published studies, or would like to know anything further about our work, please write to us.

Sincerely yours,

Delmar Karlen

Delmar Karlen
Associate Director

March 6, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knott
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I believe that Harold replied yesterday to your letter of February 10th. We might add that we do have here certain basic documents that you probably also have or are familiar with. If not, we would be glad to send them to you on loan for as long as you might need them.

These include:

"Equal Job Opportunity Program, as set forth in executive orders 10479 and 10557"
"Report of Discussions, Minority Community Resources Conference, January 15, 1958" - Sponsored by The President's Committee on Government Contracts
"Nondiscrimination Clauses in Regard to Public Housing, Private Housing and Urban Redevelopment Undertakings" Housing and Home Finance Agency, October 1957, revised
"Executive Order 10590"

I am sorry that we cannot be more helpful. I think your letter is a warning to us that we should be better prepared in this field.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

LWD - Please let me know if we have anything helpful. HCF

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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Harold - this was the article we helped study Negro Employment in the South in Chattanooga & surrounding area; pp. 425-6, 429-31

Dear Harold:

I seem to recall that several weeks ago you told me that Look magazine had a man in this area who was working on an article or a series of articles on discriminatory practices in connection with Government contracts. Not being a subscriber to Look, I do not know if such a series has been published.

My reason for inquiring about the matter is that the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission is concerned with that problem. We should like to know whatever facts the Look man may have developed.

Can you give me any late information? Is such an article or series to be published by Look? If so, what is the publication date? If there is to be no publication at any time in the near future could you get for our Committee the factual material on which the article or articles might be based?

Thanks and best regards.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. W.
M. A. Wright

MAW?eg

Correspondence

March 9, 1959

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

My attempts to connect the "Six Acts" of the English Parliament and the French press decree of March 29, 1793 to a specific tyrant or dictator have not been as successful as I could have wished. (Actual texts and formal names of the many edicts which would more nearly support your thesis were not located in my research.) However, I am listing certain background information on these two decrees; possibly you will at least be able to use the French press decree.

Six Acts, England, 1819

Although George IV was only Prince Regent at the time these acts were passed by Parliament, he evidently enjoyed all powers normally accorded to the monarch, beginning in 1811. His father, George III (the monarch of the American Revolutionary period) was still alive in 1819, but insane (from 1811 to the time of his death in 1820). The Encyclopaedia Britannica says of George IV's reign:

> "George IV was a bad king, and his reign did much to disgust the country with the Georgian type of monarchy..."

However, criticisms of George IV seem to have been not due to tyranny, but rather because of weakness and moral laxity, so the Six Acts can only be said to have been a manifestation of a threatened monarchy and a weakling monarch.

Decree to the Convention, France, March 29, 1793 (Press Decree)

At the time of this decree, two factions in the Revolutionary Convention, the Girondists (conservative) and the Mountain (radical)

March 9, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Some recent queries from state advisory committees to the Civil Rights Commission have underlined our regrets that your article on federal employment of Negroes, federal contract compliance, etc., has not yet appeared in Look. I understand from Harold Fleming, however, that the piece may be part of a book to be published in the not too far distant future.

We are wondering if the manuscript could be made available to us for information purposes without infringing any publication contracts you may have? We would, of course, restrict the use and spread of the information in any way you wish. We are growing more and more aware that we ourselves ought to have better facts on the questions you dealt with, and it would be helpful to us to secure the orientation which your surveys could provide.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 10, 1959

Professor John Osgood
Department of Psychology and Education
Mt. Holyoke College
South Hadley, Massachusetts

Dear John:

I could have told you before I left that I would be in your hair (what there is left of it) but thought it best to let the fact creep up on you. Can you wrench yourself from Pstalozzi long enough to think about a question or two?

We are considering putting out a modest report which would do two things: (1) summarize carefully but succintly the most important desegregation plans that have been used to date by school systems which have taken the big step; (2) provide some authoritative evaluation of them. Our principal motive would be, if we do this, to supply something of interest and use for federal judges dealing with school cases.

Do you think this is a worthwhile idea? Do you think it is rendered superfluous by the Phi Delta Kappa report?

If we do this, the compilations plans would be done here. The authoratative evaluations would have to come from elsewhere and the logical sources are southern professors of education or southern school men. In either case, they would have to be people who were willing to write for us, could write concisely and who possess sufficient stature to be attended to.

I have been inquiring locally about such people, but I would be extremely interested to have your suggestions.

Give my best to Mary Alice. We will be fully counting on seeing you all on your way to Alabama next time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 10, 1959

Dr. John Hope II
54 Morningside Drive, Aptm. 4
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hope:

I look forward to meeting you sometime, but until then perhaps you will allow me this means of bringing some of our questions to you for advice.

We had a letter recently from Marion Wright, in his capacity of member of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the C. R. C., requesting information about the reality of federal contract compliance in his state. The letter was followed in a day or two by a similar request from the advisory committee's chairman. The plain fact is that we have almost nothing in the way of information or materials to supply on this subject. Neither are we sure that the Urban League observes the problem as closely as it used to do.

I would be very interested to have your opinion as to what a desirable role for SRC would be, and what, in view of our limitations, a feasible role would be in the way of gathering and maintaining a reliable picture of the status of contract compliance. Whether, furthermore, there are opportunities which we should and could meet regarding the allied problem of federal employment. You will know much better than anyone here what is already being done in these fields and who is doing it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Habit

LWD & MM - Please handle HCF

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK

297 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ORegon 4-5000

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ARTHUR O. RINDEN

Action

Corres

March 10,1959

Dr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Flemming:

The United Lutheran Church is holding a Seminar on Christian Social Responsibility at Sebring, Florida, April 7 through 9, 1959, which will include representatives from most of our congregations in Florida. The first day and a half will be devoted to a theological study and the second day and a half will be devoted to a discussion on human relations in the light of the earlier discussion. I am to have responsibility for this second portion of the program.

Would it be possible for you to send me material in Florida dealing with the present developments in human relations? I am particularly interested in the situation as regards desegregating the public schools, but also I would like information concerning employment, civil rights, and housing.

Anything you can do to assist me in my preparations for this discussion will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Letts

Harold C. Letts
Associate Executive Secretary

HCL:eb

Bill Williams
Gov. Commission on Race
Fabsinger
Seamon Samet AJC
Dean George Eply Dept. U. of Miami
Human Relations ~~Comm~~

Correspondence

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . JOHN CONSTABLE . . . .

3/11/59

MM:

I need, to answer information requests, (1) materials which tend to disprove that cultures where racial amalgamation has taken place have deteriorated as a result and materials showing (2) the harmful effects of segregation on the white child.

There may be something in the UNESCO series on the first and there was an article in LOOK magazine in 1956 or 1957 by an Emory professor showing the harmful effects of segregation on white children. Any other material you may dig up will be appreciated.

There is no big rush. The material is for John B. Morris, whom you met the other day.

Action Pattern etc
ch 13, attach 14, 15

1. H. L. Shapiro, Race Mixture, UNESCO
(Morris has on loan)

Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation by Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
(can lend) pp 26-30

L. C. Dunn, Race & Biology
Unesco (cambend)
pp 35-39

2. Action Pattern in School Segregation ch 13, also ch 14, 15

Erwin Knoll, "Washington: Showcase of Integration" Commentary, March 1959

The Truth of Local Segregation in Washington Schools

March 12, 1959

Abraham's Magazine Service
56 East 13th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to have two copies of FORTUNE, September 1956, Volume 54. If you have these on hand, or one copy at least, please mail to us and bill us.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

FORTUNE

9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y.

March 9, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 1, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are sorry to have to disappoint you in answer to your request of the sixth but we no longer have copies of "The Negro's New Economic Life" or of the September 1956 Fortune in which this article appeared.

However you can probably purchase this issue from one of the back-issue dealers who are generally listed under the heading "Magazines - Back Number" in the Classified Telephone Directory. If you don't have such a dealer right near you in Atlanta, you might try Abraham's Magazine Service, 56 East 13th Street, here in New York City. They keep a pretty complete file of back issues of all the Time Inc. publications.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Kammler

Ruth Kammler
Publisher's Office

RK mc

March 6, 1959

FORTUNE Magazine
TIME, INC.
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to have three reprints of an article from FORTUNE, September 1956, Volume 54, pages 126-31, written by Emmet John Hughes, "The Negro's New Economic Life".

If reprints are not available, please send us two copies of the magazine, issue of September 1956, and bill us.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
airmail

National Council of The Churches of Christ

In the United States of America

297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

Date

To Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

From Mrs. Nishi

We left out by mistake

the enclosed materials

from our mailing to you.

→ Dr. Dunlap

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCE
WASHINGTON SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY TELEPHONE: SPRING 7-2000

March 13, 1959

Dear Colleagues:

Enclosed is a draft of a memorandum to be submitted to foundations, requesting support for a long-term program of research on race relations under the sponsorship of the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches, as discussed in our meeting last spring. A major reason for the delay in preparation of the proposal is that John Dean, who had been assigned the responsibility for drafting it, unfortunately became ill almost immediately after the meeting. Since it seemed unlikely that any of the other participants would be able to devote the time needed to draft the memorandum, Claire Selltiz was asked to do it. In preparing the proposal, she was guided by the verbatim notes of the meeting and other materials that had formed the basis for that discussion, as well as conferences with Brewster Smith, Mrs. Nishi, and myself. The first draft of her memorandum was reviewed by Chester Rapkin and Preston Valien (who had been appointed, with John Dean, as a committee on preparation of the proposal) and by staff members of the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council. On the basis of their suggestions, the first draft was revised. This revised version has been approved by the Bureau of Research and Survey staff. In the interest of avoiding further delay, it has not been re-checked with Rapkin and Valien before being submitted to you.

A stamped addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience in sending comments, suggestions for revision, etc. In order to avoid further delay, will you please send your comments and suggestions ~~by March 31st.~~ As soon as the proposal is revised on the basis of your suggestions, it will be presented to a number of foundations.

as soon as possible

Sincerely yours,

Stuart W. Cook, Head
Psychology Department

MAR 14, 1959

MATERIALS SENT:

NYT reprint
We the Undersigned
Out of Conviction
Closing Public Schools
The Truth About Deseg. in Wash. Schools
Next Steps
What the Supreme Court Said
The Economic Effect of School Closing
The Easy Chair
The Wall St. Jour. reprint
The Negro Voter in the South - 1958

Claire Polek
92 Elm Street
Thompsonville,
Connecticut

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a high school student at Our Lady of the Angels Academy in Enfield, Connecticut. I am now in the process of writing a term paper on "The Question of Segregation".

It would be appreciated if free information on this subject could be sent to the above address.

Yours truly,

Claire Polek

Claire Polek

March 16, 1959

Office of Information
Department of Defense
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We are interested in ascertaining the names and addresses of those colleges and universities in the southern states which maintain R.O.T.C. units for any of the services, and also the names and addresses of secondary schools in the south which have R.O.T.C. units. Could you send us such a list, or refer us to some source, if there is one publically available, where the list is printed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 16, 1959

Mrs. Louise Young, Executive Director
Tennessee Council on Human Relations
416 - 21st Avenue South
Nashville, 5, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Young:

Thank you for your letter of March 11, and for the welcome information that you are following through on the survey. We have already received reports from three cities and are hoping that this time we will be able to issue a fairly complete report within a short time.

You will hear from us when the survey has been put into form for distribution.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Tennessee Council on HUMAN RELATIONS

416—21st Avenue South • Nashville 5, Tennessee • BRoadway 7-5721

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Neil McDade, Chattanooga
Rev. A. C. Miller, Nashville
Rev. J. Robert Nelson, Nashville
William H. Nicholls, Nashville
Rev. S. A. Owen, Memphis
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
Hollis F. Price, Memphis
Rev. G. S. Roberts, Chattanooga
Clarence Robinson, Chattanooga
Rev. John Rustin, Nashville
Clifford Seeber, Knoxville
Seamour Shavin, Chattanooga
Rabbi William B. Silverman, Nashville
Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
James Stokely, Newport
Mrs. James M. Todd, Nashville
Irvin Clinton Wade, Nashville
Mrs. Matthew Walker, Nashville
Robert J. Warner, Jr., Nashville
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis
Harold D. West, M.D., Nashville

Louise Young
Executive Director

March 11, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are glad to assist in your survey of segregated patterns in city terminals both because of our intrinsic interest in the study and our satisfaction in having something for our members to do. We have asked someone in each of the four cities to accept responsibility as a local reporter and are also suggesting the setting up of local survey committees in each city. We are saying however that we do not wish the use of the committee to slow down the promptness in sending back to me the filled in schedule. The observer is left free to work without a committee if he prefers.

I shall get these data in to you as promptly as I can

Sincerely yours,

Louise Young

Louise Young
Executive Director

LY:lh

Check yellow note

March 16, 1959

Mr. Harry S. Jones, Executive Secretary
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
Room 209, 121 East Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

Thank you for your prompt and complete cooperation regarding the survey. We have received reports from three cities, to date, and hope that we will be able to release a fairly complete report in a relatively short time. You will, of course, receive copies of the survey when it has been put into form for distribution.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

"To strive through education, research, information and consultation to improve the educational, economic, and civic conditions of the people of North Carolina without regard to ethnic or national origins; to combat the causes of intergroup friction and misunderstanding, and to encourage intergroup cooperation for the common welfare; to interpret to the public the needs and aspirations of minority groups; to strive to attain the goal of equal opportunity for all the people of the state."

—from article II of the bylaws.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations

Room 209
121 East Third Street
Charlotte, N. C.

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March 13, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your questionaire about facilities in Charlotte is enclosed.

I have asked Charles Davis, who is with the American Friends Service Committee in High Point, to send you the data about Greensboro, and Dr. William Greene, Executive Secretary of the North Carolina Teachers Association, to send you the information about Raleigh. I am sure you will hear from both of them promptly.

You will, I am sure, send us the complete results of this survey when it is finished.

Sincerely,

Harry S. Jones

Harry S. Jones
Executive Secretary

HSJ/hng

Thank you

March 17, 1959

Professor Frank H. Jackson
Department of Economics
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Professor Jackson:

I noticed a newspaper report of your recent lecture on "The Economic Costs of Segregation". If you have a copy of this lecture available, we would be extremely happy to have it or to borrow it. I should be interested to know, also, if you have written other things or have writings planned on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MATERIALS SENT UNDER SEPARATE COVER

Action Patterns in School Desegregation
The Negro Voter in the South
What the Supreme Court Said
Next Steps in the South
Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends and the Housing of Minority Groups
Civil Rights - Deseg. Status: Florida
Dade Segregation Losing its Grip Except in Schools, Miami Herald-12/6/58
Report on the South: The Integration Issue, New York Times-3/13/56
SERS Statistical Summary, October 1958
The Wall Street Journal reprint - 12/17/57
New York Times Magazine reprint - 12/1/57
The Negro Voter in the South - 1958

March 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Letts
Associate Executive Secretary
Division of Christian Life and Work
National Council of Churches in the USA
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Letts:

Mr. Fleming has referred your letter of March 10 to this office and we, in reply, are forwarding under separate cover some materials covering your general (but not geographical) areas of interest, and also such materials as we have concerned specifically with Florida. The latter, however, contain no data on state-wide developments in housing and employment. Therefore, you may wish to contact the following individuals or agencies. I feel sure that they will be happy to provide material of interest for use in your seminar.

(1) Dean George Epley
Chairman, Department of Human Relations
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida
(Dean Epley's particular field of concern is housing)

(2) Seymour Samet, A. J. C.
1208 Congress Building
Miami, Florida

(3) William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

(4) Governor's Commission on Race Relations
State House
Tallahassee, Florida

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

Is Segregation Christian?
Special Report: Religious Bodies and The Supreme Court Decision

New South:	Feb. '58	The Southern Minister
	March 58	The Current Crisis in Race Relations (M.L.King)
	April 58	Mobile Ministers Stand Together
	May 58	Christian Guide to Race Relations
	June 58	Dallas Ministers
		Racial Views and Christianity
	Nov. 58	Resistance Growing to School Closings
		Virginia Parochial Schools
	Dec. 58	Obedience to Law (Metho. Bishops)
		Meet, Know and Listen (Protes. Epis. Bishops)
		Root Out of Hearts All Bitterness and Hatred (Catholic Bishops of U.S.)
		Give Positive Witness (UCW)

Out of Conviction March 18, 1959
Cahill's sermon
The Church, Race and the Arts of Government, Christianity and Crisis, 2-16-59
Dow Kirkpatric's sermon
GCC Jan. 13 statement
Jubelee

Mr. C. Eric Lincoln
Boston University
Charles River Campus
270 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lincoln:

As Mr. Routh promised, we are forwarding a package of materials, some of which I suspect you have already seen, but which would seem to us to be a representative and fairly complete collection of the principal statements of churchmen regarding present issues. It is, of course, much easier to document what the churches have said than it is to describe the more important record of what they have done. In that latter connection I think the list of people which Mr. Routh sent to you will provide much fruitful correspondence for you.

Included in the materials being sent are a few newspaper clippings. These are tendered only to suggest to you fairly typical expressions of the clergy in the south today.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

LD

March 13, 1959

Mr. C. Eric Lincoln
Boston University
Charles River Campus
270 Bay State Road
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Lincoln:

Indeed I do remember meeting you at Perdue University one week ago today. I recall that you said you were engaged in dissertation research on the positive role organized religion has played in desegregation efforts.

I have turned your letter over to Dr. Leslie Dunbar, SRC's Director of Research, and you will be hearing from him in the near future. I am sure he will send you a considerable amount of material.

You asked for the names of a number of involved persons to whom you might write. I would suggest those on the enclosed list.

I hope this is helpful. We would appreciate a copy of the dissertation when it is completed, if it is at all possible. Should you, as do most graduate students, use parts of this material for term papers along the way, we would appreciate copies of them.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

L I S T

Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
1589 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Herman Long
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service
Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Rev. Malcolm Calhoun
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
8 North 6th Street
Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Galen Martin
Unitarian Service Committee
P. O. Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Galen Weaver
Race Relations Department
Board of Home Missions
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Very Rev. Maurice V. Shean
The Oratory of St. Phillip
434 Charlotte Avenue
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Mr. Lewis Deer, Director
Social Education and Inter-
cultural Relations
United Christian Missionary
Society
222 S. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Mr. Will D. Campbell
National Council of Churches
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. John Marion
Board of Christian Education
United Presbyterian Church,USA
1409 Chowan Road,
Richmond, Virginia

Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
Christian Life Commission
Southern Baptist Convention
161 Eighth Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Cornelius Tarplee
National Council of the
Protestant Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. Edward Driscoll
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
National Council of Churches
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Rev. Dow Kirkpatrick
St. Mark Methodist Church
Peachtree and 5th Streets
Atlanta, Georgia

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS · 270 BAY STATE ROAD · BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

HUMAN RELATIONS CENTER

March 11,1959

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

I hope you will recall our brief conversation following your address at Purdue University last Friday.

I am currently engaged in dissertation research on the positive role organized religion has played in the integration controversy since 1954. The dissertation assumes the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court to have presented new perspectives in race relations which have been reflected in the attitudes and activities of some church groups and individuals.

I am particularly interested in knowing what the denominational bodies, conferences, parishes, presbyteries, individual churches, ministerial alliances and individual ministers and priests have SAID and DONE to promote or support racial integration (since 1954) in the following areas: 1)education; 2)housing; 3) transportation; 4) employment; and 5) religious worship and/or church organizations.

I shall be very grateful to you for any literature, references or other data you may think useful, as well as for suggestions you may wish to offer concerning the project itself. As I am just initiating research, please do not assume that I "already have" anything. If you know "involved" persons to whom I might write, please help me with such names and addresses.

Thank you so much for your kindness.

Very truly yours,

C. Eric Lincoln

March 18, 1959

Mr. Delmar Karlen, Asso. Director
40 Washington Square South
New York 12, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Karlen:

Thank you for sending us a copy of your brochure, "The Institute of Judicial Administration". We would like to receive a list of your published studies.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Hollins College
Virginia
3-18-59

Dear Sir,

I am a student at Hollins College, Virginia, where I am taking an educational sociology course. As a semester project, I have been assigned a term paper on the problem of intergration. I am to deal with this question from the viewpoint of the successful intergration plan of Superintendent Carmick of the Louisville, Kentucky schools.

I would be grateful for any information you could send me on the Louisville plan of

J. Crawford
HOLLINS COLLEGE
VIRGINIA
Box 108

ROANOKE
MAR 9
5 PM
1959
VA.

Southern Regional Council
Room 423
63 Auburn Ave. NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Hollins College
Virginia

integration.

Thank you very much for your trouble.

Sincerely yours,
Joyce Crawford

1- Louisville Story (book)
2- Action Plans for S. Des.
3- Teacher Integration (Ky.)

March 18, 1959

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700, Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are sending as requested a copy of "Next Steps in the South" and a list of SRC publications. We have in mind, incidentally, a revision and up-dating of "Next Steps", but I am afraid that our schedule will not permit its completion before late spring at the earliest.

We hope that you found the materials on voting, which Mr. Fleming sent, of use to you. There is not much else at the present time that we have available on voting in North Carolina. Nor do we have materials of any particular interest regarding employment or housing in North Carolina. The enclosed newspaper clipping (marked "A") does indicate that there are some people in North Carolina who are especially informed regarding employment and you may wish to communicate with them. We are enclosing, also, for whatever interest they may have for you, some newspaper clippings regarding certain housing incidents in North Carolina since 1955. I would recommend to you, in the event you have not already seen it, The Report of the Commission on Race and Housing entitled Where Shall We Live? and published in 1958 by the University of California Press.

I am enclosing also another book which you may be already familiar with. It is Action Patterns in School Desegregation.

We hope that you will continue to call upon us for information whenever you think we may be of help.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
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ALICE N. WATKINS
JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.

TELEPHONE BROADWAY 3-8265
P. O. BOX 868

March 10, 1959

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you send me a copy of "NEXT STEPS IN THE SOUTH" and also a list of other publications of the Council which might be of interest to the members of the Civil Rights Commission Advisory Board for North Carolina.

The next meeting of our State Committee is March 25, 1959. We would be happy to receive any factual reports of the Council which may contain information relating to discrimination based on race, creed, or national origin in the fields of voting, education, housing, and employment in North Carolina.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNeill Smith

McNS/jo

The Negro Voter in the South, 1957

The Negro Voter in the South, 1958 (mimeod)

"The Negro Vote" Winston-Salem Sentinel, 1957

"The Current Status of Negro Suffrage in N. C." Solomon Sutker, prepared in summer of 1956, for SRC.

MA

March 19, 1959

Professor Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Roberts:

First of all, apologies for the delay in answering your letter of March 3rd. It somehow got sidetracked in the office mail.

I have pulled out the computations which were done for Virginia after the 1956 survey. I believe the following are the data that you want:

Non-white population (Counties above population median correlated with counties above median Negro registration)	-.42
County population change (Counties gaining correlated, etc.)	.18
Non-white population change (Counties gaining correlated, etc.)	.06
Urbanization (Counties above 50% correlated etc.)	.43
Industrialization (Counties above 25% correlated etc.)	.04

Tenancy (Counties with over 50% tenancy correlated, etc.)	- .77
Median school years completed (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.48
Median school years completed, non-white (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.60
Median family income (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.45
Median family income, non-white (Counties above median correlated etc.)	.41

I am not, myself, in a position to attest to the accuracy of these figures, though I have no reason to doubt that they were properly and carefully obtained. Please let me know if you need any of the figures upon which the correlation is based. You may recall that the *median* Negro voting registration for Virginia, which is the constant factor in all our correlations, was 19.78.

You asked about further studies in this field. A new survey was done for 1958 and the results are now being written up. The report will be, we think, somewhat more detailed than The Negro Voter in the South. Margaret Price is again the penman, or rather pen-woman. A preliminary statement, put out largely as a matter of public information tactics, was issued last November and I am enclosing a copy of it and also a copy of an earlier Special Report summarizing official comments about Negro voting. You will certainly get a copy of the new survey report when it is issued.

Please let me know if we can help you in any other way.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Blind Copy: Professor Donald Matthews, Dept. Political Science
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

It occurs to me that you may be interested to know that such correlationsas the above have been done here, although I gather that no one has evidenced pride in them - they never got out of our files.

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

March 3, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is just a reminder of our recent telephone conversation in which you promised to send me what correlation you were able to find in the relations between the voting behavior of Negroes in Virginia and other social features, also some imformation concerning further studies in this field.

Thank you for your kindness.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology

HWR:djp

March 19, 1959

Mr. William Peters
921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

Dear Mr. Peters:

Thank you for your long and detailed letter of March 17. It is great news that your book will be out next month. We shall do all we can to get people to read it. I don't think that we are in such a press that we cannot wait for publication of the book in order to use the material. After all, we are interested in "impact" too, and if Doubleday thinks this is the way to do it we defer to their canny judgment.

Many thanks for your kind words about SRC.

Best wishes for the success of the book.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 17, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Bad news on the Look article. I learned a few days ago that it definitely will not be published prior to publication of my book, The Southern Temper, which contains the same -- and more -- material on the subject of discrimination in federal employment in the South. But Look won't let go of the article for sale to another magazine, and the word is that they might publish after book publication. Thus far, at least, I've not been able to get a reason out of them for all of this, but apparently, they are simply overstocked on pieces which are more immediately tied in with the news.

In any case, this means that the material will first see the light of day in the book, which comes out April 23rd. An advance copy is going to Harold Fleming within the next couple of weeks, so you'll have a chance then to see what it contains. Because this will be the first publication of some pretty hot material, Doubleday plans to make the most of it in an attempt, several days prior to publication, to get some wire service stories on it. This could get the book off to a flying start, as I'm sure you'll understand; hence there's a certain reluctance to allow prior mention of the material to take the edge off possible news stories.

It may well be, of course, that a deadline of April 23rd won't badly hamper whatever use you hoped to have for this material. If it does, and you have great need of getting the word around before that date, please let me know, and I'll try to figure out how it can be done. After all, it was chiefly through the good services of the SRC and its affiliates that the surveys were made. Do let me know.

Cordially yours,

William Peters

William Peters

921 Grant Avenue
Pelham Manor, New York

March 20, 1959

Mr. Frank Crabtree
1922 Bixby Street, S. E.
Atlanta 17, Georgia

Dear Mr. Crabtree:

Thank you again for your good and prompt job on our calculations. I hope that we shall have opportunities for working together in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 23, 1959

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 W. Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for following through on the request for research ~~on research~~ on common carriers and in waiting rooms. We shall look forward to hearing from Miss Duro and Mr. Phillips early in April.

When the reports have been tabulated and the information is ready to be released we will certainly send you a copy. We have received reports on four cities thus far.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

1220 W. CAPITOL TELEPHONE FR 4-4521

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

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March 19, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In regard to your research on discrimination on common carriers, we have a group of college students associated with our organization at work on the project in Little Rock. Miss Marilyn Duro is the liaison person for these students. For the Fort Smith research, through Mr. W. M. Phillips at A. M. & N. College in Pine Bluff we have the services of one of his students in Sociology who lives in Fort Smith. He thinks he can get the information there by Easter.

So, shortly after the first of April we should be able to report on the data you asked.

We look forward to getting acquainted with you in person before too long.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

March 23, 1959

Mr. R. J. Pollard
McIntyre Elementary School
30th Gordon Sts.
Philadelphia 32, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Pollard:

Enclosed are several pamphlets which we believe will be helpful to you. We would like to suggest that you can obtain others, listed below, which we do not have in quantity for distribution.

Equality of Opportunity in Housing, National Community Relations Advisory Council, 1952

If Your Next Neighbors Are Negroes, by R. G. Mastruie Published by American Missionary Association, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

"Discrimination in Housing: A Debate", New York Times Magazine, July 21, 1957.

"Making Our Cities Fit to Live In", by Hannah Lees, in The Reporter, May 1957.

"Philadelphia's New Problem", Time Magazine, Feb. 24, 1958.

Thank you for calling on us, and we will be glad to be of assistance to you at any time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Dear Sir:

I am teaching a unit on Housing around the world any charts, graphs or leaflets that you can send me will be greatly appreciated. Please send any or all material possible

Thank you
Kindly
R. J. Pollard

McIntyre Elem, School
30th Gordon Sts
Phila, 32 Penna.

McIntyre Elem, School
30th Gordon Sts
Phila, 32, Penna

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
MAR 19
PM
1959

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FUN

LIBERTY

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave
NE. Atlanta, Georgia.

Virginia Council on Human Relations

216-C BROAD-GRACE ARCADE
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA
Phone MI. 9-0872

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Executive Director

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March 24, 1959

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

We have had several requests for information dealing with inter-marriage. Are there any good studies available showing any correlation, or lack of same, between inter-marriage, miscegenation, and school desegregation, etc.?

We are interested in documenting the argument that desegregation and removal of legal barriers tends in fact to decrease miscegenation as the tendency to exploit minority status disappears. One cannot admit to favoring inter-marriage around here, but fears can be allayed with this kind of information, which I suspect is available somewhere.

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul Rilling
Executive Director

PR:jdg

H. L. Shapiro
Race Literature - Unesco

March 23, 1959

Mr. Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi, Director
Research Unit in Christian Life and Work
Bureau of Research and Survey
National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Nishi:

I have noted your comment in the symposium on The Role of the Social Sciences in Desegregation that the Bureau of Research of the National Council of Churches has undertaken the systematic exploration of literature and research pertinent to the function of churches and religion in the desegregation issue. This is a field in which we have great interest, and we would be particularly desirous of seeing the outcome of any research conducted by your organization. I would like to ask that you remember us when distributing any reports from this project.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 23, 1959

Mr. James R. Fox,
The Department of Religion,
The American University,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Fox:

I would like to request a copy of your paper "Virginia Clergy and Desegregation, 1956", read at the American Sociological Society meeting in 1957. If you no longer have an extra copy available, we would be very grateful for a chance to read your paper, on loan.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 24, 1959

Community Relations Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us two copies of "Observations on Desegregation in Baltimore: Three Years Later," Teachers College Record, Vol. 59, No. 5, 1958, a 14-page reprint. We are enclosing .30 in stamps.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

March 24, 1959

Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us a copy of the background discussion paper on the theme, "Migration, Human Resources, and Southern Economic Development".

When the pamphlet on "Human Resources and Southern Development" is ready for distribution, we would very much like to have a copy of it, also.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

March 24, 1959

Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

We have a newspaper clipping which mentions several recent polls in Little Rock, and speaches by various citizens. Would it be possible for you to get for us copies of any, or all, of these? We would be interested particularly in a copy of the poll of Little Rock business people by the American Association of University Women, the speach of the president of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, and the Chamber of Commerce poll of business men.

We will be extremely appreciative of anything you can do along this line.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

March 24, 1959

Mr. H. Brandt Ayers
1804½ Fourth Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Ayers:

Under separate cover we have sent you two copies of "The Negro Voter in the South", as you requested. We are very sorry to be so long in replying to your letter. The office staff has been absent, one and two at a time, with virus for the past month and our work has just now been caught up.

We would like to suggest articles and books which we think would be of help to you, and which you could probably find in your local library.

The September 1956 issue of Fortune magazine has a very fine article by Emmet John Hughes, "The Negro's New Economic Life".

Books: C. A. Becker, The Economics of Discrimination, Chicago, 1958.
Eli Ginzberg, The Negro Potential, N. Y., 1956.
C. B. Hoover & B. V. Ratchford, Economic Resources and Policies of the South, N. Y., 1951.
National Manpower Council, A Policy for Skilled Manpower, N. Y., 1954.
Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South, (prepared for the NPA Committee on the South, 1955
Merit Employment, Why and How, American Friends Service Committee, June 1956
Lewis Jones & Stanley Smith, Tuskegee, Alabama: Voting Right and Economic Pressure (published by Anti-Defamation League), June 1958

A Fair Chance for All Americans, National Conference of Christians and Jews.
Rockefeller Brothers Special Studies Project, The Pursuit of Excellence, 1958.
B. D. Segal, Accent on the South (distributed by Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights).

Government Publications:
Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Bureau of the Census, Nov. 1956 and April 1957.
Economic Characteristics of the Sixth Federal Reserve District, Research Department, Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, June 1958.
News Release, U. S. Department of Commerce, Atlanta Field Office,
May 29, 1958
July 28, 1958
July 30, 1958
March 12, 1958
June 20, 1958
Notes on the Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States, Bureau of Labor Statistics, May 1957.

Books on Population trends:
J. M. Maclachlan & J. S. Floyd, This Changing South, Gainesville, 1956.
Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, Bureau of the Census, 1958
October 5, 1956 Current Population Reports, Population Estimates,
August 9, 1957 Bureau of the Census.
State and Regional Variation in Prospective Labor Supply, Bulletin 893, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1957
Statistical Record of Nashville, 1958, Nashville Chamber of Commerce.

Article:
Hodding Carter, "The Shrinking South", Look, March 4, 1958
A. S. Stephan, "Population Ratios, Racial Attitudes, and Desegregation", The Journal of Negro Education, Winter, 1957.

We hope that these suggestions will help you in your research work.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

March 24, 1959

Mr. Max E. Roegge
702 Brown
Valparaiso, Indiana

Dear Mr. Roegge:

We have mailed you, under separate cover, a number of pamphlets and some reprints of articles and statements which we believe will be helpful to you in your project.

We would like to suggest that you also write to the office of The National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.; and to the Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Both these organizations will have materials on work of the church in this area that we may not know about.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

March 24, 1959.

Dear Harold:

You will find attached a "blind" copy of my letter to Henry Shire which you requested. Please show it to "Les" as my first installment of an answer to his letter.

I am also enclosing another copy and asking you to send it to Marion Wright -- on a confidential basis -- with the suggestion that he might want to make a similar request to the ECA.

Would have sent it direct but don't have his address.

Sincerely,

(over)

P.S. "Confidential" refers to indicating fact that I have written Shire with this request, not to the contents of the letter or use of this approach if it seems desirable by any of the State Advisory Committees of CCR.

[illegible]

Confidential

54 Morningside Drive
Apartment 53
New York 25, New York
March 21, 1959

Mr. Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Shine:

At the last meeting of the Tennessee Advisory Committee in Nashville on March 5th we discussed requests that the Advisory Committee seek information on the availability of employment opportunities for qualified Negro applicants in industrial firms in the state which have Federal Government contracts and in Government departments, agencies, and installations operating within the state. I was asked to assume the chairmanship of a subcommittee on Employment and I have accepted this responsibility provided I can assemble a suitable committee and the necessary resources for its effective operation.

The basic function of such a sub-committee, as I see it, would be to gather the essential facts to indicate the minority hiring and utilization practices. Such an effort would require the utmost in tact and the assistance of knowledgeable leaders and scholars (researchers) as well as the full cooperation of the Commission on Civil Rights' staff. In fact, I believe my ability to get assistance will depend rather heavily upon the cooperation that we may expect from the Commission.

In order to systematically obtain a factual picture of the situation, the first essential requirement is an accurate listing of the names and addresses of the following:

1. Private companies having contracts with the Federal Government operating in Tennessee,
2. Federal Government agencies, department, facilities, installations, etc., operating in Tennessee.

I believe the most feasible and appropriate means of obtaining such information is for the Commission to request such information from the appropriate Government agencies. Consequently, I am writing to ask that you obtain these lists for the confidential use of the Tennessee Advisory Committee. Mr. Wofford attended our meeting and will be able to give you more details as to the basis of this request.

At best, such a study could cover only a sample of the private firms having Government contracts, and Federal Government agencies and facilities. Such a sample must be drawn objectively and at random if the results are to have significance. This is why we shall need official lists. Even partial lists drawn on an objective basis would serve our purposes, e.g., firms receiving contracts during a specified period giving the dollar value of the contract and the products or services being furnished. Whether the contract is still in force at the time information is requested is not important since our only objective would be to obtain a picture of prevailing minority employment policies and practices of firms that are now or have been recently dealing with the Federal Government. Be assured that confidences would be respected and that the

information of individual firms would not be identified in such a study.

May I hear from you promptly on this matter as such an effort would have to be commenced promptly if the indispensible cooperation of university oriented professional help is to be obtained.

In reply to your letter of March 12th, my New York address is 54 Morningside Drive, Apartment 53, New York 25, New York (Phone UN 6-1174); and my office, National Manpower Council, Columbia University, New York 27, New York (MO 6-2234).

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

March 25, 1959

Mr. John H. Marion, Staff Representative
Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the United States
P. O. Box 1086
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Marion:

Fred Routh has asked me to respond to your request for suggestions of materials regarding racial problems involved in housing. Unfortunately, we have never got together reprints in this field and I can do little more at the moment than mention some titles to you which you or your friend may wish to obtain.

I know nothing of the peculiar characteristics of Valparaiso, but would say in general that our opinion of the report, Where Shall We Live?, is high and that we know of no statement more objective and more worthwhile than this. An interesting discussion of legal questions is the front page story in the March issue of Community; we have just ordered a few extra copies. When they are received we will mail one to you. Some other titles which I can recommend are the following:

Pamphlets and Miscellaneous:

R. B. Anliot, The Effect of Negro Occupancy in a Public Housing Project or Private Housing on the Value of Neighboring Residences, Youngstown, Ohio, 1953.

NAIRO, Reports on Housing, 1955 - articles by G. B. Nesbitt and E. Rutledge.

Articles:

Clark, Dennis, "Delayed Action Problems in Changing Neighborhoods," Interracial Review, January 1958.

"Discrimination in Housing: A Debate," N. Y. Times Magazine, July 21, 1957.

Merton Grodzins, "Metropolitan Segregation," Scientific American, October 1957.

L. M. Laurenti, "Effects of Nonwhite Purchases on Market Prices of Residences," The Appraisal Journal, July 1952.
Hannah Lees, "Making Our Cities Fit to Live In," The Reporter May 1957.
"Open Occupancy Housing," House and Home, April 1955.
"Philadelphia's New Problem," Time, February 24, 1958.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

LP
JC

March 24, 1959

Mr. John H. Marion
Staff Representative
Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the United
States of America
P. O. Box 1086
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Jack:

Thanks for your letter of the 20th. I, too, was sorry you didn't get back by the office, but understand full well that Ed Randall kept you tied down.

I do indeed remember your mentioning a visit to Indiana some time back. I have turned your letter over to Les Dunbar and John Constable; you will be hearing from them in the near future regarding other materials in the area of housing.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Clear Copy Onion Skin

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

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in the UNITED STATES *of* AMERICA

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Les -
JC -
MM
Help!

P. O. Box 1086
Nashville, Tennessee
March 20, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Associate Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It was good to have the visit with you in Atlanta last week and I am sorry I wasn't able to get back by the office for another chat before I got away Saturday evening. Ed Randall and I were so occupied with his tape recordings and with scurrying about the city that we weren't able to accomplish all we wanted to do before we had to leave.

You may remember that I mentioned a visit to Indiana some weeks ago and my need for some suggestions as to first-class printed materials on housing. The town of Valparaiso will be facing soon the problem of adjusting to a great many new workers in an industrial plant, and a friend of mine there is anxious to place some good materials in the hands of both real estate men and newspaper editors who will be in key positions to assist in the town's adjustment to the racial aspects of the problem.

I have copies of the recent report of the Commission on Race and Housing ("Where Shall We Live?") and also a Public Affairs pamphlet entitled "Whose My Neighbor?" I am not at all sure, though, that these are the best things to place in the hands of the kind of people my friend wants to reach. If you have any suggestions, I would appreciate your passing them along. And, of course, I would be glad to reimburse you for any materials you might be able to send me from Atlanta.

Cordially yours,

Jack

John H. Marion
Staff Representative

JHM:ddw

March 25, 1959

Community
4233 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 53, Illinois

Dear Sirs:

We would like to have ten copies of your issue of March, 1959, Vol. 18, No. 7, and enclose .70¢ in stamps in payment.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Correspondence

March 26, 1959

Mrs. Grace Hamilton
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

You will find enclosed such information as I have been able to compile from our newsclip files indicating the Fulton-DeKalb delegation vote on various education bills during the last general assembly. You will note that in several instances I was not able to determine whether various delegates favored certain legislation, deliberately abstained from voting, or were merely absent when the ballot was cast. News stories generally gave the total vote and mentioned the names of the few dissenters and although it is my feeling that this implies a favoring vote from other Fulton-DeKalb representation, I don't find documentation to this effect.

I have contacted both the League of Women Voters and the Clerk's Office in the House of Representatives. The League doesn't have the information, but the Clerk's office may be able to provide us with a roll call vote on a few "important" bills. (Their official record of votes cast won't be published for about three months.) Therefore, if the enclosed material is too incomplete for your needs, please call me and I'll go down to the capitol just as soon as possible to see if more complete data is available.

You will also note that I have included only the administration-sponsored school segregation legislation. Several other bills having to do with education were enacted, but they seem on the surface to have had no connection with maintaining segregation. Let me know if

you would like me to try to obtain the Fulton-DeKalb vote on these other laws.

Please do not hesitate to call on us if this information is insufficient for your needs.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM:a

For enclosures See Pol. Ga. Legislature - Seg. Leg.; 1959 Newsclips

March 25, 1959

Professor Warren E. Gauerke
Division of Teacher Education
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Warren:

We are much pleased that you and Ross Green have consented to undertake the preparation of a pamphlet on the private school question. Please consider this a joint letter to you and Ross confirming the understanding that we had reached.

The proposed treatment, as Ross outlined it to me yesterday on the telephone, seems good. As I understand that, you will include in your study such subjects as: The present costs of public schools; the cost experience of private schools in the area; the relative effectiveness and success of private and public schools; accreditation problems involved in setting up new private schools; indications of some of the legal questions that would have to be resolved. It is also my understanding, that, although most of your data will be derived from Georgia, ~~that~~ you will endeavor to present it in such a way as to suggest that this is a case study generally applicable to other southern states.

As I told Ross, we would be delighted to have your names appear on the title page as authors. Whether the pamphlet comes out with our imprint or that of some other organization - or with no imprint at all - are matters that we would reserve for our decision. Our tentative thinking at the present is in favor of using our own imprint.

Finally, I proposed to you a joint fee of $250.00.

Once again, many thanks for undertaking this most important assignment. We think it will be a real contribution to southern planning and to intelligent public discussion. We are fortunate and happy that the study is in such good hands.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

DIVISION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

March 24, 1959

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Just a follow up to sharpen the points raised in the telephone conversation Green and I had with you this morning.

It was agreed that we would do the job jointly and that the material would appear a pamphlet form. Also, that we will contact you within fifteen days or there abouts to relate our progress and that a "rough" draft will be prepared within three weeks. You suggested help from your staff would be available.

You mentioned to me that compensation for the job "may be arranged" or that it "will be arranged." I'm not sure which.

Please confirm these impressions.

Sincerely yours,

Warren.

WEG/t

Warren E. Gauerke.

March 30, 1959

Mr. Ray Tyler
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Penn.

Dear Mr. Tyler:

It was good to hear from you and to learn of your plans research into Negro voting registration in Louisiana. We are always glad to welcome people from the schools to this field and shall be happy to do anything we can to further your work. I am not fully sure, from the wording of your letter, whether you have in hand some of our previous voting studies and am therefore enclosing copies. Our files on Louisiana are not thick. They do contain an interesting memorandum from our Louisiana consultant and you would be welcome to study this. There is, however, only one copy. The most convenient method, from our point of view, of showing you this would be for you to visit our office. If Atlanta will not be included in your summer itinerary, please let me know and we will see what else may be done. You probably have seen the article in the September 1957 American Political Science Review by Fenton and Vines. This article grew out of their work on our 1956 survey.

We are completing now a revised survey of Negro voting which will include the case studies of three southern states, one of which is Louisiana. The Louisiana report has been done by Kenneth Vines of Tulane; there is a likelihood that his study will be reprinted in full in our new survey, which we hope will be published within about two months. I shall make sure that you get a copy. Let me repeat that we would be glad to have you come by and use whatever material you can find in our voting files, as well as materials in our clipping files.

We are glad to know of your interest in the Southern Regional Council. Unfortunately the Human Relations Council in Louisiana is in process of reorganization and I think the best thing for you to do at the present time would be simply to subscribe to New South. When the Louisiana people are again in a position to accept members, we shall pass your name along to them.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: New South
Negro Voting in the South
Special Report: Negro Voting in the South
November, 1958

SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA

March 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Dolfinger-McMahon Foundation has just awarded me a grant to do some summer research into Negro voter registration in Louisiana. I recently received reports of the studies on Negro voting in the South made under the auspices of your organization. Would it be possible for me to gain access to the original materials from which these reports were compiled? Such information would be invaluable for my research.

Also as a Southerner I am personaly interested in the Southern Regional Council and would like to become a member. Would you please put me in contact with the Louisiana affiliate.

Yours truly,

Ray Tyler

Ray Tyler

acknowledge

March 31, 1959

American Civil Liberties Union
of Greater Miami
Olympia Building
Miami, Florida

ATTENTION: Political Rights Committee

Gentlemen:

The March 23 Civil Liberties Union Weekly Bulletin makes reference to a report your organization has recently issued disclosing discriminatory methods in the registration of Negro voters in the Miami area. We would like very much to obtain a copy of this report for our reference files. If it is available, please forward one copy to me in care of the above address, and bill the Southern Regional Council for any charges.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/blc

March 31, 1959

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you for your reply of March 26th. I am sorry to keep bothering you, but Mr. Dunbar is most eager to have all information possible on the Little Rock polls. Something seems to have gone wrong with our files on this, because we have these items only:

"How Is Business?", an editorial from Arkansas Gazette, 1-27-59
"Minimum Plan Approved by 819-245 Vote", news story, 3-3-59
"Surveyed Businessmen Tell Crisis Impact on Little Rock", news story, 1-25-59 (with page containing table and individual comments by the business men)

If you would be kind enough to check these against your own files to see what is missing, and could get us a copy (we could photograph your copy and return it) we would be so grateful.

In particular, the speech of the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the poll of the CC if it has been printed more in detail than in the above story.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

March 26, 1959

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

The Arkansas Gazette carried as full a report on the speeches and polls to which you refer as you can find. We subscribed to the Gazette for SRC knowing that you would want such materials. So, we assume that you have these (1) full reports on the (2) poll of the American Association of University Women and the (3) poll of the Chamber of Commerce as well as a full report on the speech of the President of the latter organization. If you do not find that you have this material from The Arkansas Gazette, we will be glad to look it up and send it.

As far as the speech of Mr. Williams, President of the Chamber of Commerce, I do not believe it was ever written in full.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp

OFFICERS—MRS. THELMA ENGLER, CHAIRMAN • DR. TILMAN C. COTHRAN, VICE-CHAIRMAN • MRS. FLOY SPARLING, VICE-CHAIRMAN • THE REV. CHARLES C. WALKER, TREASURER • MRS. ADELL WOODS, SECRETARY

STAFF—NAT R. GRISWOLD, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • JOHN W. WALKER, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR • MRS. VELMA POWELL, SECRETARY AND PROGRAM

A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

March 31, 1959

Dr. Marion A. Wright
Linville Falls
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I have noticed in the Journal and Guide for March 28th a statement by Mr. McNeil Smith indicating that the North Carolina Advisory Committee expects soon to have current registration figures of white and colored in North Carolina. As you know, we have been working on a new voting survey, and one of the problems in connection with it is that we have no recent figures for North Carolina. We would, therefore, be most grateful if you could see that we get the information which Mr. McNeil said he would have. We need state totals and, if possible, county totals of Negro and white registrants.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 31, 1959

Miss Kathy Beers
Route #98
Johnsonburg, New York

Dear Miss Beers:

We are sending you, under separate cover, three issues of New South, each of which contains an article giving information on the subject of your History project. Another source you may find interesting, and helpful, is the ABC interview of James McBride Dabbs by Mike Wallace.

Best wishes on your project. We are happy to be of any assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

Route #98
Johnsonburg, New York
March 25, 1959

Publisher
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In preparing information on my History project, The American Negro, I found reference to your periodical "The New South". I think this might be of some use. Would you please send me the latest edition? If there is any charge please let me know by return mail. Thank you very much.

Yours truly,
Kathy Beers
Route #98
Johnsonburg, New York

March 31, 1959

Miss Julia Adams
Box 58 Dascomb
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

Dear Miss Adams:

Mr. Fleming referred your letter to the Research Department for reply, since we keep here all materials to be mailed out. I am sending you our special report on Pro-Segregation Groups, as information on the Ku Klux Klan is included. It is not easy to get documented information on the Klan today.

Within the next two weeks we have a new pamphlet coming out on "Violence" by various groups in the south opposing desegregation. This will include information on the Klan, and we will be glad to keep your name in mind and mail a copy to you as soon as it reaches us for distribution.

Best wishes to you in your research.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

LWD

Box 58, Dascomb
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Flemming,

Last year I was fortunate enough to be a white student at a newly integrated high school in North Carolina, and there gain insight into this problem of race relations. In receiving annonymous phone calls during the year and in noticing Klan motorcades and meetings which were held very near my city, Greensboro, I am interested in knowing more about just what is happening in some of these perhaps extremely minority groups.

As a freshman at Oberlin College this year, I have become even more concerned about race relations and have decided to write a term paper on The Organization and Influences of The Ku Klux Klan Today. The scope of my subject is rather narrow, but I wondered if you could give me some current, factual information. Last summer I attended an inter-racial N.C.C.J. conference and met Dr. Lovejoy who has recommended that I write to you. I will be very grateful for any information you can send me.

Sincerely yours,

Julia Adams

[illegible]

March 31, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

I think you are ahead of the game in looking for documentation on the points which you raise in your letter of March 24th. I know of none. I will, however, keep your request firmly in mind and maybe something will turn up or maybe something will occur to me. It does not at the moment. You might like to look at a new Unesco pamphlet by Harry L. Shapiro titled Race Mixture. The price is 25¢. This certainly is not addressed to your specific questions but might be background reading for somebody.

The fullest data on the Negro-white intermarriage in the United States are for Boston. I think you will agree from the quotation that follows that they are not particularly revealing:

Table 17.1 Number of Negro-White Marriages and Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Negroes and of All Marriages Involving Whites, Boston, 1914-1938

Year	Number of Negro-White Marriages	Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Negroes	Percent Negro-White Marriages of All Marriages Involving Whites
1914-1918	89	5.2	0.18
1919-1923	47	3.1	0.10
1924-1928	53	3.6	0.12
1929-1933	40	3.6	0.11
1934-1938	47	3.7	0.12
Total	276	3.9	0.13

"The Boston rate of Negro-white marriages in all Negro marriages in the period 1914-1938 was 3.9 as compared with 3.4 for New York urban areas exclusive of New York City in 1919-1937. The Boston rate changed little after 1919, whereas the New York rate, except during the period 1922-1924, dropped steadily. Whereas the former high rate of inter-marriage in Boston was unique, the present Boston rate does not seem to be atypical."

It will become a bit more meaningful if you keep in mind that the percentage of Negro population in Boston was pretty constant from 1900 to the late 1930s.

The above table and paragraph are copies from Simpson and Yinger Racial and Cultural Minorities.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

For Dr. Dunlap

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND SURVEY

297 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

TELEPHONE ORegon 4-5000

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Treasurer

LAURIS B. WHITMAN
Executive Director

SETSUKO MATSUNAGA NISHI
Director, Research in Christian Life & Work

March, 1959

MEMORANDUM RE: A PROPOSAL FOR A PROGRAM OF RESEARCH ON RELIGION AND THE CHURCHES IN A CHANGING RACIAL SETTING

FROM: Lauris B. Whitman, Director, Bureau of Research and Survey, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 297 Fourth Ave., New York 10, New York

The Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of Churches, with the cooperation of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, convened a group of social scientists last spring in New York City for consultation regarding a suggestion that the Bureau sponsor a program of research on the functions of churches and religion in the desegregation issue.

We felt that the fundamental importance of the problem, both to the churches and to the social sciences, required the considered advice of the skilled and experienced in this field in developing ideas and plans. The eagerness and seriousness with which they made their contributions to the discussion, guided by Chairman Stuart W. Cook, we believe, indicate a willingness on the part of social scientists to participate in the projected program. This is indeed gratifying.

Dr. R. H. Edwin Espy, Associate General Secretary of the National Council, said at the consultation:

> The very nature of the National Council, seeking to bring together the resources and insights and experience of a wide diversity of denominations, makes it necessary to place a high and fundamental value on research. The National Council is trying to make the churches more conscious of what is happening to our culture, to the mores of our time in terms of the rapid changes taking place in society, and the impact of these upon the minds and spirits of people in the real innerdness of their

personalities. But we are aware that neither we nor anybody fully understands the impact of these changes.

We have an impression that the forces of the church and the forces of society have often been passing one another by, and the church somehow has not articulated effectively its concerns and objectives in ways that cause people to fundamentally change their attitudes on issues having to do with human values. One does not find the correlation one would hope to find between a presumed religious orientation and a particular set of attitudes on such a concrete social issue as race relations.

This baffles us, and we feel that one of our problems is that no one really has researched this area sufficiently to guide the churches, or to guide the opinion-making forces in our society generally as to what can be done to help provide this carry-over from a presumed religious attitude toward life into the areas of concrete social attitude and social behavior. So, we welcome very much this pioneering venture of long-range intensive study. This can become highly significant, not alone for intergroup relations; for, if you find some of the triggers in this area, this will have basic meaning for the total range of the churches' work.

The attached statement is an outcome of the consultation. We shall appreciate your suggestions and assistance in carrying forward this major venture.

The Institute of Judicial Administration

40 Washington Square South

New York 12, N.Y.

Fellows of the Institute

HENRY P. CHANDLER, Former Director, Administrative Office of the United States Courts

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JAMES KERNEY, JR., Editor, *Trenton Times*

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ROSCOE POUND, Dean Emeritus, Harvard Law School

GEORGE ROSSMAN, Justice, Supreme Court of Oregon

DAVID SARNOFF, Chairman, Radio Corporation of America, New York

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ELWYN THOMAS, Justice, Supreme Court of Florida

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In an area where specialized assistance has not hitherto been available, the Institute has been instrumental in developing a science and an art of judicial administration, similar to those which prevail in the fields of public administration, business administration and school administration. It offers, at cost and on a non-profit basis, research and consulting services to courts, bar associations, legislative bodies and similar groups. The advantages of such service may be summarized as follows:

1. *Experience.* Many problems proving troublesome in a given jurisdiction are ones with which the Institute is already familiar. The wide range of studies conducted by it, or conducted by others and available to it, provides a broad base of experience.

2. *Objectivity and Impartiality.* The Institute is independent of political considerations and partisan affiliations. It is in a position to provide objective and impartial assistance to national, state and local groups in efforts to improve judicial administration.

3. *Speed.* A professional staff, established relations with leaders in the field, and extensive library facilities, enable the Institute to move more quickly than can be expected of *ad hoc* groups which have to be organized, housed,

(*over*)

staffed, equipped and oriented before they can tackle the problems at hand.

4. *Low and equitably distributed cost.* When work is done on a volunteer, "no cost" basis by bar association committees or individual lawyers and judges, time and effort are expended nevertheless, with the unrecognized costs being borne by those who participate. Because of factors noted above, the Institute can operate economically in conducting the field work involved in studies, surveys and investigations, thus freeing the energies of interested individuals and groups for planning and making policy judgments as to what can and should be done on the local scene.

The Institute also conducts at its own offices "workshops" or seminars for groups undertaking research on their own. These are planned as to content, scope and time for the groups involved and the problems confronting them.

Persons or institutions desiring to take advantage of the Institute's research and consulting services are invited to submit their problems and proposals and to discuss them with representatives of the Institute. Sample studies are available on request.

". . . Judicial reform is no sport for the short-winded or for lawyers who are afraid of temporary defeat. Rather must we recall the sound advice given by General Jan Smuts to the students at Oxford: 'When enlisted in a good cause, never surrender, for you can never tell what morning reinforcements in flashing armor will come marching over the hilltop.' "

— Arthur T. Vanderbilt

THE INSTITUTE'S ORGANIZATION

The Institute of Judicial Administration, Inc. was established in 1952 as a non-profit corporation, largely through the initiative and efforts of the late Honorable Arthur T. Vanderbilt, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, former President of the American Bar Association and a universally recognized leader in the movement for improved judicial administration. He served as President of the Institute until his death in May 1957. He was succeeded by the Honorable John J. Parker, Chief Judge of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, who served until his death in March 1958.

The Institute is governed by a Board of Fellows, whose names are listed on the opposite page. Its members and associates comprise lawyers, judges, and laymen who have taken an active interest in the improvement of justice in their respective states and at the national level. Its honorary members are distinguished leaders and participants in similar programs in other countries.

The offices and staff of the Institute are located at 40 Washington Square South, New York 12, New York. (Telephone Spring 7-2000, Ext. 8080).

AIMS AND PROGRAM

The objectives and purposes of the Institute embrace the whole field of judicial administration and procedure. The goal to be attained is the improvement and modernization of courts through specialized attention to judicial administration.

The Institute assists in attaining that goal (a) by a systematic and continuous study of the structure, operation, and manpower of the state and federal courts of the United States and the courts of other common-law and civil-law jurisdictions, (b) by assembling and supplying information and available data on subjects of court procedure and judicial administration, including ways and means of effectuating improvements, (c) by publishing studies in the field and holding conferences, and (d) by specific research projects.

THE LIBRARY

A working library of current materials in all fields of judicial administration is available at the Institute's offices and is being constantly expanded. It includes not only historical background data, but also reports of recent and current developments of local, state, national and international significance. Whenever possible, extra copies of such reports are obtained for distribution or loan to interested persons on request. It is believed that this is the most comprehensive library of its kind in existence.

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ANNA SCHWARTZBERG

April 2, 1959

Professor C. B. Gosnell
Department of Political Science
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Dr. Gosnell,

Liberty County does have more Negro than white registrants according to the Secretary of State's figures. I am afraid that we have little to offer by way of explanation. One observable fact is that Negro registration is fairly high in the whole group of coastal counties between Savannah and Brunswick. Liberty County, then, would appear to be only a part of a cultural unit which traditionally has tended to be somewhat ahead of other rural areas in Negro voting. Another explanation which has been suggested to me is the spread out of Savannah of urban influence; this seems to me an explanation rather too pat and nebulous to be convincing.

For a long while , as you probably know, there has been a political division in the county, centering around the sheriff, Paul Sikes. He is reportedly a pretty unsavory type, and reformists have been trying unsuccessfully to dislodge him. He has had the support of Negro voters, and presumably has encouraged their registration.

The press reported that eight Negroes filed in early 1958 for election to the Democratic Executive Committee. We cannot find any further report, and assume, therefore, that they were defeated. We know of no recent Negro office-holder in the county.

I have, incidentally, seen on this matter of the coastal counties a citation of Hugh Owen's thesis, The Rise of Negro Voting in Georgia: 1944-50, pp. 52-54. Also, have you checked with Lynwood? He and Joe Berud may have something in their article. Also, you might like to know that Professor Bacote got a similar inquiry from Goodman.

Here are some figures:

Population*			Registration			Negro as % of Total	
White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	Total	Population	Registration
4,000	5,700	9,700	2,128	2,472	4,600	58.8	53.7

* Estimates of Georgia Department of Health, July 1958

As of 1957, an estimated 3,173 Negroes were over voting age. The 1950 census reported no urban population in the county so that answers one of Mr. Goodman's questions. 71.6% of the total population was classified as rural non-farm, and 28.4% as rural farm. Of the Negroes, 3,385 were in the former and 1,781 in the latter classification as of 1950. (Thus a 1950 total Negro population of 5,166: not decreasing!) Educational and economic indices do not show off the county favorably:

1950 Census		Liberty County	State
Median school year completed		6.6	7.8
	Negro	4.3	4.9
Median income of families and related individuals		$1,122.	$1,644.
	Negro	879.	909.

I am sorry we haven't more to give you. Oh, yes! the county went for Eisenhower in 1956, by 967-892.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 3, 1959

Office of the President
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Sir:

Will you please refer this request to the proper office of your university?

We would like to order one copy of the publication #28 of the Florida State University Studies. This is Professor Wm. Dillingham's article "The Economics of Segregation".

Please bill us for the charges plus postage.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 3, 1959

Colonel Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am delighted that you have agreed to take our REF position and know that all the others on the staff share my pleasure. I look forward to a very close working relationship with you. I hope that you will callupon me as often as I can be of use.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 6, 1959

Mr. Sylvan Meyer
The Gainesville Times
Gainesville, Georgia

Dear Mr. Meyer:

At Mr. See's request we have prepared recently two memoranda, one on Negro voting in Georgia, and the second on the Terrell County vote case. I believe that Mr. See has revised these slightly and will incorporate them in his report to the Georgia Advisory Committee. In the menatime, Harold thought that you might be interested in seeing the originals; we are therefore enclosing them for your reference.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 6, 1959

Mr. Nat R. Griswold, Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Thank you so much for sending the clippings on articles in the Arkansas Gazette. We have made photographic copies of them for our files, and are returning them to you today.

We have not received any replies on the survey of waiting room facilities from the Arkansas cities, and hope they will be along soon. Out of the 40 cities to be surveyed, we have on hand only eight reports! So we are feeling a little frustrated.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.
PHONE FR 4-4521

April 3, 1959

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

We are enclosing newspaper articles from our files which we hope will prove useful for your purposes. These are the only copies we have, so we will appreciate it if you will photograph what you can use and return the originals to us.

The article you have with the table of answers on the survey of businessmen by the AAUW is the complete report, or at any rate the only one available.

Sincerely,

Nat Griswold

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
Enc. Articles from THE ARKANSAS GAZETTE:
1-15-59 "Time to Evaluate School Situation, Leaders Advised"
1-27-59 "C of C Backs School Board, Pledges Aid"
1-29-59 "2 Questions Focus on School Problem"
3- 1-59 "Three on School Board Reject Defiance, etc"
3- 3-59 "Poll of Businessmen For School Opening"
3-25-59 "C of C Board Asks School Reopenings etc" (with paid ad from Chamber of Commerce)
2-26-59 "Chamber Polls Its Members etc"

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A Council to attain equal opportunity for all peoples

April 6, 1959

Professor Henry Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Professor Roberts:

After some thought is seems to me that the most convenient way of furnishing you the raw figures on the Virginia correlations is to send you the data cards and the compilation sheets that were compiled. We would of course like to have these returned when you are through with them. They are the only copies we have, and although we have no present need for them, and you may, therefore use them unhurriedly, I would like to have them back for our files. The statistical method employed for the correlations is the Yule's-Q device. I had not myself been previously acquainted with it but the procedure is fairly simple, and seems plainly revealed from the computations.

I am especially willing to send these along to you because you have indicated that you will rerun the correlations and check on their accuracy. I think this would be a wholesome thing and I would be most interested to know the results.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

KEY TO COUNTY CARDS

A. Negro Registration

B. White Registration

C. % Potential Negroes Registered

D. % Potential Whites Registered

E. -

F. % Population Non-white

G. % Population change

H. % Population Change (Non-white)

I. Urbanization

J. Industrialization

K. Negro Farm Tenancy

L. Median School Year Completed

M. Median School Year Completed (Non-white)

N. Median Family Income

O. Median Family Income (Non-white)

Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

April 2, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of March 19 with information enclosed. I intended to write you earlier but many interests and activities have caused this delay.

I should appreciate very much your sending me the figures upon which the correlations were based and the names of the counties and cities used in the various categories set up in your letter. By rerunning the correlations we could check on the accuracy of the figures which you obtained. This would be available for your office and for my purposes.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry W. Roberts

Harry W. Roberts, Head
Department of Sociology

HWR/d

April 6, 1959

Senator J. W. Fulbright
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Fulbright:

We would be very grateful to receive, if you have one, a copy of the brief filed by you as Amicus Curiae with the Supreme Court last summer in the Aaron v. Cooper case.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 8, 1959

Miss Brenda Enmeier
Delta Gamma House
DePaw University
Greencastle, Indiana

Dear Miss Enmeier:

Mr. Anthony asked that we send you a list of reading materials on Atlanta, and we are happy to do so.

Readers' Digest, June 1958, article on Mayor Hartsfield and including general information on Atlanta
The New Republic, Reprint, Southerners and the Schools, Atlanta Is Different, 1959
The Reporter, July 11, 1957, Smart Politics and Good Race Relations
The New Leader, April 28, 1958, Atlanta's Remarkable Mayor
The Reporter, March 28, 1950, Atlanta: Capital of the Southern Negro
Pageant, April 1950, Why I Life in Atlanta
Business Week, December 18, 1954, Economically the Negro Gains But He's Still the Low Man
The Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1957, The Negro Voter in the South

We hope that you will find this list helpful and informative.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Fortune, Sept. 1956, The Negro's New Economic Life

April 8, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas
Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am enclosing an office memorandum which will give you a list of the periodicals to which we now subscribe and will also inform you as to how they are handled.

I am enclosing at your request a recent listing of some SRC publications. Much of the publication activity of the Council has of late been devoted to reprints. Some of these I am sure you have. Rather than list them, I have had a package of them made up for mailing; also included are a few items which originated here subsequent to the last listing of publications.

When you are next in Atlanta, perhaps some time can be scheduled for us to discuss research plans now active and also your ideas for new departures.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

RECENT SRC PUBLICATIONS

What the Supreme Court Said

Why Are You Fearful?

Do you Know the Law About Schools?

The Negro Voter in the South - 1958, Special Report

Pro-segregation Groups in the South, May 1957, Special Report

The Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter, April 1958, Special Report

Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South November 1957, Special Report

Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision, July 1957, Special Report

Background Summary on Virginia, August 1958, Special Report

Report on Charlotte, Greensboro, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, September 1957, Special Report

School Closing Plans, November 1958, Special Report

State vs. Federal Authority in Virginia, August 1958, Special Report

Publications by others being distributed by SRD:

Desegregation in the Baltimore City Schools, Baltimore Commission on Human Relations

A First Step Toward School Integration, Congress of Racial Equality (Nashville)

The Louisville Story, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James

Action Patterns in School Desegregation, by Herbert Wey and John Corey
A Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project

South Carolinians Speak, a moderate approach to race relations

The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools, reprinted from Washington Post and Times Herald

Southerners and Schools, reprinted from The New Republic

BENJAMIN MUSE
Manassas, Virginia

April 7, 1958

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your letter of April 3.

I wish that I could have talked with you longer on my visit last week. I will write at length in the near future regarding my research plans. I would be happy to have any observations from you either before or after you get my comprehensive letter.

I would like to know more about the research accomplished in the past and in progress now in the Council office. Of course, the best time to educate myself on this will be on my next trip to Atlanta.

In the meantime however, I would appreciate information on a couple of points. To what newspapers (outside of Atlanta) and other publications does the Council subscribe?

I have an old list of S. R. C. publications, brought up to date on a separate sheet to include 1955. Have you a more recent list of S. R. C. publications?

Looking forward to our collaboration,

Sincerely,

Ben Muse

April 8, 1959

Mr. Victor B. Howard
8300 North Wisner Street
Chicago 48, Niles, Illinois

Dear Mr. Howard:

Our annual report is sent out only to the Board of Directors. We do have a monthly magazine, New South, which is mailed to subscribers and to interested people, and we are sending you under separate cover several sample copies and two of our publications.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

New South, January, February & March	$ .60
The Negro Voter in the South	.20
Next Steps in the South	.20
	$1.00

8300 North Wisner Street
Chicago 48, Niles, Illinois
March 28, 1959

Committee on Interracial Cooperation
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate a copy of any annual reports that you may have made or recent copies of your newsletter. I would also appreciate a copy of any special studies that you may have published such as studies of housing, employment, school problems.

next steps
negro voting

Sincerely,

Victor B. Howard

Victor B. Howard

April 8, 1959

Miss Kristy Towe
Friends Boarding School
Barnesville, Ohio

Dear Miss Towe:

Under separate cover we are sending you several publications which will have some of the information you need.

Next Steps in the South, has the map you requested, and additional general information.
The Negro Voter in the South, has some statistics on on voter registration in southern states.
New South, January 1959 issue, has additional information on voting.

We hope that you will fine these helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

FRIENDS BOARDING SCHOOL
BARNESVILLE, OHIO

April 2, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Anburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

In our History Class we are making graph maps of the United States on some subject. I am making one on segregation. I was thinking about doing the per cent or the number of Negro and White population in each state at the present day. Would you have any information on such a subject or on any similar aspect which you could send to me?

It was suggested to me a map you had on the per cent's of racial groups by counties in the South East. Would you have something similar for the whole United States? Also I was told that the article on "The Face on the South" by George Mitchell might be helpful. Would you send me a copy of that article?

Thank you very much for all your trouble.

Sincerely

Kristy Towe

Kristy Towe

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

file

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

April 9, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Dunbar:

Replying to your letter of March 31, I will try to see that you are furnished copy of what ever voting information is developed by the North Carolina Advisory Committee.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW/jep

April 9, 1959

Library
Institute of Judicial Administration
40 Washington Square South
New York 12, New York

Dear Sirs:

Please send us the mimeographed copy of your study, "Disparity in Sentencing of Convicted Defendants", as listed in your October 1, 1958 publications list.

If there is any charge for this, please bill us.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 9, 1959

U. S. Information Service
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

We have read with much interest an account of "American Illustrated," and its reception in the Soviet Union. We would like very much to have a copy of the issue mentioned in the news release as the latest issue and containing an article with a two-page spread of text and pictures depicting the generally improving status of America's 18,000,000 Negroes.

If you will bill us for the magazine we will be happy to pay you in U. S. money--we have no rubles.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

April 9, 1959

Mr. R. S. Eckaus
Associate Professor of Economics
Brandeis University
Waltham 54, Massachusetts

Dear Dick:

I received this morning your report and want to get off to you at once my thanks for a job done more thoroughly and exhaustively than I had any right to anticipate. As you can imagine, I have as yet only read through your work. When I have studied more carefully and have formulated some techniques for publication, I shall write again and much more fully. In the meantime our check is enclosed. We do certainly want to compensate you (I am a little impatient of free-loaders, even when they are organizations as noble as ours) and only wish that it could be more.

Once again, many thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

P.S. You did not have part 5 of the notes; they deal with other issues. So no worries about losing them.

April 10, 1959

Mr. C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of Sociology
Sacramento State College
6000 Jay Street
Sacramento 19, California

Dear Professor Record:

Thank you for the copies of your "Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community". I had read and admired this several months ago, before coming to the Council, and wanted, therefore, that we have it for our small library. Your invitation for comments did, however, caution me that I should refresh my memory of it before responding.

My training has not been in sociology, and so either praise or disagreement may be presumptious. I have been instructed by your analysis, and in no small measure. I must admit to a prejudiced feeling that much sociological research seems disastrously hell-bent on being "original". Your essay is an achievement of skill because it draws into focus so much of the work of your colleagues, and does it with obvious authority and consequent right to discriminate. The whole thing seems to justify your conclusion: racial status distorts the class structure of American society and (only) the Negroes have a class interest in relieving the distortion. I don't know if you are familiar with Bertrand de Jouvenel's Sovereignty. You might care sometime to consider whether his conceptual device of dux and rex can't be applied, with some rather peculiar results, to the intra-racial relations of Negroes, and their inter-racial relations. If I have any

criticism at all to make of your article it would only be (to reverse a good principle of logic) to question whether every true statement you make is necessarily valid. The truth, e.g., of the sentence on page 240 is, to me, clear: "That such recognition is largely a consequence of prior valuation by some whites is of no great consequence". Yet how else could it be, given the white preponderance as gatekeepers of success? Similarly, I suspect the last paragraph on page 245, which so far as I know is true, would be equally valid (omitting the last sentence on page 246 and its reference to "ministers") if you scratched the word "Negro" wherever it appears.

But you will recognize this criticism for what it is: a strained attempt to moderate my earlier praise. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

SACRAMENTO STATE COLLEGE
6000 JAY STREET
SACRAMENTO 19, CALIFORNIA

February 25, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your letter of February 18.

Enclosed are two copies of the article, "Social Stratification and Intellectual Roles in the Negro Community." If you are in a position to comment on the piece, I would appreciate hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

C. Wilson Record
Associate Professor of
Sociology

CWR:prm

Enclosures

April 10, 1959

Mr. Robert T. Leigh, Director
Division of Publications
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Leigh:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of Florida State University Studies No. 28. This will be helpful to us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY

TALLAHASSEE

DIVISION OF PUBLICATIONS

April 6, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are pleased to enclose a copy of Florida State University Studies No. 28, which includes Professor Wm. Dillingham's article on "The Economics of Segregation". We are glad to furnish this publication to you.

Cordially yours,

Robert T. Leigh

Robert T. Leigh
Director

RTLdr

enc:1

April 10, 1959

Miss Nancy Attaway
Box 281
Yale Divinity School
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Miss Attaway:

We do not have in pamphlet form exactly the kind of information you requested. We are, however, sending you under separate cover a number of pamphlets and reports which we believe will be helpful to you. We are including the script for the film, "Face of the South" which you mentioned. I'm afraid it is not detailed enough for your purposes.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Segregation Costs
Attitudes Toward Desegregation
Tuskegee Report on Desegregation
Tumin, Mass Media and Readiness for Desegregation
Tumin, Education, Prejudice and Discrimination
Script, Face of the South

South Carolinians Speak: this will give you first-hand information on how some Southerners feel - it is a cross-section of opinion and attitudes

Box 281
Yale Divinity School
New Haven, Conn.
April 4, 1959

The Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am currently writing a paper on the mind of the rural Southerner in reference to desegregation and need some information which I think you might have. On one occasion at Highland Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, I happened to see a film in which George Mitchell, your former Executive Secretary, gave an analysis of the attitudes and habits of Southerners in relation to the topography or land formation of the South. I would like very much to secure a copy of this. If you have it in leaflet form would you please send it to me? I will be glad to pay any minimal charge.

Also, I would appreciate any other information on the general topic of the rural Southerner and his reaction to desegregation.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Attaway

Nancy Attaway

P.S. If possible I would like to receive this within the next 2 weeks. Thank you.

NKA

1- Seg. costs
2- Attitudes
3- Tuskegee
4 - Tumin - Mass Media
5 - " - Education

May have seen, not general info, but perhaps helpful

6- Map talk (Face of the South) X
(This is the scenario of the film)

April 10, 1959

Mr. Kenneth R. Benjamin
RFD #1
Charlestown, New Hampshire

Dear Mr. Benjamin:

We are mailing you under separate cover some reports and pamphlets which we think will be of assistance to you in your report on our race problem. We are sorry that we no longer have "Understanding Our Neighbors".

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Southern Negro, Change and Paradox
Segregation Costs
Dabbs Interview
Chronology

Charlestown, New Hampshire
R.F.D. No. 1
April 1, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
North East, Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am making a report on our race problem and would appreciate it very much if you would send me the pamphlet "Understanding Our Neighbors."

Very truly yours,
Kenneth P. Benjamin

Out of Print.

Send misc. free material in its place, with publications list

(1) Southern Negro - Change and Paradox
(2) Segregation Costs
(3) Dabbs Interview
(4) Fact 2 N.S.'s —
(5) Chronology

Answers to Current Questions

April 10, 1959

Miss Pamela Ellen Procuniar
13006 Carney Street
Silver Spring, Maryland

Dear Miss Procuniar:

We are sending you under separate cover "The Negro Voter in the South" by Margaret Price, as you requested. We are including a later Special Report on voting and several other publications we believe will be helpful to you.

May we suggest that you may find an article published in The Christian Century, November 19, 1958, "Outlook on Civil Rights" good background material.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

The Negro Voter in the South, by Margaret Price
Special Report: The Negro Voter in the South - 1958
Dabbs interview with Mike Wallace
Special Report: Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter
The Southern Negro, Change and Paradox
Tuskegee Report
The South and the Supreme Court's School Decisions (for background)
A Chronology, 1954-1956
Changing Patterns

13006 Carney Street

Silver Spring, Maryland

April 2, 1959

Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a high student who is preparing a term paper on The Negro and civil rights. I hope that you can help me by sending me some of your publications as so much of my material is either outdated or extremely scanty. I would definitely like to have "The Negro Voter in the South" by Margaret Price and any other comparable publications. Let me assure you that I can utilize any of your publication that you may care to send as I have been spending considerable time on this subject.

I would appreciate receiving any material as soon as possible as I must begin to piece my paper together quite shortly.

Christian Century - 11-19-58 Outlook on Civil Rights

Thank you very much for any help that you can give me.

1. Negro Voter in the South
2. Spec. Report - 1958 (Negro Voter)
3. Abbot interview with Mike Wallace

Sincerely,

Pamela Ellen Procuniar

(MISS) Pamela Ellen Procuniar

4 - Special Report - 1958 (Move to Disenfranchise N. Voter)

5 - The Southern Negro - Change + Paradox

6 - Tuskegee Report

April 10, 1959

Miss Constance H. Rumbough
317 Gray Street
Danville, Virginia

Dear Miss Rumbough:

I have located two prayers, used in two editorials, after the bombing of the Jewish synagogue in Atlanta. I will give you both, but I feel sure it is the latter one you wish. I checked with the education director at The Temple, and it is from the Jewish prayer book.

Quoted in Ralph McGill's column: "O Lord, quicken us to work with the righteous of all nations and creeds, to bring about Thy kingdom upon earth, so that hatred among men shall cease, the walls of prejudice and pride separating people shall crumble and fall, and war be destroyed forever." Prayer by Rabbi Rothschild

Quoted by Harold Martin: "O may all created in Thine image recognize that they are brethren so that one in spirit and one in fellowship they may be forever united before Thee." From Jewish Prayer Book

I hope this is what you had in mind.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

MISS CONSTANCE H. RUMBOUGH
317 GRAY STREET
DANVILLE, VIRGINIA

Oct. 1958

April 1, 1959

Dear Friends,

When the Jewish synagogue in Atlanta was bombed, an editorial in an Atlanta newspaper quoted a Jewish prayer. It spoke of man being created in the image of God.

Could you quote that prayer for me? My Jewish friends in Danville have hunted it in their prayer books but can't find it.

I would like to include it in a unit of study I'm preparing for Methodist juniors.

Sincerely,

Constance Rumbough

Constance Rumbough

April 10, 1959

Mr. Charles J. Henderson, Chairman
Berkshire County Democratic Ethnic Club
196 Francis Avenue
Pittsfield, Mass.

Dear Mr. Henderson:

We are mailing you today, under separate cover, several of our publications that we believe will be of interest to your group, as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

Chairman
Charles J. Henderson
Co-Chairman
LaFayette W. Walker
Treasurer
LeRoy Chambliss
Secretary
David L. Gunn
Public Relations Director
Frank T. Walker
Fund-Raising Director
John Tucker
Membership Director
Naylor Taliferro

Berkshire County Democratic Ethnic Club

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples

Note

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3,Ga.
Secretary

February, 1959
196 Francis Ave.
Pittsfield, Mass.

Dear Sir:

I know that your organization is very much interested in the betterment of human rights. Your organization has created a favorable climate of opinion and provided moral leadership in various sections of our country to aid some of the great advances made in the field of civil rights.

We have recently formed a political action organization, which we have named the Berkshire County Democratic Ethnic Club to aid in the registration of minority, encourage voting, and promote political education programs .

Naturally, we must protect our special interests as minority group and tend to vote in a bloc. All groups - including farmers labor and industry - tend to vote solidly against the candidate who singles them out for special attack.

We feel as minority people to exert our influence, we must, therefore have to keep allegiance to one of the two dominant political parties. By connecting ourselves with the Democratic Party, we hope to overcome the isolation from forces which tend to encourage voting - urbanization, civic and political organizations, trade unions and industrialization.

Our educational program means receiving material, displays and literature for our Board of Directors and members to read and to pass information along to others. We are requesting, that your organization send any type of material, literature and display relative to human rights and civil rights, that you may have available , so that we can be a benefit to minority people in this section of our great country and possibly set an example for other groups throughout the entire world. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Charles J. Henderson, Chairman

April 10, 1959

Mrs. Richard Glass
213 Derrydown Way
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Glass:

Our research department is pleased to make suggestions for material for your son's paper on Integration on the College Level. We do not have a pamphlet or booklet on this subject, but we are enclosing a list of the colleges and universities that have desegregated.

The best book to get is With All Deliberate Speed by Don Shoemaker, published in 1957 by Harpers. Chapter 10, Halls of Ivy - Southern Exposure, will give him a great deal of information in just a few pages of reading.

He can order the Statistical Summary from Southern Education Reporting Service, Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn., and this will give information, statistics, and tables, and latest enrollment figures.

If he cannot find the above items in a convenient library, we will be happy to have him come by here to use our library, in the research department.

Sincerely yours,

Dr 8-5976

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 13, 1959

Professor Douglas S. Gatlin
Dept. of Political Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Professor Gatlin:

We do have some statistics on Negro registration by county in the southern states, most of which are derived from official releases or other public sources. We have accumulated these and made some comparisons of them with other figures in connection with a new survay of Negro voting which we have in preparation. I am afraid that the figures are somewhat too voluminous to be copied , although if you are ever in Atlanta you would be more than welcome to examine them.

We are enclosing as requested the copy of The Negro Voter in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Gentlemen:

I understand that you possess statistics pertaining to registration of Negro voters in the Southern states, by county. Would you please inform me whether such figures have been published, or whether they are otherwise available?

In addition, would you please send me a copy of your recent pamphlet by Margaret Price, The Negro Voter in the South?

Douglas S. Gatlin
Dept. of Political Science
UNC
Chapel Hill, N.C.

April 13, 1959

Mr. Benjamin Muse
Manassas, Virginia

Dear Mr. Muse:

I am enclosing a copy of the Report of a conference held by the Committee on Government Contracts which, despite its date, I have only recently read; whether the Report has ever been printed we do not know.

I thought you might be interested in examining this. The speeches by Kindeberger, Carmichael and Mitchell seem to me to particularly telling and relevant to the broad concerns of the Leadership project.

This being our only copy, I am enclosing a return envelope.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 13, 1959

Mr. Theron C. Hooks
215 Cozine Avenue
Brooklyn 7, New York

Dear Mr. Hooks:

We are sending you under separate cover the two copies of Segregation Decisions, as you requested. The booklets are 10¢ each.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

215 Cozine Ave
Brooklyn, 7-N.Y.

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I would like to have two copies of Segregation Sermons by William Faulkner. Benjamin Mays and Cecil Sims.

I would appreciate if you would let me know if

some can be obtained
by mail and cost etc.
if any.

Sincerely yours
Theron C. Hooks
215 Cozine Ave
Bklyn 7, N.Y.

April 13, 1959

Miss Nancy Lee Nash
Box 105
Queens College
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Miss Nash:

This morning we received a request by telephone from Mr. Ralph McGill's secretary to mail you some materials on Georgia's reaction since 1954 to the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation of the public schools.

Under separate cover we are mailing you some leaflets and which will privide you with information on how some Georgians are reacting. Most of our information is on the entire southeast rather than just Georgia, and on all civil rights rather than just school desegregation.

If your school library has a copy of With All Deliberate Speed by Don Shoemaker, published in 1957 by Harpers, you can find a great deal of information in it. Also, you can order the Statistical Summary from Southern Education Reporting Service, Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn. and this will give you statistics and facts on how many schools have desegregated in each state, and other information.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Mailing:
The Economic Effect of School Closing
Out of Conviction, Ministers statement
We, the Undersigned, Emory Professors
Doctors' statement
Legal decisions, present school laws in Georgia

Answers to Current Questions .20¢

April 14, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish
926 South Sixth Street
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

I am enclosing a reprint of an article about Baltimore schools. Judging from the date, I suspect you have already read it; it showed up on my desk through some unknown channel and I found on reading it that it was right along the line of your interest. So I give it to you for your files.

I am waiting eagerly for the chance to read your revised essay.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: "Observations on Desegregation in Baltimore: Three Years Later" by Harry Bard

April 14, 1959

Miss Julia Adams
Box 58 Dascomb
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

Dear Miss Adams:

We are reading proof on the "Violence" booklet and it should be ready in another week or ten days. We will mail you a copy as soon as it is ready.

Just for a bit of humor I am enclosing copy from a column in The Petal Paper of Hattisburg, Miss. (Box 349). We look for items that give us a chuckle now and then. If we did not have a sense of humor we could not stand it.

We believe the present "sound and fury" to be healthy, and much better than the former "pall of silence". Sometimes peace and equality seem very far in the future, but we are hopeful.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

Miss Julia Adams
Box 58 Dascomb
Oberlin College
Oberlin, Ohio

Mrs. Ed.A.Albright
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright

I would like to express my appreciation for the Special Report you were kind enough to send me. It has helped me tremendously in my report. It would be wonderful if you could send me the report on "Violence" when it is available. Last Thursday I enjoyed the college assembly in which Mr. Dabbs spoke. I greatly admire the work which you are doing and also hope to see the fruits of peace and equality in the near future.

Sincerely yours,
Julia Adams

Check clipping files
WSS

The Petal Paper
Box 349
Hattiesburg, Miss

April 14, 1959

Mr. M. James Messick
105 University
Boulder, Colorado

Dear Mr. Messick:

In reply to your letter requesting information concerning anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro publications, we are sending you a copy of a mimeographed report that lists some groups, their activities and publications; a special report of ours concerning resistance groups in this area and their publications; and an additional list of publications that we know about. These probably do not add up to a complete list of ALL such publications, but we hope they will be helpful to you and add to such information as you already have.

The publications we know about are those which have been mailed and distributed in this area, mainly through the White Citizens' Councils.

For additional information, we can refer you to the American Jewish Congress; the Anti-Defamation League; and the American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. We do not have the addresses of the first two, since we deal with the offices here in Atlanta, but you could get them from the American Jewish Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

P.S. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.
American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS: Anti-Jewish, Anti-Catholic, Anti-Negro

Periodicals or Newsletters

The Cross and the Flag (Gerald Smith), Glendale, California

Economic Council Letter (Merwin K. Hart)

Closer Up (Upton Close)

Williams Intelligence Summary (Robt. H. Williams)

The Protocols, Union, New Jersey

White Sentinel, St. Louis, Mo. (John W. Hamilton)

The Awakener (Joseph P. Kamp, Lawrence Dennis), New York City

The Appeal to Reason (Lawrence Dennis), New York City

Headlines (Joseph P. Kamp)

Pamphlets and Books

The Jewish Power, Kenneth Goff
Confessions of a Stalin Agent, Kenneth Goff
"Father" Devine - Fake or Father?, Kenneth Goff
White Man Awaken!, Gerald L. K. Smith
The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Gerald K. Smith
Behind the Plot to Sovietize the South, Joseph P. Kamp
Don't Say We Didn't Warn You, Joseph P. Kamp
Behind the Lace Curtains of the Y.W.C.A., Joseph P. Camp (1948)
Atom Treason, Frank L. Britton
Hollywood Treason, Frank L. Britton
Behind Communism, Frank L. Britton
The Coming American Fascism, Lawrence Dennis

7 April, 1959

Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen,

I am a senior at the University of Colorado, majoring in journalism. In addition to my regular work, I am doing research concerning the publications of the anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-Negro type.

Your organization has been referred to me as a possible source of additional information for this project. I would be most interested in any sources of material or publications you might know about or could offer to help in this project.

Any assistance you could offer would be deeply appreciated. Thanking you in advance for your consideration of this request, I am,

Sincerely yours,

M. James Messick

M. James Messick
1045 University
Boulder, Colo.

April 17, 1959

Superintendent of Documents
Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We are enclosing .50¢ in coins in payment for issue #29 of America Illustrated, a magazine published in the United States in the Russian language for distribution in the Soviet Union. Mr. Richard G. Cushing, Director of the Office of Public Information, said that we might obtain this from you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

April 15, 1959

Dear Mrs. Albright:

"America Illustrated," a magazine published by the U.S. Information Agency in the Russian language for distribution in the Soviet Union, is available in the United States from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

The subscription rate is $5.00 a year, $1.25 additional for foreign mailing and 50¢ a single copy. Checks or money orders should be made payable to the Superintendent of Documents.

Sincerely,

Richard G. Cushing
Richard G. Cushing, Director
Office of Public Information

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.S. The issue you refer to is No. 29.

April 17, 1959

Mr. Bradbury Seasholes
The University of North Carolina
c/o Department of Political Science
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Seasholes:

I have heard from Professor Matthews that you are preparing a thesis on Negro political participation in Winston Salem and Durham. If it is at all possible, the Southern Regional Council would be most grateful to receive a copy of your completed work. We have a continuing interest in Negro voting and Mrs. Albright will be glad to place you on our mailing list to receive the reports which we from time to time put out on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 17, 1959

Mr. Robert L. Bowman
The University of North Carolina
c/o Department of Political Science
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bowman:

I have heard from Professor Matthews that you are preparing a thesis which will study the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs. If it is at all possible, the Southern Regional Council would be most grateful to receive a copy of your completed work. We have a continuing interest in civil rights for the Negro and Mrs. Albright will be glad to place you on our mailing list to receive the reports which we from time to time put out on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Department of Research

LWD:a

April 17, 1959

Miss Elizabeth Carmichael
Chief of Publications Section
Division of Administrative Services
Board of Governors
Federal Reserve System
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Carmichael:

Will you please place us on your mailing list to receive copies of the following releases:

G 72 - Monthly Department Store Sales

G 6 - Bank Debits to Demand Deposit Accounts

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 17, 1959

Bureau of Business Research
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would like to have information as to price and terms for a subscription to the Southeastern Resources Handbook. I would particularly like to know whether some of the sections of the Handbook can be ordered without subscription to the entire service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 17, 1959

U. S. Department of Labor
BLS Regional Director
Suite 540
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please enter our subscription for one year for Employment and Earnings. Our check for $3.50 is enclosed.

We would also like to receive the free copy of State Employment, with individual historical summary tables for each state, from the Employment and Earnings Data.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

P.S. Miss Lee, in the Information Dept., is mailing us the free copies of State Employment; we have talked with her by telephone. Thank you very much.

Use this form to renew or begin your subscription to EMPLOYMENT and EARNINGS

Please (renew) ( ) (begin) my year's subscription to **Employment and Earnings**

Enclosed find $_____ for ___ subscriptions. (Make check or money order payable to Superintendent of Documents. Subscription price: $3.50 a year; $1.50 additional for foreign mailing.)

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Suite 540
1371 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Ga.

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- **TECHNICAL NOTES on:**

  Measurement of Labor Turnover
  Measurement of Industrial Employment
  Revisions of Employment, Hours, and Earnings
  Hours and Earnings in Nonagricultural Industries
  The Calculation and Uses of the Spendable Earnings Series.

- **EXPLANATORY NOTES** - A brief outline of the concepts, methodology, and sources used in preparing data shown in this publication

---

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of Labor Statistics
Division of Manpower and Employment Statistics
Washington 25, D. C.

Please send the following free of charge:

_____

_____

_____

PLEASE PRINT

NAME _____

ORGANIZATION _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY AND ZONE _____ STATE _____

April 17, 1959

Mr. Victor B. Howard
8300 North Wisner Street
Chicago 48, Niles, Illinois

Dear Mr. Howard:

Thank you for your check for $1.00, which is overpayment, since you are returning two items sent you.

I am sending you today "The Economic Effect of School Closing" as you requested and also the interview with James McBride Dabbs and a reprint from the Congressional Record which gives a history of the Southern Regional Council.

If you would indicate your particular interest, and the specific kinds of materials you would find helpful, we could put your name on our mailing list to receive future mailings. Several new studies and pamphlets are coming out within the next few weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA, GEORGIA
Auburn 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Posted 4/17/59 Blue

April 8, 1959

Mr. Victor B. Howard
8300 North Wisner Street
Chicago 48, Niles, Illinois

Dear Mr. Howard:

Our annual report is sent out only to the Board of Directors. We do have a monthly magazine, New South, which is mailed to subscribers and to interested people, and we are sending you under separate cover several sample copies and two of our publications.

Sincerely yours,
Monty Allbright
Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

New South, January, February & March	$ .60
The Negro Voter in the South	.20
Next Steps in the South	.20
	$1.00

4/17/59

Dear Mrs. Allbright:

Enclosed please find a check for $1.00. I am returning the copy of the Negro Voter in the South and Next Steps in the South since I already have several copies of each. I would appreciate, however, a copy of "The Economic Effects of School Closing" by Jim Montgomery that was suggested in "High lights of Recent Literature" in the March, 1959, issue of the New South.

Sincerely,
Victor B. Howard
Vicotr B. Howard

April 20, 1959

Miss Candace Morley
7636 Lafayette
Omaha, Nebraska

Dear Miss Morley:

Your letter requesting free information on Georgia has been received. Perhaps you do not know that the Southern Regional Council collects and makes available statistics and information on all the southern states, rather than just Georgia, and all in the field of race relations.

Under separate cover we are mailing you some folders which are free, and which will give you some general information on Atlanta and Georgia as regards desegregation of the public schools.

If you want other kinds of information on Georgia, you should write to the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, Forsyth Building, Atlanta, Ga.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Thompson

Dear Sirs,

Please send me any free information on Georgia that is available. Thank you!

Sincerly Yours
Candace Morley

P.S. Here is my Address:

7636 Lafayette
Omaha, Nebraska

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

BUREAU OF RESEARCH AND SURVEY

297 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

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Executive Director

SETSUKO MATSUNAGA NISHI
Director, Research in Christian Life & Work

April 21, 1959

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your recent note expressing interest in our exploration of literature and research relevant to the functions of churches and religion in the desegregation issue. We have been delayed beyond our expectations in this study because of a long vacancy in our staff, which has recently been filled. At least several papers will be available in the latter part of this year. Although this project will attempt to encompass all of the pertinent literature and research on the general problem, we are planning to issue several separate sections because of their immediate usefulness. At this writing we are thinking in terms of: 1) desegregation in the church itself and 2) generalizations about religion from community studies of crisis situations.

This particular project is part of the general interest of the Bureau in research in the area of race relations, and I should be very much interested to have your reaction to the enclosed draft of a research proposal. This proposal is the outcome of a consultation which the Bureau sponsored together with the Phelps-Stokes Fund last year with a group of social scientists competent in this area.

We are now in the process of revision of this draft and should appreciate your comments and suggestions as early as possible.

On some occasion when you are in New York, I should like to have an opportunity of discussing a number of matters with

you. For example: what the Southern Regional Council may know of current research on the race relations issue; social scientific resources in the South, etc. In any case, I hope we shall be in close communication as this program of research and our exploratory inventory develop.

Cordially yours,

Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi

(Mrs.) Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi
Director, Research Unit
Christian Life and Work

SMN/ab
Encl.

April 21, 1959

Miss Ann M. Motte
1320 45th Street
Belview Heights
Birmingham 8, Alabama

Dear Miss Motte:

As you requested, we are enclosing information concerning the Southern Regional Council - background, founders, objectives. I hope this will give you the data you need for your term paper.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Enclosure: Congressional Record reprint

1320 45th Street
Belview Heights
Birmingham 8, Alabama
April 20, 1959

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am a senior at Birmingham-Southern College and I am writing a term paper on "Social Movements In Race Relations".

Could you send me some pertinent information concerning your organization - such as background, founders, objectives, etc.?

Any help you can give me will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Ann M. Motte

(Miss) Ann M. Motte

April 23, 1959

Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send us five (5) copies of Statistical Summary of of Education for 1955-56, the biennial survey of Education done by the Federal Security Agency, Office of Education. We are enclosing our check for $1.00.

If the price has increased from the twenty cents, as specified in the 1947-48 Biennial Survey, please send the number of copies that the $1.00 we are enclosing will cover.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 23, 1959

H.O.P.E., Inc.
Atlanta National Building - Room 214
50 Whitehall St. S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Attention Mrs. Thompson

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

Under separate cover we are mailing you 30 copies each of two sheets of statistical information for the information of the Speakers Bureau.

The information was compiled at the request of Mrs. Don Burge, for use in her workshops, and extra copies were made for possible use of speakers, and Mrs. Pendergrast said to send them to you at the H.O.P.E. office. Mrs. Paschall asked me to be on the look-out for materials that would be helpful to speakers, so I will be sending you things from time to time.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 23, 1959

Federal Reserve Bank
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Sirs:

Release G.7.2 of the Federal Reserve System notes that indices showing longer time comparisons for selected cities are available from the district banks. We would like to receive such indices for monthly department store sales in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 24, 1959

Professor Douglas Verney
College of Arts and Sciences
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Professor Verney:

Dr. Mitchell's address in Scotland is: The Lodge, Glencoe, Argyll, Scotland. I am sure he would be glad to talk with you and to have your report from his home region.

We are mailing you, as you requested, some diverse materials which you may find of interest. Included among them you will note is the text of George Mitchell's by now moderately famous "Map Talk" which accompanies the movie, "Face of the South". There is also a copy of our 1956 "Negro Voters Survey". A new report is in progress and will be out, we hope, within the next couple months. We have also nearly ready for release a lengthy report on "Violence and Intimidation in the South Since 1954". If you would want either of these things when published, please let us know.

There is included a selected bibliography to which I have added one or two titles of articles. Most of the items listed there are, I am sure, already familiar to you, as are some recent books such as those by Brooks Hays, William Peters, Melvin Tumin and Franklyn Frazier. You may possibly not have seen C. A. Becker's The Economics of Desegregation. You will want to obtain a copy, which you probably can from Dean White in the Education school, of Action Patterns in School Desegregation, by Herbert Wey and John Corey, a Phi Delta Kappa commission project.

There are two pamphlets which I have an especial liking for: one is a symposium titled "Christianity and Race", published in the spring of 1958 by the Perkins School of Theology, a Southern Methodist University; the other is "Race Relations in the South" by R. W. Patrick, published in 1958 by the Florida State Teachers Association.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Research Director

LWD:a

Enclosed: Bibliography

Mailed separately:
- Map Talk
- The Negro Voter in the South (and Special Report, 1958)
- Highlights from Recent Literature, Oct. & Dec., 1958
- Public Ethics and the Integration Question
- Segregation versus the Space Age
- Religious Bodies and The Supreme Court Decision
- Correspondence Concerning South Carolinians Speak
- Press Release, 11 Protestant Social Action leaders
- The Economic Effects of School Closing
- A First Step
- The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools
- Publication listings
- Statements on Schools: Ministers, Doctors, Professors
- Accent on the South
- The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox
- New South: June '57, July-August '58, Dec. '58, April '59
- James M. Dabbs interview with Mike Wallace

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
GAINESVILLE

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

April 17, 1959

Dear Sir,

When I visited the United States from England in 1954 Mr. George Mitchell was very helpful in explaining to me the complexity of life in the South. I understand he has retired to Scotland, which may mean I can consult him on my return. Do you have his address?

Meanwhile I should be very grateful if your office could help me in any way. I am preparing material for a book on The Changing American South and would welcome any up-to-date information which you may possess.

Yours truly,

Douglas Verney

Douglas Verney
Visiting Associate Professor

April 27, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

I am sending along a few notes which may help someone in getting started on your pamphlet. I think it would be better for me to wait on your outline before digging for anything more specific or more pointed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: notes
Wanted: An Educated South
Problems of Desegregation, pp 107-22

MEMO: To Oscar Cohen
From Leslie Dunbar

1. See Statistical Abstract of the U. S. 1958

Page 104 - Current expenditure per pupil by states, 1954

Page 112 - Years of school completed by states, 1950

Page 115 - substandard teaching credentials and excessive pupils by states, 1957

Page 119 - salaries by states, 1940-54

Page 120 - expenditures by states, 1954

Page 121 - enrollment and A.D.A., white and Negro, southern states, 1950, 1952, 1954

2. See E. W. Swanson and J. A. Griffin, Public Education in the South:

Page 35 - School attendance by race 1900-50

Page 38 - School attendance by race and state, 1939-40, 1951-52

Page 41 - A.D.A. by race and state, 1939-40, 1951-52

Page 51 - Training of teachers, 1939-40, 1949-50, 1951-52

Page 53 - Length of school term

Page 59 - Salaries

Page 61 - Expenditures, 1951-52

Page 63 - Expenditures per pupil, 1931-52

Page 65 - Expenditures by race, 1939-40, 1951-52

Page 67 - Expenditures

Page 71 - Instruction as % expenditure (N.B. very important datum when considering private school question)

Page 75 - Capital expenditure per pupil

Page 77 - Expenditures

Page 81 - 1960 school age population estimates

Page 91 - Equalization costs

3. You will want to use the tables in Part II of the Ashmore study, The Negro and the Schools. I don't believe Maclachlan and Floyd, This Changing South, has any data of particular interest for you.

4. Southern population tends to be younger than national: thus, heavier school burden. This can be documented in many ways, from many sources; e. g. median age in U. S. 1950 Census was 30.2; southern states (exclusive of Florida) ranged from a high of 27.9 (Texas) to a low of 23.6 (South Carolina); even Florida was only 30.9. Furthermore, Negro population of South is younger than white; see 1950 census. I have calculated some ratios for Georgia, based on estimates of Georgia Department of Health which show that the concentration of Negroes in Georgia is much higher in the school age group:

Age	Ratio of White-Negro Population, 1957
All	2.41 - 1
- 1 yr.	2.00 - 1
1 - 4	1.94 - 1
5 - 9	2.07 - 1
15 - 24	2.04 - 1

If you would wish to use such comparisons, I would want to do them for 1958.

I am enclosing a copy of J. M. Maclachlan, "Population Factors Affecting Education in the South", Journal of Public Law, Spring 1954; the strongest arguments I know of against a slow down of educational effort are implied by the estimates and analyses of this article and I urge that it be studied thoroughly.

5. 13.08 % school children (grades 1 thru 12) of U. S. enrolled in non-public schools 1953-54. Southern %s were generally much lower. Indicates: (1) a greater than average task of educating if public schools closed; (2) a factor which has to be weighted in comparing southern support of education with that of other states. In southern states, the % of students enrolled in non-public schools were:

Alabama -	2.96	North Carolina -	1.22
Arkansas -	2.02	Oklahoma -	2.90
Florida -	4.91	South Carolina -	1.36
Georgia -	1.69	Tennessee -	2.90
Kentucky -	9.22	Texas -	5.87
Louisiana -	16.34	Virginia -	4.61
Mississippi -	2.99		

Source: U. S. D. H. E. W., The State and Non-Public Schools, 1958, p. 3.

6. I am sending an old, 1947, SRC pamphlet, Wanted: An Educated South. Might provide an interesting springboard or two for writing about the present.

April 27, 1959

Miss Mary Lou Otto
544 Abbott Road
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Miss Otto:

Your letter requesting information on citizenship education for a seminar at Michigan State University has been referred to me. We are sending you three publications which are an indication of the kinds of pamphlets and reports we do, and which we believe will be helpful to you.

If these do not contain the information you need, will you let us know, and be a little more specific as to the kind of facts and figures that will be most helpful.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

Enclosures: New South, April-May 1950 "Greenville's Big Idea"
Next Steps in the South
Special Report: The Negro Voter in the South, 1958

April 22, 1959

James M. Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Alanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a member of a seminar on citizenship education at Michigan State University. I am writing to request about the services or publications your orginization offers in the area of citizenship. Anything that you could send to use in this area, free of charge, would be used by the other students in the seminar. Our group has planned to place these publications in the citizenship education files in the Michigan State University Instructional Material Center. You cooperation would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Mary Lou Otto

Mary Lou Otto
544 Abbott Rd.
East Lansing, Michigan

April 28, 1959

Race Relations Law Reporter
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

We have not received our two copies of the February, 1959 issue of Race Relations Law Reporter. If this has been published, please send immediately.

On November 18, 1958, a check for $6.00 was mailed to you for two subscriptions, as follows:

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Marge Manderson, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

April 28, 1959

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville 8, Kentucky

Dear C. H.:

Last Saturday I attended a meeting of the Association of Social Science Teachers and heard, among other things, a discussion by Dean Bond of Atlanta University School of Education. He was describing research which he has in progress, subsidized by the Office of Education, concerning techniques for identifying talent. I gather that one of his hypotheses is that low standing on various standard tests and even in academic performance is not a reliable indication of the lack of talents.

Probably you know about his work, but I thought I would call it to your attention in case you did not, for I am sure that you are interested in the same inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

(dictated but not read)